



ORIGINES ECCLESIASTICÆ;
OR, THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF
THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH,
AND
OTHER WORKS,

OF THE
REV. JOSEPH BINGHAM, M.A.
FORMERLY FELLOW OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD;
AND AFTERWARDS RECTOR OF HEADBOURN WORTHY, AND HAVANT,
HAMPSHIRE.

WITH THE QUOTATIONS AT LENGTH, IN THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGES,
AND A BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR.

IN NINE VOLUMES.
VOL. II.

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THE ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

BOOK V.

OF THE PRIVILEGES, IMMUNITIES, AND REVENUES, OF THE
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CHAPTER I.

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SECT. I.—*The Clergy obliged to give Entertainment to their
Brethren travelling upon necessary Occasions.*

HAVING thus far discoursed of the necessary qualifications of the clergy, and the several customs observed in the designation of them to the ministerial office, it will be proper, in the next place, to speak of the respect and honour that was generally paid to them upon the account of their office. Under which head, I shall comprise whatever relates to the privileges, exemptions, immunities, and revenues, of the ancient clergy. Some particular marks of honour, as they were peculiar to this or that order, have already been mentioned in speaking of those orders; but, now I shall treat of those which were more universal, and common to all orders. And here it will not be amiss, in the first place, to say something of that courteous treatment and friendship wherewith the clergy of the ancient church were obliged to receive and embrace one another. Two or three instances of which, it

will be sufficient to observe at present. First, that wherever they travelled upon necessary occasions, they were to be entertained by their brethren of the clergy, in all places, out of the public revenues of the Church; and it was a sort of crime for a bishop, or other clerk, to refuse the hospitality of the Church, and take it from any other. The historians, Socrates and Sozomen^a, tacitly reflect upon Epiphanius for an action of this nature: that, when he came to Constantinople, where Chrysostom showed him all imaginable respect and honour, sending his clergy out to meet him, and inviting him to an apartment, according to custom, in his house, he refused the civility, and took up his habitation in a separate mansion. This was interpreted the same thing as breaking Catholic communion with him, as it proved in effect; for, he came on purpose, by the instigations of Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, to form an accusation against him. On the other hand, to deny any of the clergy the hospitality of the Church upon such occasions, was a more unpardonable crime, and looked upon as the rudest way of denying communion. Therefore Firmilian^b smartly reproves the behaviour of Pope Stephen, both as insolent and unchristian, towards the African bishops, who were sent as legates from their churches to him; that he neither admitted them to audience himself, nor suffered any of the brethren to receive them to his house; so, not only denying them the peace and communion of the Church, but the civility of Christian entertainment also. Which was so much the greater despite and affront to them, because every private Christian, travelling with letters of credence from his own church, might have challenged that privilege, upon the ‘contesseration of hospitality,’ as Tertullian^c words it;

^a Socrat. lib. vi. c. xii. (Aug. Tur. p. 276.) Τὴν μὲν προτροπὴν Ἰωάννου ἔξεκλινε, Θεοφίλῳ χαρίζομενος, ἐν ἰδιαζούσῃ δὲ καταλύει μονῇ. — Sozom. lib. viii. c. xiv. (p. 318, E.) Ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης εἰσιόντα αὐτὸν, τῇ ὑπαντήσῃ τοῦ παντὸς κλήρου ἐτίμησεν. Ἐπιφάνιος δὲ δῆλος ἦν εἶξας ταῖς κατ’ αὐτοῦ διαβολαῖς· προτραπεῖς γὰρ ἐν οἰκήμασιν ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς καταμένειν, οὐκ ἠνέσχετο.

^b Firmil. Ep. lxxv. ap. Cypr. p. 228. Ut venientibus non solum pax et communio, sed et tectum et hospitium negaretur.

^c Contesseratio hospitalitatis. Tertul. de Prescript. c. xx. (Paris, 1664. p. 209. A 2.)

and much more the bishops and clergy, from one another. By the laws of the African Church, every bishop that went as legate of a provincial synod to that which they called a general or plenary synod, was to be provided of all things necessary in his travels, from this liberality of the Church; as appears from a canon in the third Council of Carthage, which orders^d, that no province should send above two or three legates, that so they might appear with less pomp and envy, and be less charge to their entertainers. This implies, that every church was obliged, by custom at least, to give them entertainment in their passage.

SECT. II.—*And to give them the honorary Privilege of consecrating the Eucharist in the Church.*

Another instance of customary respect, which the clergy were obliged to show to one another, was, that when any bishop or presbyter came to a foreign church, they were to be complimented with the honorary privilege of performing divine offices, and consecrating the Eucharist in the church. This was a very ancient custom, as appears from what Irenæus says of Anicetus, bishop of Rome, that when Polycarp came to settle the Paschal controversy with him, *παρεχώρησεν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ*^e, which does not barely signify, ‘he gave him the Eucharist,’ as the first translators of Eusebius render it; but, ‘he gave place to him, or liberty to consecrate the Eucharist in his church.’ The Council of Arles, which turned this custom into a law, uses the very same expression about it—that in every church they should give place^f to the bishop that was a stranger, to offer the oblation or sacrifice. And the fourth Council of Carthage more

^d Conc. Carth. iii. c. ii. (vol. ii. p. 1168. C.) Placuit, ut propter causas ecclesiasticas, quæ ad perniciem plebium sæpe veterascunt, singulis quibusque annis concilium convocetur. Ad quod omnes provinciæ, quæ primas sedes habent, de conciliis suis ternos legatos mittant, ut et minus invidiosi minusque hospitibus sumtuosi conventus plena possit esse auctoritas.

^e Iren. Ep. ad Victor. ap. Euseb. lib. v. c. xxiv. (p. 216. B.) Τούτων οὕτως ἔχόντων, κοινώνησαν ἑαυτοῖς· καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεχώρησεν ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὴν εὐχαριστίαν τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ κατ’ ἐντροπὴν δηλονότι, καὶ μετ’ εἰρήνης ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων ἀπηλλάγησαν, κ. τ. λ.

^f Conc. Arelat. i. c. xix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1427.) Ut peregrinis episcopis locus sacrificandi detur.

plainly—that a bishop, or presbyter^g, visiting another church, shall be received each in their own degree, and be invited to preach, and consecrate the oblation. So they were to be admitted to all the honours which the Church could show them; the bishop was to seat his fellow-bishop in the same throne with himself; and the presbyters to do the same by their fellow-presbyters; for that the canon means, by receiving them in their own degree. Which custom is referred to by the Catholic bishops in the Collation^h of Carthage, where they promise the Donatist bishops, that if they would return to the Church, they should be treated by them as fellow-bishops, and sit upon the same thrones with them, as strangers were used to do. The author of the Constitutions joins all these things together^{hh}, saying, “Let the bishop, that is a stranger, sit with the bishop, and be invited to preach; let him also be permitted to offer the Eucharist; or if, in modesty, he refuses it, let him, at least, be constrained to give the blessing to the people.”

SECT. III.—*The Use of the Literæ Formatæ, or Commendatory Letters, in this respect.*

But then, it is to be observed, that these honours were not to be showed to strangers, as mere strangers, but as they could someways give proof of their orthodoxy and catholicism to the church to which they came. And in this respect the *literæ systaticæ*, or ‘commendatory letters,’ as they called them, were of great use and service in the Church; for no strange clergyman was to be admitted, so much as to communicate, much less to officiate, without these letters of his bishop, in any church where he was a

^g Conc. Carth. iv. c. xxiii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1203. A.) Ut episcopi vel presbyteri, si causa visitandæ ecclesiæ alterius episcopi, ad ecclesiam venerint, et in gradu suo suscipiantur, et tam ad verbum faciendum, quam ad oblationem consecrandam invitentur.

^h Collat. Carthag. Die i. c. xvi. (ii. 1352. D.) Sicut peregrino episcopo juxta considente collega.

^{hh} (Lib. ii. Labbe, vol. i. p. 298. B.) Εἰ τις ἀπὸ παροικίας ἀδελφὸς ἐπέλθῃ . . . εἰ ἐπίσκοπος, σὺν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καθιζέσθω τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιούμενος ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τιμῆς, καὶ ἐρωτήσεις αὐτὸν, ὡς ἐπίσκοπε, προσλαλῆσαι τῷ λαῷ λόγους διδακτικούς· . . . ἐπιτρέψεις δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ἀνοῖσαι· ἂν δὲ δι’ εὐλάβειαν ὡς σοφὸς τὴν τιμὴν σοι τηρῶν μὴ θελήσῃ ἀνενέγκαι· κἀν εἰς τὸν λαὸν εὐλογίαν αὐτὸν ποιῆσασθαι καταναγκάσθαι καταναγκάσεις.

perfect stranger, for fear of surreptitious, or passive communion, as the canons¹ call it. And bishops were under the same obligations to take the letters of their metropolitan, if they had occasion to travel into a foreign country, where they could not otherwise be known. The third Council of Carthage has a canon^k to this purpose—"That no bishop should go beyond sea without consulting the primate of his province, that he might have his *formatæ* or 'letters of commendation.' And that the same discipline was observed in all churches, seems clear, from one of those canons of the Greek Church, among those which go by the name of Apostolical; which says, "no strange bishops¹, presbyters, or deacons, shall be received *ἀνευ συστατικῶν*, unless they bring commendatory letters with them; but, without them, they shall only be provided of necessaries, and not be admitted to communicate, because many things are surreptitiously obtained." The translation of Dionysius Exiguus, indeed, denies them necessaries also; but that is a manifest corruption of the Greek text, which allows them to communicate in outward good things, but not in the communion of the Church. And this is what some think the ancients meant by *communio peregrina*, 'the communion of strangers;' when such as travelled without letters of credence, were hospitably entertained, and provided of

¹ Conc. Carth. i. c. vii. (tom. ii. p. 616.) Clericus vel laicus non communicet in aliena plebe sine litteris episcopi sui; nisi hoc observatum fuerit, communio fiet passiva.—Conc. Laodic. c. xli. (tom. i. p. 1504.) "Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἱερατικὸν ἢ κληρικὸν ἀνευ κανονικῶν γραμμάτων ὀδεύειν.—Conc. Antioch. c. vii. (tom. ii. p. 564. E.) Μηδὲνα ἀνευ εἰρηνικῶν δέχεσθαι τῶν ξένων.—Conc. Agath. c. xxxviii. (tom. iv. p. 1389. D.) Clericis sine commendatitiis epistolis episcopi sui licentia non pateat evagandi.—Conc. Chalced. c. xi. (ibid. p. 761.) Πάντας τοὺς πένητας καὶ διομένους ἐπικουρίας, μετὰ δοκιμασίας, ἐπιστολίοις, εἴτουν εἰρηνικοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς μόνους ὥρσαμεν ὀδεύειν, καὶ μὴ συστατικοῖς· διὰ τὸ τὰς συστατικὰς ἐπιστολὰς προσήκειν τοῖς οὖσι μόνους ἐν ὑπολήψει παρέχεσθαι προσώποις.

^k Conc. Carth. iii. c. xxviii. (vol. ii. p. 1171.) Ut episcopi trans mare non profisciscantur, nisi consulto primæ sedis episcopo suæ ejusque provinciæ, ut ab eo præcipue (leg. præcipuo) possint sumere formatam.

¹ Canon. Apost. xi. (xxxii. tom. i. Concil. p. 32. C.) Μηδὲνα τῶν ξένων ἐπισκόπων, ἢ πρεσβυτέρων, ἢ διακόνων, ἀνευ συστατικῶν προσδέχεσθαι· καὶ ἐπιφερομένων αὐτῶν, ἀνακρινέσθωσαν· εἰ δὲ μήγε, τὴν χρεῖαν αὐτοῖς ἐπιχορηγίσαντες, εἰς κοινωνίαν αὐτοὺς μὴ προσδέξῃθε· πολλὰ γὰρ κατὰ συναρπαγὴν γίνεται.

sustenance; but not admitted to participate of the Eucharist, because they had no testimonials of their life and conversation. But others give a different account of this; which I shall more nicely examine, when I come to speak of the discipline of the Church, under which head the *communio peregrina* will come to be considered, as a species of ecclesiastical censure.

SECT. IV.—*The Clergy obliged to end all their own Controversies among themselves.*

A third instance of respect, which the clergy showed to one another, was, that if any controversies happened among themselves, they freely consented to have them determined by their bishops and councils, without having recourse to the secular magistrate for justice. Bishops, as I have had occasion to show^{ll} before, were anciently authorized, by the imperial laws, to hear and determine secular pecuniary causes, even among laymen, when both the litigants would agree, upon compromise, to take them for arbitrators. But, among the clergy, there needed no such particular compromise; but, by the rules and canons of the Church, they were brought under a general obligation not to molest one another before a secular magistrate, but to end all their controversies under the cognizance of an ecclesiastical tribunal. The case was somewhat different, when a layman and a clergyman had occasion to go to law together; for, then the layman was at liberty to choose his court, and was not obliged to refer his cause to any ecclesiastical judge, unless, by compromise, he brought himself under such an obligation. For so the imperial laws^m, in this case, had provided; though in France, in the time of the Gothic kings, it was otherwise: for laymen there were not to sue a clerk in a secular court, without the bishop's permission; as appears from a canon of the Councilⁿ of Agde, made under Alaric,

^{ll} Book ii. chap. vii.

^m Valentin. Novel. xii. ad calcem Cod. Th.: In clerico petitore consequens erit, ut secundum leges pulsati forum sequatur, si adversarius suus ad episcopi vel presbyteri audientiam non prestat adsensum.

ⁿ Conc. Agathens. c. xxxii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1388. D.) Clericus ne quinquam præsumat apud sæcularem judicem, episcopo non permittente, pulsare. Sed si pulsatus fuerit, [non] respondeat, nec [non] proponat, nec audcat criminale negotium in judicio sæculari proponere.

an. 506, which equally forbids a clergyman to sue a layman in a secular court, or to answer to any action brought against him there, without the bishop's permission. But, whatever difference there was betwixt the Roman and Gothic laws in this particular, it is evident, that, as to any controversies arising among the clergy themselves, they were to be determined before ecclesiastical judges; as appears from a canon of the Council of Chalcedon, which is in these words^o—"If any clergyman hath a controversy with another, he shall not leave his own bishop, and betake himself to any secular court, but first have a hearing before his own bishop, or such arbitrators as both parties should choose, with the bishop's approbation; otherwise he should be liable to canonical censure." Which censure, in the African Church, was the loss of his place, whether he were bishop, presbyter, or deacon, or any other inferior clerk, that declined the sentence of an ecclesiastical court, either in a civil or criminal cause, and betook himself to a secular court for justice. Though he carried his cause, and sentence were given on his side, in a criminal action, yet he was to be deposed: or, if it was a civil cause, he must lose whatever advantage he gained by the action, as the third Council of Carthage^p in this case determined; because he despised the whole Church, in that he could not confide in any ecclesiastical persons to be his judges. Many other councils determined the same thing, as that of Vannes^q, Chalons^r, and

^o Concil. Chalced. c. ix. (tom. iv. Conc. p. 759. C.) Εἰ τις κληρικός πρὸς κληρικὸν πρᾶγμα ἔχει, μὴ καταλιμπανέτω τὸν οἰκίον ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ ἐπὶ κοσμικὰ δικαστήρια κατατρεχέτω· ἀλλὰ πρότερον τὴν ὑπόθεσιν γυμναζέτω παρὰ τῷ ἰδίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ, ἢ γοῦν γνώμῃ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, παρ' οἷς ἂν τὰ ἀμφοτέρα μέρη βούλῃται, τὰ τῆς δίκης συγκροτεῖσθω. εἰ δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσει, κανονικοῖς ὑποκείσθω ἐπιτιμίοις.

^p Conc. Carth. iii. c. x. (vol. ii. p. 1168.) Quisquis episcoporum, presbyterorum, et diaconorum seu clericorum, cum in ecclesia ei crimen fuerit intentatum, vel civilis causa fuerit commota, si relicto ecclesiastico iudicio, publicis judiciis purgari voluerit, etiamsi pro ipso prolata fuerit sententia, locum suum amittat, et hoc in criminali iudicio. In civili vero perdat quod evicit, si locum suum obtinere voluerit, &c.

^q Conc. Venetic. c. ix. (tom. vi. p. 1056.) Clericis, nisi ex permissu episcoporum suorum, sæcularia iudicia adire non liceat.

^r Conc. Cabillon. i. c. xi. (tom. vi. pp. 389, 390. E.) Pervenit ad sanctam synodum, quod iudices publici contra veternam consuetudinem per omnes parochias, vel monasteria, quæ mos est episcopis circuire, ipsi illicita præsumptione

Mascon^{*}. And the Council of Milevis[†] decreed, that no one should petition the emperor to assign him secular judges, but only ecclesiastical, under pain of deprivation. So great confidence did the clergy generally place in one another, and pay such a deference to the wisdom, integrity, and judgment of their brethren, that it was then thought they had no need to have recourse to secular courts for justice, but they were willing to determine all controversies of their own among themselves. And, as the imperial laws did not hinder this, but encourage it, so we seldom find any ecclesiastics inclined to oppose it, but either some factious and turbulent men, or such whose crimes had made them so obnoxious, that they had reason to dread an ecclesiastical censure.

SECT. V.—*What Care was taken in receiving Accusations against the Bishops and Clergy of the Church.*

I shall but observe one thing more upon this head, which is, the great care the clergy had of the reputation and character of one another; which, being a sacred and necessary thing in persons of their function, they did not think fit to let it be exposed to the malicious calumnies and slanders of every base and false accuser. But, first, in all accusations, especially against bishops, the testimony of two or three witnesses was required, according to the rule of the apostle. Therefore, when the synod of Antioch proceeded to condemn Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, upon a single testimony, the

videantur discurrere; etiam et clericos vel abbates, ut eis præparent, invitos atque districtos ante se faciant exhiberi: quod omnimodis nec religioni convenit, nec canonum permittit auctoritas. Unde omnes unanimiter censuimus sentientes, ut deinceps ista debeant emendare: et si præsumptione, vel potestate qua pollent, excepta invitatione abbatis vel archipresbyteri, in ipsa monasteria vel parochias aliquid fortasse præsumserint, a communione omnium sacerdotum eos convenit sequestrari.

^{*} Conc. Matiscon. c. viii. (tom. v. p. 968. D.) Ut nullus clericus ad judicem sæcularem quemcumque alium fratrem de clericis accusare, aut ad causam dicendam trahere quocumque modo præsumat; sed omne negotium clericorum, aut in episcopi sui, aut in presbyterorum, vel archidiaconi præsentia finiatur. Quod si quicumque clericus hoc implere distulerit, si junior fuerit, uno minus de quadraginta ictus accipiat; sin certe honorator, triginta dierum conclusione multetur.

[†] Conc. Milevet. c. xix. (tom. ii. p. 1542.) Placuit, ut quicumque ab imperatore cognitionem judiciorum publicorum petierit, honore proprio privetur. Si autem episcopale iudicium ab imperatore postulaverit, nihil ei obsit.

historian censures it^u as an arbitrary proceeding in them against that apostolical canon—"Receive not an accusation against an elder, but before two or three witnesses." Secondly, the character of the witnesses was to be examined, before their testimony was to be allowed of. An heretic was not to give evidence against a bishop, as may be collected from those canons which bear the name of the apostles, one of which joins these two things together—"Receive^x not an heretic to testify against a bishop, nor a single witness, though he be one of the faithful; for, the law saith, in the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established." Athanasius pleaded the privilege of this law, when he was accused, for suffering Macarius, his presbyter, to break the communion cup: he urged^y, that his accusers were Meletians, who ought not to be credited, being schismatics, and enemies of the Church. By the second Council of Carthage, not only heretics, but any others that were known to be guilty^z of scandalous crimes, were to be rejected from giving testimony against any elder of the Church. The first general Council of Constantinople distinguishes the causes upon which an accusation might be brought against a bishop: for a man might have a private cause of complaint against him, as that he was defrauded in his property,

^u Theod. lib. i. c. xxi. (Aug. Tur. 1748. p. 47. B.) 'Εκείνης μηδένα σχεῖν μέρος τῆς κατηγορίας λεγούσης, ὅρκον προὔτειναν οἱ δικαιοτάτοι δικασταὶ καίτοι τοῦ νόμου διαρρήδην βοῶντος, ἐπὶ δύο καὶ τριῶν μαρτύρων εἶναι βέβαια τὰ λεγόμενα· καὶ ἀντικρυς τοῦ ἀποστόλου κελεύοντος, μὴ δὲ κατὰ πρεσβυτέρου γινομένην γραφὴν δίχα δύο ἢ τριῶν μαρτύρων προσδέχσθαι· ἀλλὰ τῶν θείων οὗτοι νόμων καταφρονήσαντες, ἀμάρτυρον κατ' ἀνδρὸς τοσούτου κατηγορίαν ἰδείξαντο· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἷς εἶπεν ἐκείνη τὸν ὅρκον προστίθεικε, βοῶσα ἡ μὴν Εὐσταθίου τὸ βρέφος εἶναι, ὡς κατὰ μοιχοῦ λοιπὸν οἱ φιλαλήθεις τὴν ψῆφον ἐξήνεγκαν, κ. τ. λ.

^x Canon. Apost. c. lxxiv. (tom. i. p. 41.) Εἰς μαρτυρίαν τὴν κατ' ἐπισκόπου αἰρετικὸν μὴ προσδέχσθαι, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ πιστῶν ἓνα μόνον· ἐπὶ στόματος γὰρ δύο ἢ τριῶν μαρτύρων σταθίσεται πᾶν ῥῆμα.

^y Athan. Apol. ad Constant. (p. 295. C. edit. Par. 1698.) Προσθήκη πρὸς φανεράν ἀπόδειξιν, αἱ καταξίωσης μαθεῖν, ὅτι παρόντων μὲν ἡμῶν, οὐδὲν ἀπίδειξαν οἱ κατηγοροῦντες κατὰ Μακαρίου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου· ἀπόντων δὲ ἡμῶν, κατὰ μόνας ἔπραξαν ἄπερ ἠθέλησαν· τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα προηγουμένως μὲν ὁ θεῖος νόμος, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι νόμοι μηδεμίαν ἔχειν δύναμιν ἀπέφηναντο.

^z Conc. Carth. ii. c. vi. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 1160. E.) Placet ut is, qui aliquibus sceleribus irretitus est, vocem adversus majores natu non habeat accusandi.

or in any the like case injured by him: in which case, his accusation was to be heard, without considering at all the quality of the person, or his religion. For a bishop was to keep a good conscience; and any man that complained of being injured by him, was to have justice done him, whatever religion he was of. But if the crime was purely ecclesiastical that was alleged against him, then the personal qualities of the accusers were to be examined: so that no heretics should be allowed to accuse^a orthodox bishops in causes ecclesiastical: nor any excommunicate persons, before they had first made satisfaction for their own crimes; nor any who were impeached of crimes, of which they had not proved themselves innocent. The Council of Chalcedon^b adds, that no clergyman or layman should be admitted to impeach a bishop or a clerk, till his own reputation and character were first inquired into, and fully examined. So careful were they, in this matter, not to expose the credit of the clergy to the malicious designs or wicked conspiracies of any profligate wretches, whom malice or bribery might induce to accuse them. Thirdly, in case of false accusation, whether public or private, the penalty against the offender was very severe. "If any clergyman," says one^c of the apostolical canons, "unjustly reproach a bishop, he shall be deposed: for, it is written, thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people." And by a canon^d of the Council of

^a Conc. Constant. General. i. c. vi. (tom. ii. p. 950. B.) *Εἰ ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ἐστὶ τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον ἐγκλημα τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, τότε δοκιμάζεσθαι χρὴ τῶν κατηγορούντων τὰ πρόσωπα· ἵνα πρῶτον μὲν αἰρετικοῖς μὴ ἐξ ἡ κατηγορίας κατὰ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων ἐπισκόπων ὑπὲρ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων ποιέισθαι· . . . ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ εἰ τινες τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπὶ αἰτίαις τισὶ προκατεγνωσμένοι εἴεν καὶ ἀποβιβλημένοι, ἢ ἀκοινωνῆται . . . μὴδὲ τούτοις ἐξεῖναι κατηγορεῖν ἐπισκόπου, πρὶν ἂν τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐγκλημα πρότερον ἀποδύσωνται· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ κατηγορίαν προλαβοῦσαν ὄντας, μὴ πρότερον εἶναι δεκτοὺς εἰς ἐπισκόπου κατηγορίαν, ἢ ἐτέρων κληρικῶν, πρὶν ἂν ἀψόους ἐυνουτοὺς τῶν ἐπαχθέντων αὐτοῖς ἀποδείξωσιν ἐγκλημάτων.*

^b Conc. Chalced. c. xxi. (tom. iv. p. 766.) *Κληρικούς, ἢ λαϊκοὺς, κατηγοροῦντας ἐπισκόπων, ἢ κληρικῶν, ἀπλῶς καὶ ἀδοκιμάστως μὴ προσδέχεσθαι, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἐξετασθῇ αὐτῶν ἡ ὑπόληψις.*

^c Canon. Apost. c. xlvii. (tom. i. Conc. Can. liv. p. 38. C.) *Εἰ τις κληρικὸς ὑβρίζει τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, καθαιρεῖσθω· ἄρχοντα γὰρ τοῦ λαοῦ σου οὐκ ἔρις κακῶς.*

^d Conc. Eliber. c. lxxv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 978. D.) *Si quis episcopum, vel*

Eliberis, for any man to charge a bishop, presbyter, or deacon, with a false crime, which he could not make good against them, was excommunicated, without hopes of reconciliation at the hour of death: which was the usual penalty that was inflicted by that Council upon very great and notorious offenders; for which some have censured the Spanish Church as guilty of Novatianism, but without reason, as I shall show, when I come to discourse of the discipline of the Church. Here it may be sufficient to observe, that they thought this crime one of the first magnitude; since they refused to give the external peace of the Church to such offenders, even at their last hour. Many other instances of the like respect might here be added; but, by these few, the reader will be able to judge, with what candour and civility the clergy of the primitive Church were obliged to receive and treat one another. And it would have been happy for all ages, had they walked in the same steps, and copied after so good an example.

CHAPTER II.

INSTANCES OF RESPECT SHOWED TO THE CLERGY BY THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT—WHERE PARTICULARLY OF THEIR EXEMPTION FROM THE COGNIZANCE OF THE SECULAR COURTS IN ECCLESIASTICAL CAUSES.

SECT. I.—*Bishops not to be called into any Secular Court to give their Testimony.*

NEXT to the respect which the clergy showed to one another, it will be proper to speak of the honours which were done them by the civil magistrates; which were more or less, according as either the inclination and piety of the emperors led them, or as the state of the times required. These honours chiefly consisted in exempting them from some sort of obligations to which others were liable; and in granting them certain privileges and immunities, which others did not enjoy. Of this kind, was that instance of respect, which, by

presbyterum, aut diaconum, falsis criminibus appetierit, et probare non potuerit, nec in fine dandam ei communionem.

the laws of Justinian, was granted to all bishops, that no secular judge could compel^a them to appear in a public court to give their testimony before him, but he should send one of his officers to take it from their mouth in private. This law is also repeated in the Justinian^b code, and there said to be enacted first by Theodosius the Great, a law of whose is still extant in the same words in the Theodosian code^c. But Gothofred will have it, that this law, as first enacted by Theodosius, meant no more than to exempt the clergy from being bound to give an account to the civil magistrates, of what judgments or sentences they passed upon any secular causes, that were referred to their arbitration. And, indeed, it is evident that the law terms, *ad testimonium devocari*, and *εἰς μαρτυρίαν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι*, are taken in this sense by the African fathers, in the fifth Council of Carthage; where it was agreed^d to petition the emperors to make a decree, that if any persons referred a civil cause to the arbitration of the Church, and one of the parties chanced to be displeased with the decision or sentence that was given against him, it should not be lawful to draw the clergyman, who was judge in the cause, into any secular court, to make him give any testimony or account of his determination. This was not intended to exempt clergymen in general from being called to be witnesses in a secular court; but only to free them from the prosecutions of vexatious and troublesome men, who, when they had

^a Justin. Novel. cxiii. c. vii. (p. 170.) Οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐξίσται τοὺς θεοφιλεστάτους ἐπισκόπους ἀναγκάζειν εἰς δικαστήριον παραγενέσθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ νεῖμαι μαρτυρίαν· ἀλλ' ὁ δικαστὴς πεμπέτω πρὸς αὐτοὺς τινὰς ἐκ τῶν προσώπων τῶν ὑπηρετουμένων αὐτῷ, ἵνα προκειμένων τῶν ἁγίων εὐαγγελίων, κατὰ τὸ πρέπον ἱερεῖσι, εἰπωσι ἅπερ γινώσκουσιν.

^b Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. iii. de Episc. leg. vii. (p. 11.) Imperator Theodosius dixit, nec honore nec legibus episcopus ad testimonium [dicendum] flagitetur.

^c Cod. Th. lib. xi. tit. xxxix. de Fide Testium, leg. viii.

^d Conc. Carthag. v. c. i. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 1215.) It. Cod. Can. Afric. c. lix. (ibid. p. 1086. C.) Δεῖ αἰτῆσαι ἑπὶ μῆν, ἵνα ὀρίσαι καταξιώσωσιν, ὥστε ἐάν τινες ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ οἰανδήποτε αἰτίαν ἀποστολικῇ δικαίῃ τῷ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐπικειμένῳ γυμνάσαι θελήσωσι, καὶ ἴσως ἡ τομὴ τῶν κληρικῶν τῷ ἐνὶ μέρει ἀπαρέσοι, μὴ ἐξῆναι πρὸς δικαστήριον εἰς μαρτυρίαν προσκαλεῖσθαι τὸν κληρικὸν ἐκείνον τὸν πρότερον τὸ αὐτὸ πρᾶγμα σκοπῆσαντα, ἢ καὶ σκοπουμένῳ παρατυχόντα· καὶ ἵνα μὴδὲ προσώπῃ τις ἐκκλησιαστικῇ προσήκων ἐναχθεῖη περὶ τοῦ ὀφείλειν μαρτυρεῖν. Et Conc. vulgo dict. Africanum, c. xxxvi. (tom. ii. Concil. p. 1649.)

chosen them for their arbitrators, would not stand to their arbitration, but prosecuted them in the civil courts, as if they had given a partial sentence against them: and though it was contrary to the law to give them any such trouble (because, as I have showed^{dd} in another place, all such determinations were to be absolutely decisive and final, without appeal); yet, it is probable, some secular judges in Afric might give encouragement to such prosecutions: which made the African fathers complain of the grievance, and desire to have it redressed, in the forementioned canon, to which Gothofred thinks the law of Theodosius refers. But whether the law of Theodosius be thus to be limited, is a matter that may admit of further inquiry. Gothofred himself confesses, that Justinian took it in a larger sense; and that is enough for me to found this privilege of bishops upon, that they were not to be called into a secular court, to give their testimony there in any case whatsoever.

SECT. II.—*Nor obliged to give their Testimony upon Oath, by the Laws of Justinian.*

Another privilege of this kind, which also argued great respect paid to bishops, was, that when their testimony was taken in private, they were not obliged to give it upon oath, as other witnesses were, but only upon their word, as became the priests of God, laying the holy gospels before them. For the same law of Justinian^e, which grants them the former privilege, enacted this in their favour and behalf also. And in pursuance of that law, probably, the Council of Tribur, some ages after^f, decreed, that no presbyter should be questioned upon oath; but, instead of that, only to be interrogated upon his consecration; because it did not become a priest to swear upon a light cause. But it does not appear that this indulgence was granted to bishops before the time of Jus-

^{dd} Book ii. chap. vii. sec. iii. and iv.

^e Justin. Novel. cxliii. c. vii. (p. 170.) *Propositis SS. evangelis, secundum quod decet sacerdotes, dicant quod noverint, non tamen jurent.*

^f Concil. Tribur. c. xxi. (tom. ix. Conc. p. 452.) *Presbyter, vice juramenti, per sanctam consecrationem interrogetur; quia sacerdotes ex levi causa jurare non debent.*

tinian : for the Council of Chalcedon^a exacted an oath, in a certain case, of the Egyptian bishops ; and the Council of Tyre^b required the same of Ibas, bishop of Edessa. And there are many other instances of the like nature.

SECT. III.—*Whether the single Evidence of one Bishop was good in Law against the Testimony of many others.*

Constantine the Great granted many privileges to the clergy ; but there are some that go under his name, which were certainly never granted by him : as his famed donation to the bishops of Rome, which Baronius¹ himself gives up for a forgery, and De Marca^k and Pagi^l prove it to be a spurious fiction of the ninth century, invented most probably by the same Isidore Mercator, who forged the Decretal Epistles of the ancient bishops of Rome. There are other privileges

^a Conc. Chalced. act. iv. (tom. iv. p. 517. C.) Μίνοντες ἐπὶ τοῦ οικείου σχήματος οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ἡ ἐγγύς παρέξουσιν, εἰ τοῦτο αὐτοῖς δυνατόν, ἡ ἐξωμοσία καταπιστευθήσονται, ἀναμένοντες τὴν χειροτονίαν τοῦ ἐσομένου ἐπισκόπου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείων μεγαλοπόλεως.

^b Conc. Tyr. in act. ix. Conc. Chalced. (ibid. p. 630. E.) Πρὸς τοῦτο ἀπητήσαμεν ἡμεῖς λόγον (al. ὅρον) τὸν θεοσεβέστατον ἐπίσκοπον Ἰβαν, ὡς πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ παρόντι πράγματι λυπήσασιν αὐτὸν, ἡ ῥόξασιν ἀντιπράττειν, ἀμνηστίαν ἑωρεῖσθαι.

ⁱ Baron. an. ccxxiv. n. cxviii. (Venet. vol. iii. p. 217.) Jam reliquum foret, ut . . . de vulgata illa omnium ore ageremus ejusdem Constantini donatione tot tantisque controversiis agitata : sed parcimus, quod nihil præter illa, quæ ab aliis dicta sint, adferre possumus, et eadem repetere, sit onerosum atque pariter otiosum ; cum liberum sit cuique, quæ eo argumento a pluribus sunt scripta, consulere.

^k Marca de Concord. lib. vi. c. vi. n. vi. Alterum, quod mihi observasse videor notatu dignum, nempe pallium esse genus quoddam imperatorii indumenti, cujus usum imperatores permisere patriarchis, videri prima fronte posset audaciæ plenum nisi fidejussores optimos darem. Ecclesia namque Romana ita esse, fatetur, quæ Constantini donationem, ubi scriptum est, pallium Romano pontifici tributum beneficio istius imperatoris, decreto Gratiani insertam suscepit. Adsentior sane viris eruditis, qui donationem illam falsi arguunt, eo in primis argumento, quod a Constantino facta esse dicatur.

^l Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. ccxxiv. n. xiii. (Lucæ, vol. iv. p. 68, at bottom.) (n. xvi. edit. Antwerp. 1705.) Donatio Constantini prorsus supposititia, ut fere inter eruditos convenit. . . . Videtur donatio illa ab Isidoro Mercatore cum veterum pontificum pseudographis epistolis supposita. Convenit enim Isidori ingenio, stylo et characteri scribendi plane squalido, ac denique rationi temporis, quo primum audita, Carolo scilicet Magno imperante ; cum laudetur ab Hincmaro episcopo Rhemensis, qui tunc floruit.

fathered upon Constantine, which, though not such manifest forgeries as the former, are yet, by learned men, reputed of a doubtful nature; such as that which is comprised in a law under the name of Constantine^m at the end of the Theodosian code, where all judges are commanded to take the single evidence of one bishop as good in law against all others whatsoever. Gothofred is of opinion, that this whole title in the Theodosian code is spurious; and for this law in particular, there are two arguments that seem to prove it not genuine. First, because Constantine himself, in another lawⁿ, says, “the testimony of a single witness should not be heard in any case, no, not though the witness be a senator.” Secondly, because the ecclesiastical laws, as well as the civil, require two witnesses; as has been noted in the last chapter. Which, I think, are sufficient arguments to prove, that no such extravagant privileges could be granted to bishops by Constantine: but I leave the reader to judge for himself, if he can find better arguments to the contrary.

SECT. IV.—*Presbyters privileged against being questioned by Torture, as other Witnesses were.*

We have better proof for another privilege that we find granted to presbyters, which was, that if any of them were called to give testimony in a public court, they should not be examined by scourging or torture, as the law directed in other cases: for, by the Roman laws, witnesses might be examined upon the rack, in some cases, to make them declare the whole truth; as we learn not only from the laws^o themselves, but from St. Austin^p, and Synesius^q, who mentions several new

^m Cod. Th. lib. xvi. tit. xii. de Episc. Audient. leg. i. Testimonium etiam ab uno licet episcopo perhibitum, omnes iudices indubitanter accipiant, nec alius audiatur, cum testimonium episcopi a qualibet parte fuerit repromissum.

ⁿ Ibid. lib. xi. tit. xxxix. de Fide Testium, leg. iii. Sancimus, ut unus omnino testis responsio non audiatur, etiamsi præclaræ curiæ honore præfulgeat.

^o Vid. Cod. Justin. lib. ix. tit. xli. de Questionibus, tot. Cod. Theod. lib. xiii. tit. ix. de Naufragiis, leg. ii. Si quando causatio est de impetu procellarum, medium ex his nautis numerum navicularius exhibeat questionem, quos eum in navi, pro modo capacitatis, constat habuisse, quo eorum tormentis plenior veritas possit inquiri.

^p Augustin. Sermon. xlix. de Divers. (Bened. vol. v. p. 1382. F.) (tom. x. p. 520.) (tom. x. Sermon. lii. ad Fratres in Eremito, p. 1398. C. edit. Basil. 1569.)

sorts of torture, which Andronicus, the tyrannical prefect of Ptolemais, invented beyond what the law directed. But now nothing of this kind could be imposed upon any presbyter of the Church: for they were exempted from it by a law of Theodosius the Great, which is still extant in both the codes^r; by which it also appears, that it was a peculiar privilege granted to bishops and presbyters, but to none below them: for the rest of the clergy are excepted, and left to the common way of examination, which, in other cases, the law directed to be used.

SECT. V.—*The Clergy exempt from the Ordinary Cognizance of the Secular Courts in all Ecclesiastical Causes.*

But the next privilege I am to mention, was a more universal one, that extended to all the clergy; which was their exemption from the ordinary cognizance of the secular courts in several sorts of causes. To understand this matter aright, we must carefully distinguish two things. First, the different kinds of causes in which the clergy might be concerned; and, secondly, the different powers of the inferior courts from that of the supreme magistrate, who was invested with a peculiar prerogative-power above them. The want of attending to which distinctions, is the thing

Navicularium nolui esse ecclesiam Christi. Multi sunt quidem, qui etiam de navibus acquirunt. Tamen una tentatio esset, iret navis et naufragaret: homines ad tormenta daturi eramus, ut de submersione navis secundum consuetudinum quaereretur, et torquerentur a iudice, qui essent de fluctibus liberati!

^r Synes. ep. lviii. (Lut. Paris. 1640. p. 201. B.) 'Ανδρόνικον τὸν Βερονικέα τὸν κατὰ Πενταπόλεως μοίρα, καὶ φύντα, καὶ τραφέντα, καὶ αὐξηθέντα, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐνεγκούσης αὐτὸν ὠνησάμενον, μήτε ἡγείσθω τις, μήτε καλείτω Χριστιανόν· ἀλλ' ὥς ἀλιτήριος ὢν τοῦ Θεοῦ, πάσης ἐκκλησίας ἀπεληλάσθω πανίστιος· οὐ διότι γέγονε Πενταπόλεως ἐσχάτῃ πληγῇ, μετὰ σεισμόν, μετὰ ἀκρίδα, μετὰ λοιμόν, μετὰ πῦρ, μετὰ πόλεμον, ἐπεξελθὼν ἀκριβῶς τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐγκαταλείμμασιν, ἄτοπα κολαστηρίων ὀργάνων γένη καὶ σχήματα πρῶτος εἰς τὴν χώραν εἰσνεγκὼν (εἶη δὲ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι καὶ μένος χρησάμενος) δακτυλήθραν, καὶ ποδοστράβην, καὶ πιεστηρίον, καὶ ρινολαβίδα, καὶ ὠτάγραν, καὶ χειλοστροφίον· ὧν οἱ προλαβόντες τὴν πείραν τε καὶ τὴν θίαν, καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ προαπολόμενοι, παρὰ τῶν κακῶς περισθεθέντων ἐμακαρίσθησαν, κ. τ. λ.

^r Cod. Theod. lib. xi. tit. xxxix. de Fide Testium, leg. x. Presbyteri citra injuriam quæstionis testimonium dicant; ita tamen, ut falsa non simulent. Cæteri vero clerici, qui eorum gradum vel ordinem subsequuntur, si ad testimonium dicendum petiti fuerint, prout leges præcipiunt, audiantur. Vid. Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. iii. leg. viii.

that has bred so much confusion in modern authors upon this subject, and especially in the Romish writers, many of which are intolerably partial in their accounts; and highly injurious to the civil magistrates, under pretence of asserting and maintaining the rights and liberties of the church. In the first place, therefore, to have a right understanding in this matter, we must distinguish the several sorts of causes in which ecclesiastical persons might be concerned. Now, these were of four kinds. First, Such as related to matters purely ecclesiastical; as crimes committed against the faith, or canons and discipline and good order of the church, which were to be punished with ecclesiastical censures. Secondly, Such as related to mere civil and pecuniary matters between a clergyman and a layman. Thirdly, Such as related to political matters; as gross and scandalous crimes committed against the laws, and to the detriment of the commonwealth, as treason, rebellion, robbery, murder, and the like, which in the laws are called *atrocia delicta*. Fourthly, Such as related to lesser crimes of the same nature, which the law calls *levia delicta*, small or petty offences. Now, according to this distinction of causes, the clergy were or were not exempt from the cognizance of the civil courts, by the laws of the Roman empire. In all matters, that were purely ecclesiastical, they were absolutely exempt; as Gothofred*, the great civilian, scruples not to own: for all causes of that nature were reserved to the hearing of bishops and their councils, not only by the canons of the church, but the laws of the state also.

* Gothofr. Comment. in Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. leg. xxiii. De causis ecclesiasticis, τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικά ζητήματα apud Basilium, id est, in quibus de religione agitur, seu in causa fidei, ut Valentinianus sen., imperatoris nostri pater, in hac ipsa re lege sua dicebat, teste Ambrosio (ep. xxxii. in princ.) dubium nullum est, eas coram episcopis et synodis dioceseon audiri oportere non vero δημοσίους δικαστηρίους ecclesiasticos σπηλιτεύεσθαι: item, dubium nullum est, causas ecclesiasticas alicujus ordinis, ut et delicta ecclesiasticorum proprie contra disciplinam ecclesiasticam et ordinem admissa, ibidem agitata, qui ecclesiastica ἐγκλήματα seu ἁμαρτήματα delicta dicuntur can. vi. Concilii Constantinopolitani et Novella Justiniani lxxxiii. c. i.—quæ scilicet poenis canonicis, atque in his exauctorazione—communione privatione exercentur.

SECT. VI.—*This evidenced from the Laws of Constantius.*

This may be evidenced from the rescripts of several emperors successively one after another, most of which are extant in both the codes. Constantius (an. 355) published a law^t, wherein he prohibited any accusation to be brought against a bishop before a secular magistrate; but if any one had any complaint against him, his cause should be heard and tried by a synod of bishops. This, at least, must signify in ecclesiastical causes; though Gothofred and some others say, it extended also to civil and criminal causes; and that, though it looked like a privilege, yet it was intended as a snare to the Catholic bishops, to oppress them by his Arian synods, in those times when the majority of bishops in any synod were commonly such as favoured the Arian party; and a Catholic bishop might expect more favour and justice from a secular court than from them; but whether this law extended to all civil and criminal causes, is not very easy to determine; thus much is certain, that, if it did, it was not long after in that part revoked, whilst in the other part it stood good, and was confirmed by the laws of the succeeding emperors.

SECT. VII.—*And those of Valentinian and Gratian.*

For Valentinian granted the clergy the same immunity in all the ecclesiastical causes; as appears from what St. Ambrose writes to the younger Valentinian concerning his father, saying, "Your father, of august memory^u, did not only say it in words, but enacted it into a law, that, in matters of faith and ecclesiastical orders, they ought to judge who were qualified by their office, and of the same order. For those are the words of his rescript; that is, he would have priests to judge of priests." This law is not now extant in

^t Cod. Th. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. leg. xii. Mansuetudinis nostræ lege prohibemus in judiciis episcopos accusari.—Si quid est igitur querelarum, quod quispiam defert, apud alios potissimum episcopos convenit explorari, &c.

^u Ambros. Ep. xxxii. (Paris. 1836. vol. iv. p. 271.) Augustæ memoriæ pater tuus non solum sermone respondit, sed etiam legibus suis sanxit: In causa fidei, vel ecclesiastici alicujus ordinis, eum judicare debere qui nec munere impar sit, nec jure dissimilis: hæc enim verba rescripti sunt; hoc est, sacerdotes de sacerdotibus voluit judicare.

the code; but there is another of Valentinian and Gratian to the same purpose; wherein it is decreed[¶], "That the same custom should be observed in ecclesiastical business as was in civil causes: that if there arose any controversies about matters of religion, either from dissensions of men, or other small offences, they should be heard and determined in the places where they arose, or in the synod of the whole diocess: except only such criminal actions as were reserved to the hearing of the ordinary judges, the proconsuls and prefects of every province, or the extraordinary judges of the emperor's own appointing, or the illustrious powers," viz. the præfectus-prætorio of the diocess. Here it is plain, that though criminal actions against the state-laws are excepted, yet all matters ecclesiastical were to be heard by ecclesiastical judges, and no other.

SECT. VIII.—*And Theodosius the Great.*

In the last title of the Theodosian code, there is a law, under the name of Theodosius the Great, to the same purpose; wherein it is decreed that no bishop^{*}, nor any other minister of the church, shall be drawn into the civil courts of any ordinary or extraordinary judges about matters or causes of an ecclesiastical nature; because they have judges of their own, and laws distinct from those of the state. This law is cited in Gratian's decree, but the words, "*Quantum ad causas ecclesiasticas tamen pertinet*," are there[†] fraudulently left out, to serve the current doctrine and hypothesis of his own times; and make the reader believe, that the clergy anciently enjoyed an exemption not only in ecclesias-

[¶] Cod. Th. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. leg. xxiii. Qui mos est causarum civilium, iidem in negotiis ecclesiasticis obtinendi sunt: ut si qua sunt ex quibusdam dissensionibus, levibusque delictis, ad religionis observantiam pertinentia, locis suis, et a suæ dioceseos synodis audiantur: exceptis quæ actio criminalis ab ordinariis extraordinariisque iudicibus, aut illustribus potestatibus audientia (leg. audienda) constituit.

^{*} Ibid. lib. xvi. tit. xii. de Episc. Iudicio, leg. iii. Continua lege sancimus, ut nullus episcoporum, vel eorum qui ecclesiæ necessitatibus serviunt, ad iudicia sive ordinariorum sive extraordinariorum iudicium (quantum tamen ad causas ecclesiasticas pertinet) pertrahatur, &c.

[†] Gratian. Caus. xi. Quæst. i. c. v.

tical causes, but all others. I the rather mention this corruption, because none of the correctors of Gratian have taken any notice of it. The Roman censors silently pass it over, and it has escaped the diligence of Antonius Augustinus, and Baluzius also. Gothofred, indeed, questions the authority of the law itself; but I shall not stand to dispute that, since there is nothing in it contrary to the preceding laws, or those that followed after.

SECT. IX.—*And Arcadius and Honorius.*

For Arcadius and Honorius continued the same privilege to the clergy, confirming the ancient laws, that whenever any cause relating to religion was debated, the bishops^a were to be judges; but other causes, belonging to the cognizance of the ordinary judges, and the use of the common laws, were to be heard by them only.

SECT. X.—*And Valentinian III., and Justinian.*

Theodosius Junior, and Valentinian III., refer to this law of Honorius, as the standing law then in force concerning the immunities and liberties of the clergy, saying, in one of their decrees, “that^a bishops and presbyters had no court of secular laws, nor any power to judge of other causes, except such as related to religion, according to the constitutions of Arcadius and Honorius, inserted into the Theodosian code.” So that all the same laws, which denied them power in secular causes, allowed them the privilege of judging in ecclesiastical causes; and the very excepting of other causes is a manifest proof, that there was no contest made about these to the time of Justinian, who confirmed the privilege which so many of his predecessors had granted before him. For in one of his Novels^b we find it enacted, “that all ecclesiastical crimes,

^a Cod. Th. lib. xvi. tit. xi. de Religione, leg. i. Quoties de religione agitur, episcopus convenit judicare: cæteras vero causas, quæ ad ordinarios cognitores, vel ad usum publici juris pertinent, legibus oportet audiri.

^a Valentin. Novel. xii. ad calcem Cod. Theod. Constat episcopos et presbyteros forum legibus non habere: nec de aliis causis, secundum Arcadii et Honorii divalia constituta, quæ Theodosianum corpus ostendit, præter religionem posse cognoscere.

^b Justin. Novel. lxxxiii. c. i. (p. 118.) Εἰ μὲν τοι ἐκκλησιαστικὸν εἴη τὸ ἀμάρτημα, δέομενον σωφρονισμοῦ καὶ ἐπιτιμιῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, ὁ θεοφιλέστατος

which were to be punished with ecclesiastical penalties and censures, should be judged by the bishop; the provincial judges not intermeddling with them. For," saith he, "it is our pleasure, that such matters shall not be heard by the civil judges."

SECT. XI.—*The Clergy also exempt in lesser Criminal Causes.*

Gothofred is also of opinion^c, that some of the lesser criminal causes of ecclesiastics were to be determined by the bishops, and their synods likewise. For, in the forementioned law of Gratian (see before, sect. vii.) the *levia delicta*, or 'lesser crimes,' are reserved to the hearing of bishops. And St. Ambrose, having spoken of the decree of Valentinian that orders all ecclesiastical causes to be judged by bishops only, adds also, "that if, in other respects, a bishop was to be censured, and his morals^d came under examination, such causes as those, likewise, should appertain to the episcopal judgment." Which seems to put some distinction between ecclesiastical and civil criminal causes, and reserve both to the hearing of bishops and their synods. "But then," as Gothofred rightly observes, "this must only be understood of lesser criminal causes; for, in greater criminal actions, the clergy were liable to the cognizance of the secular judges, as well as all others," which is freely owned by De Marca, and some other ingenuous writers of the Romish Church. For De Marca^e quits the positions of Baronius and the canonists, and

ἐπίσκοπος τοῦτο κρινέτω, μηδὲν ἐπικοινωνούντων τῶν λαμπροτάτων ἀρχόντων τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν· οὐδὲ γὰρ βουλόμεθα τοιαύτας ὑποθέσεις ὅλως οὐδὲ γινώσκεισθαι τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἀρχουσι, ὅσον τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ ἐξετάζεσθαι, καὶ ἐπικαρποῦσθαι ψυχὰς τῶν ἀμαρτανόντων διὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἐπιτιμίων· κατὰ τοὺς ἱεροὺς καὶ θείους κανόνας, οἷς καὶ οἱ ἡμίτεροι κατακολουθεῖν οὐκ ἀπαξιοῦσι νόμοι.

^c Gothofred. Com. in Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. leg. xxiii. p. 54, circ. med. Quinimo et hac quoque constitutione Gratianus : puta, ut 'si delicta ecclesiasticorum levia sint,' et ex quibusdam dissensionibus circa religionem exorta, de re ad religionem pertinente, inquit interpretes, atque in negotia ecclesiastica incident, 'tum de hujusmodi delictis episcopi quoque judices esse possunt.'

^d Ambr. Ep. xxxii. Quinetiam si alias quoque argueretur episcopus, et morum esset examinanda causa, etiam hæc voluit ad episcopale judicium pertinere.

^e Marca Dissert. in Cap. Clericus, ad calcem Antonii Augustini de Emendat. Gratiani, p. 577 : In Codice Theodosiano, controversiæ quæ ad religionem per-

confesses, that, as it appears from the Theodosian code, that the ecclesiastical crimes, and lesser civil crimes, of the clergy, were left to the hearing of bishops, and the synods of every diocess or province; so the greater civil crimes of the clergy, which he reckons five in number, were reserved to the hearing of the public courts and civil judges; which, he says, appears from the laws published by Sirmondus, in his Appendix to the Theodosian Code.

SECT. XII.—*But not in greater Criminal Causes.*

Some reckon those laws to be of no very great authority; and, therefore, I shall rather choose to confirm this position from the undoubted laws which occur in the body of the Theodosian code; such as that of Theodosius and Gratian, which particularly excepts these greater^f criminal actions, and reserves them to the hearing of the ordinary or extraordinary judges, or the præfectus-prætorio of the diocess; and those other laws of Theodosius, and Arcadius, and Honorius, and Valentinian III., which have been cited in the foregoing sections,^g and need not here be repeated. To which we may add that law of the elder Valentinian, which orders^h all such ecclesiastics to be prosecuted in the civil courts, that were found guilty of creeping into the houses of widows and orphans, and so insinuating into their affections as to prevail upon them to disinherit their relations, and make them their heirs; and that other law of the Emperor Marcian, which, in criminal causes, exempts the clergy of Constantinople^h from the cog-

tinent, in quibus sunt crimina ecclesiastica, et minora delicta e civilium numero, episcopis et cujusque dioceseos sive provinciæ synodis relinquuntur: servata judiciis publicis atrocium criminum, quæ numero quinque, adversus clericos cognitione; ut docent leges aliquot editæ cura Sirmondi in Appendice Codicis Theodosiani.

^f Cod. Th. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. leg. xxiii. Exceptis quæ actio criminalis ab ordinariis extraordinariisque judicibus, aut illustribus potestatibus audienda constituit.

^g See sect. viii. ix. x.

^h Cod. Th. lib. xvi. tit. ii. leg. xx. Ecclesiastici . . . viduarum ac pupillarum domos non adeant: sed publicis exterminentur judiciis, si posthac eos affines earum vel propinqui putaverint deferendos.

^h Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. iii. de Episc. leg. xxv. (p. 13.) Actor in nullo alio foro, vel apud quemquam alterum judicem, eosdem clericos litibus irretire, et civilibus vel criminalibus negotiis tentet innectere.

nizance of all inferior courts, but not from the high court of the præfectus-prætorio of the royal city; which appears, also, to have been the practice at Rome. For Socrates¹ observes, that when, in the conflict which happened at the election of Pöpe Damasus, some persons were slain, many both of the laity and clergy, upon that account, were punished by Maximinus, who was then præfectus-prætorio at Rome. It appears further, from the Novels^k of Valentinian III., that in such criminal actions as those of murder, robbing of graves, or the like, bishops, as well as any other clerks, were bound to answer before the civil magistrate by their proctors. But Justinian a little enlarged the privilege with respect to bishops, making^l a decree, "that no one should draw a bishop, in any pecuniary or criminal cause, before a secular magistrate, against his will, unless the emperor gave particular order to do it." This was the plain state of the matter, as to what concerned the exemption of the clergy in this sort of criminal causes, notwithstanding what Baronius, or any others of that strain, have said to the contrary. Nay, some ages after, such crimes as murder, theft, and witchcraft, were brought before^m

¹ Socrat. lib. iv. c. xxix. (Reading, p. 213. A 8.) 'Εντεῦθεν συμπληγάδες τῶν ὀχλῶν ἰγίνοντο· ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τῆς παρατριβῆς πολλοὺς ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὺς λαϊκοὺς τε καὶ κληρικοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ τότε ἐπάρχου Μαξιμίνου τιμωρηθῆναι.

^k Valent. Novel. xv. de Sepulcr. Violat. ad calcem Cod. Theod. Quisquis ex hoc numero (clericorum) sepulcrorum violator exstiterit, illico clerici nomen amittat, et sic stylo proscriptionis addictus, perpetuo deportatione plectatur. Quod ita servari oportere censemus, ut nec ministris nec antistitibus sacræ religionis in tali causa statuamus esse parcendum. — Item Novel. xii. Quam formam etiam circa episcoporum personam observari oportere censemus. Ut si in hujusmodi ordinis homines actionem pervasionis et atrocium injuriarum dirigi necesse fuerit, per procuratorem solemniter ordinatum, apud judicem publicum inter leges et jura confligant.

^l Justin. Novel. cxiii. c. viii. (p. 170.) 'Αλλ' οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ τινος χρηματικῆς ἢ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς αἰτίας ἐπίσκοπον πρὸς ἄρχοντα πολιτικὸν ἢ στρατιωτικὸν ἄκοντα ἢ διάγεισθαι ἢ παρίστασθαι, δίχα βασιλικῆς κελεύσεως συγχωροῦμεν.

^m Conc. Matiscon. i. c. vii. (tom. v. Conc. p. 968. C.) Ut nullus clericus de qualibet causa extra discussionem episcopi sui, a sæculari judicio injuriam patiat, aut custodiæ deputetur. Quod si quicumque judex cujuscumque clericum, absque causa criminali, id est, homicidio, furto, aut maleficio, hoc facere fortasse præsumserit, quamdiu episcopo loci illius visum fuerit, ab ecclesiæ liminibus arceatur.

the secular judges in France, as appears from the Council of Mascon (an. 581).

SECT. XIII.—*Nor in any Pecuniary Causes with Laymen.*

The case was much the same in all civil pecuniary controversies which the clergy had with laymen. For, though they might end all such causes which they had one with another, in their own courts, or before a synod of bishops, and the canons obliged them so to do, as has been noted in the last^{mm} chapter; yet, if their controversy happened to be with a layman, the layman was not bound to refer the hearing of his cause to an ecclesiastical court, unless he voluntarily consented, by way of compromise, to take some ecclesiastical persons for his arbitrators. This is evident from one of the constitutions of Valentinian III., which says, “that, if the plaintiff was a layman, he might compel any clergyman with whom he had a civil contest to answer in a civil court, if heⁿ rather chose it.” And the Council of Epone^o, according to the reading of Sirmond’s edition, says the same—“that the clergy, if they were sued in a secular court, should make no scruple to follow the plaintiff thither.” But Justinian, at the instance of Mennas, patriarch of Constantinople, granted the clergy of the royal city a peculiar privilege, that, in all pecuniary matters^p, their cause should first be brought before the bishop; and, if the nature of the cause happened to be such that he could not determine it, then recourse might be had to

^{mm} Chap. i. sect. iv.

ⁿ Valent. Novel. xii. *Petitor laicus, seu in civili seu in criminali causa, ejuslibet loci clericum adversarium suum, si id magis eligat, per auctoritatem legitimam in publico judicio respondere compellat.*

^o Conc. Epæonens. c. xi. (vol. iv. 1577.) *Si pulsati fuerint, sequi ad sæculare judicium non morentur.* Yet note that other editions, as that of Crabbe and Binius, read it to a contrary sense: *Sequi ad sæculare judicium non præsumant.*

^p Justin. Novel. lxxxiii. (p. 118.) Ἠτήθημεν παρὰ Μηνᾶ τοῦ θεοφιλέστατου ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς εὐδαίμονος ταύτης πόλεως, καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου καὶ τοῖς ἐν λαβεστάτοις κληρικοῖς ταύτην δοῦναι τὴν προνομίαν, ὥστε εἴ τις ἔχοι τινα πρὸς αὐτοὺς χρηματικὴν εἰσπράξη, πρότερον παρὰ τὸν θεοφιλέστατον ἐπίσκοπον ἵεναι, τὸν ἐφ’ ὃν τελεῖ, καὶ ἐντυγχάνειν αὐτῷ . . . εἰ δὲ γε διὰ τὴν τοῦ πράγματος φύσιν, ἢ διὰ τινα ἴσως δυσκολίαν, οὐ γίνοιτο δυνατόν τῷ θεοφιλέστατῳ ἐπίσκοπῳ τεμεῖν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, τότε ἄδειαν εἶναι, καὶ παρὰ τοὺς πολιτικούς ἄρχοντας ἵεναι, κ. τ. λ.

the civil judges, but not otherwise.—From all which it appears, that, anciently, exemptions of this nature were not challenged as matters of divine right, but depended wholly upon the will and pleasure of Christian princes, however after ages came to put another kind of gloss upon them.

SECT. XIV.—*Of the necessary Distinction between the supreme and subordinate Magistrates in this Business of Exemptions.*

Nay, it must be observed, that even in ecclesiastical causes, a great difference was always observed between the power of the prince, or supreme magistrate, and that of the subordinate and inferior judges: for, though the ordinary judges were bound by the laws not to intermeddle with ecclesiastical causes, yet in some cases the prince himself interposed, and appointed extraordinary judges; and sometimes heard and decided the causes himself; or reversed the decisions of ecclesiastics by his sovereign power; which no ordinary judges were qualified to do. But this belongs to another subject, that will have a more proper place in this work, when we come to speak of the power of Christian Princes.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE IMMUNITIES OF THE CLERGY IN REFERENCE TO TAXES AND CIVIL OFFICES, AND OTHER BURDENSOME EMPLOYMENTS IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

SECT. I.—*No Divine Right pleaded by the ancient Clergy to exempt themselves from Taxes.*

ANOTHER privilege which the clergy enjoyed, by the favour of Christian princes, was, that in some certain cases, according to the exigency of times and places, they were exempt from some of the taxes that were laid upon the rest of the Roman empire. But, whatever they enjoyed of this kind, they did not pretend to as matter of divine right, but freely acknowledged it to be owing to the pious munificence and favour of

Christian emperors: therefore^a Baronius does them great injustice, and is guilty of very gross prevarication, in pretending that they claimed a freedom from tribute by the law of Christ; and that no emperor ever imposed any tax upon them, except only Julian the Apostate, and Valens the Arian, and the younger Valentinian, who was wholly governed by his mother, Justina, an Arian empress; that when St. Ambrose paid tribute under this Valentinian, he did it only out of his Christian meekness, not that he was otherwise under any obligation to have done it. How true this representation is, the reader may judge in part from the words of St. Ambrose, which are these^b:—"If the emperor demands tribute of us, we do not deny it—the lands of the church pay tribute. We pay to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; and to God the things that are God's. Tribute is Cæsar's, and therefore we do not refuse to pay it." This is so far from challenging any exemption by divine right, that it plainly asserts the contrary; as, in another place, he argues, that all men are under an obligation to pay tribute, because^c the Son of God himself paid it, Matt. xvii. 23. And yet Baronius cites^d that very passage of the evangelist to prove that the clergy are, '*jure divino*,' exempt, because our Saviour says, "Then are the children free." "For if," says he, "the children be free, much more so are the fathers; that is, the pastors, under whose care princes are." Bellarmin is much more ingenuous in handling this question; for he asserts^e against the canonists

^a Baron. an. 387, tom. iv. p. 538. (edit. 1654. pp. 548, 549. n. x-xv.)

^b Ambr. Orat. cont. Auxent. de Tradend. Basilicis, post ep. xxxii. Si tributum petit imperator, non negamus; agri ecclesiæ solvunt tributum.—Solvimus quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari, et quæ sunt Dei Deo. Tributum Cæsaris est, non negatur.

^c Ambros. lib. iv. in Luc. v. (Paris. 1836. vol. ii. p. 489.) (tom. iii. p. 35, edit. Colon. 1616): Magnum quidem est et spiritale documentum quod Christiani viri sublimioribus potestatibus docentur debere esse subjecti; ne quis constitutionem regis terreni putet esse solvendam. Si enim censum Dei Filius solvit, quis tu tantus es, qui non putes esse solvendum? Et ille censum solvit, qui nihil possidebat: tu autem qui sæculi sequeris lucrum, cur sæculi obsequium non recognoscas? Vid. hæc etiam apud Gratianum, caus. xi. quæst. i. c. xxviii.

^d Baron. an. 387. n. xii. p. 538 (548).

^e Bellarm. de Clericis, lib. i. c. xxviii. Exceptio clericorum in rebus politicis, tam quoad personas, quam quoad bona, jure humano introducta est, non divino. Hæc propositio est contra canonistas.—Grischovius, in the Latin edition of

(whose opinion Baronius labours to maintain), that "the exemption of the clergy in political matters, whether relating to their persons or their goods, was introduced by human right only, and not divine; and that, in fact, they were never exempted from any other but personal tribute till the time of Justinian, when they were freed from taxes upon their estates and possessions also." So little agreement is there betwixt these two great cardinals of the Romish Church in their accounts of this matter, either as to fact or right, that in every thing their assertions are, point blank, contrary to one another.

SECT. II.—*Yet generally excused from Personal Taxes, or Head-Money.*

To set the matter in a clear light, it will be necessary for me to give the reader a distinct account of the several sorts of tribute that were imposed upon subjects in the Roman empire, and to show how far the clergy were concerned in each of them; which will be best done by having recourse to the Theodosian code, where most of the laws relating to this affair are still extant. And this I shall the rather do, because

1751, has the following note on this passage:—"N.B. In editione Coloniensi 1615, et Pragensi nova, aliter prorsus hæc leguntur, quam Binghamus noster ea exhibet, nimirum ita: 'Exceptio clericorum introducta est jure humano pariter et divino.' Et addit ibi Bellarminus: 'Et quidem quod jure humano introducta sit, patet ex iis testimoniis, quæ attulimus in tertia et quarta propositione probanda. Quod autem sit etiam introducta jure divino, probandum est hoc loco. Sed antea tamen observandum est, nos per jus divinum non intelligere præceptum Dei proprie dictum, quod exstet expresse in sacris litteris; sed quod ab exemplis, vel testimoniis Testamenti Veteris, vel Novi, per quamdam similitudinem deduci possit. Atque hinc fortasse conciliari poterunt theologorum et jurisperitorum sententiæ. Illi enim cum negant exemptionem clericorum esse juris divini, præceptum divinum proprie dictum expresse in Scripturis exstare negant isti vero cum adfirmant: eandem exemptionem esse juris divini, id solum adfirmant, quod theologi minime negant, deduci per similitudinem ab exemplis et testimoniis sacræ Scripturæ, Deum voluisse, ut clerici et ipsorum bona libera essent a potestate et jurisdictione laicorum.' Paulo ante in propositione quarta hæc habet idem Bellarminus, ad quæ respexit auctor: 'Ubi tamen observandum est, ante Justiniani tempora, legibus priorum principum immunes fuisse clericos a tributis personalibus, ut etiam indicat S. Hieronymus in commentario ad e. xvii. Matth.: non tamen fuisse liberos a tributis, quæ pendi solent ratione possessionum, ut colligitur ex S. Ambrosio in oratione *De Tradendis Basilicis*, ubi dicit: "Agri ecclesiæ solvunt tributum;" et ex Theodoro lib. iv. Histor. c. vii. ubi scribit, Valentinianum seniore, in epistola ad episcopos Asiæ, illa verba posuisse: 'Boni episcopi tributa pensitant regibus.'"

Baronius makes use of the same authority, but with great partiality, dissembling every thing that would not serve the hypothesis he had undertaken to maintain.

Now, the first sort of tribute I shall take notice of, is that which is commonly called *census caputum* or 'personal tribute,' to distinguish it from *census agrorum*, or 'tribute arising from men's estates and possessions.' That the clergy were generally freed from this sort of tribute, is agreed on all hands; only Gothofred has a very singular notion about it. For, he asserts^f that, under the Christian emperors, there was no such tribute as this paid by any men; so, that the exemption of the clergy, in this case, was no peculiar privilege belonging to them, but only what they enjoyed in common with all other subjects of the Roman empire.—But, in this, that learned man seems evidently to be mistaken. For, first, he owns there was such a tribute under the heathen emperors, from which, as Ulpian^g relates, none were excused save only minors under fourteen, and persons superannuated, that is, above sixty-five: nor does he produce any law to show, when or by whom that tribute was ordered to be laid aside. Secondly, Theodosius Junior, the author of the Theodosian code, makes express mention of it, when, in one of his Novels^h, he dis-

^f Gothofred. Com. in Cod. Th. lib. xi. tit. i. de Annon. et Tribut. leg. xv. § Atque, &c. It. Comment. in lib. xiii. tit. x. de Censu, leg. iv. De immunitibus tribus personarum generibus a censu seu a plebeia capitatione, est hæc Valentiniani sen. constitutio, et quidem per Gallias, quod notandum: pariter ut altera l. 6 infr. quæ eundem Valentinianum auctorem habet, et ad eundem Viventium PP. data est: sic tamen ut illa ab hac in nonnullis recedat: mox ut ostendetur. Et sic pertinet hæc lex ad censum Gallicanum, pariter ut duæ leges proximæ 5, 6. Plerique vero interpretum id de tributo capitis, seu capitis censu, quod pro capite dabatur, accipiunt. De quo est sane lex 3, π. de Censibus: ubi similis quoque immunitas continetur. Ætatem in censendo significare necesse est, quia quibusdam ætas tribuit, ne tributo onerentur: veluti in Syriis a quatuordecim annis masculi, a duodecim feminæ, usque ad sexagesimum quintum annum, tributo capitis obligantur: ætas autem spectabatur censendi tempore. Verum quum nullum jam amplius hoc ævo capitis seu pro capite libero tributum usurparetur; est omnino hæc lex, ut et d. l. 6, accipienda de capitatione et jugatione pro capitibus et jugis seu possessionibus, &c.

^g Digest. lib. l. tit. xv. de Censibus, leg. iii. Quibusdam ætas tribuit, ne tributo onerentur: veluti in Syriis a quatuordecim annis masculi, a duodecim feminæ, usque ad sexagesimum quintum annum, tributo capitis onerentur.

^h Theod. Novel. xxi. Repetita clementiæ nostræ præceptione sancimus, ut antiquatis omnibus privilegiis, quæ vel dignitatibus delata fuerunt, vel diversæ

tinguishes betwixt the *census caputum* and *census agrorum*. Thirdly, there are several laws in the Theodosian code exempting the clergy from tribute, which cannot fairly be understood of any other tribute but this sort of capitation. As, when Constantius grants the clergy the same immunity from tribute as minors had, he plainly refers to the old law about minors mentioned by Ulpian, and puts the clergy upon the same foot with them, granting them this privilege, that not only they themselves, but¹ their wives and children, their men-servants and their maid-servants, should all be free from tribute; meaning personal tribute, or that sort of capitation called *capitis census*. After the same manner, we are to understand those two laws of Valentinian^k, where he grants to devoted virgins, and widows, and orphans under twenty years of age, the same immunity from tribute, or, as it is there called, ‘the capitation of the vulgar.’ As also, that other law^l of his, where he grants the like privilege to painters, together with their wives and children.—From all which we may very reasonably conclude, that this exemption from personal taxes was not a thing then common to all, but a peculiar

militiæ collegia meruerunt, aut nomine venerandæ religionis obtentum est, omnis ubique census, qui non personarum est sed agrorum, ad universa munia a novaduntaxat indictione, ut supra definivimus, absque ulla discretione cogatur in quarta parte.

ⁱ Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. et Cler. leg. x. Clericis et juvenibus præbeatur immunitas. . . . Quod et conjugibus et liberis eorum, et ministeriis, majoribus pariter ac feminis indulgemus.—Ibid. leg. xiv. Omnibus clericis hujusmodi prærogativa succurrat, ut conjugia clericorum ac liberi quoque et ministeria (id est, mares pariter ac feminae) eorumque etiam filii immunes semper a censibus et separati ab hujusmodi muneribus perseverent.

^k Cod. Theod. lib. xiii. tit. x. de Censu, leg. iv. In virginitate perpetua viventes, et eam viduam de qua ipsa maturitas pollicetur ætatis nulli jam eam esse nupturam, a plebeie capitationis injuria vindicandas esse decernimus: item, pupillos in virili sexu ad viginti annos ab istiusmodi functione immunes esse debere; mulieres autem donec virum unaquæque sortitur.—Ibid. leg. vi. Nulla vidua, nemo pupillus ex utroque sexu, donec eos ingreditur annos, qui jam tutoribus curatoribusve publicis non egeant, exactionem plebis agnoscat. Simili autem devotione habeantur immunes et si quæ se sacræ legis obsequio perpetuo dedicaverunt.

^l Cod. Th. lib. xiii. tit. iv. de Excursat. Artific. leg. iv. Picturæ professores, si modo ingenui sunt, placuit, neque sui capitis censione, neque uxorum, aut etiam liberorum nomine, tributis esse munificos.

privilege of some certain arts and professions, among which the most honourable was that of the clergy.

This may be further confirmed from an observation or two out of Gregory Nazianzen and Basil. Nazianzen, in one of his epistles^m to Amphilochius, complains, that the officers of the government had made an illegal attempt upon one Euthalius, a deacon, to oblige him to pay taxes: therefore he desires Amphilochius not to permit this injury to be done him; since, otherwiseⁿ, he would suffer an hardship above other men, not being allowed to enjoy the favour of the times, and the honour which the emperors had granted to the clergy.—Here, he plainly refers to some immunity from tribute which the imperial laws granted particularly to the clergy; which could not be any exemption of their estates from tribute, for there was no such law then in force to be appealed to. It must, therefore, mean their exemption from personal taxes, from which they were freed by the laws of Valentinian and Constantius already mentioned. This will still receive greater light and confirmation from the testimony of St. Basil, who had occasion to make a like complaint to Modestus (who was præfectus-prætorio Orientis under Valens) of some who had infringed the privilege of the clergy in exacting tribute of them against the laws. “The ancient way of taxing,” says he, “excused such as were consecrated to God^o, presbyters and deacons, from paying tribute; but now they who are set over this affair, pretending to have no warrant from your

^m Naz. Ep. clix. (Paris. 1630, vol. i. p. 873. B.) Τούτων εἰς ἑστὶ καὶ ὁ συν-
διάκονος ἡμῶν Εὐθάλιος· ὃν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως εἰς μείζω τάξιν μεταχωρήσαντα
διαγράφειν ἐπιχειροῦσι χρυσὸν, οἱ τῆς ἡγεμονικῆς τάξεως τοῦτο μὲν ἀνεκτὸν
φανήτω σοι· καὶ χεῖρα ὀρεξον τῷ τε διακόνῳ καὶ τῷ κλήρῳ παντὶ, καὶ πρὸ τῶν
ἄλλων ἡμῖν, οἷς σοι μέλει.

ⁿ Ibid. Δεινότητα ἂν πάθοι μόνος ἀνθρώπων μὴ τυγχάνων τῆς τῶν καιρῶν
φιλανθρωπίας, καὶ τῆς δεδομένης τοῖς ἱερατικοῖς παρὰ τῶν βασιλείων τιμῆς.

^o Basil. Epist. cclxxix. ad Modest. (Paris. 1839. vol. iii. p. 284.) Τοὺς τῷ Θεῷ
ἡμῶν ἱερωμένους, πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους, ὁ παλαῖος κῆνσος ἀτελεῖς ἀφήκεν.
Οἱ δὲ νῦν ἀπογραφάμενοι, ὡς οὐ λαβόντες παρὰ τῆς ὑπερφουῶς σου ἐξουσίας
πρόσταγμα, ἀπεγράψαντο, πλὴν εἰ μή ποῦ τινες ἄλλως εἶχον ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας
τὴν ἄφεσιν. Διόμειθα ὃν μνημόσυνον τῆς σῆς εὐεργεσίας τοῦθ' ἡμῖν ἀφεθῆναι,
παντὶ τῷ ἐπιόντι χρόνῳ ἀγαθὴν περὶ σου μνήμην διαφυλάττον, καὶ συγχωρη-
θῆναι κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον τῆς συντελείας τοὺς ἱερατεύοντας, κ. τ. λ.
(Paris. 1730, vol. iii. p. 198, at bottom.)

eminency to excuse them, have taxed them all, except such as could claim a privilege from their age." Therefore, his request to him was, *συγχωρηθῆναι κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον τῆς συντελείας τοὺς ἱερατεύοντας*, *that the clergy might be exempt from tribute, according to the ancient laws*. St. Basil, in this passage, refers to two sorts of laws exempting persons from tribute; the one, those ancient laws of the heathen emperors, which only excused minors and superannuates from personal tribute; the other, those laws of Constantius and Valentinian, which exempted the clergy also, granting them that immunity which only minors enjoyed before. And this is the thing he complains of; that the clergy were not allowed the benefit of the Christian laws, but only those laws of the heathen emperors, whereby, if they chanced to be minors or superannuated, that is, under twenty or above sixty-five, they were excused, but not otherwise. From all which, it evidently appears, that the clergy might claim a peculiar privilege by the laws, to be exempted from personal tribute; and that this was not common to all the subjects of the empire, whatever Gothofred and Pagi^p from him have suggested to the contrary.

SECT. III.—*But not excused for their Lands and Possessions.*

The next sort of tribute was that which was exacted of men for their lands and possessions, which goes by several names in the civil law and ancient writers. Sometimes it is called *κανὼν*, as by Athanasius^q, where he complains how he was

^p Pagi Crit. in Baron. ann. 353, n. x. (n. xiii. p. 479, edit. Antwerp. 1705): Data hoc anno a Constantino lex x. codicis Theodosiani, de episcopis, qua plenissima immunitas omnibus clericis conceditur, ut ecclesiarum coetus concursu populorum ingentium frequentetur, quemadmodum in ea lege dicitur. Crescentibus namque jam ubique ecclesiis ac proficiente in dies religione Christiana—jam solito pluribus etiam immunitatibus homines ad clericatum invitandi visi sunt, præter veteres immunitates jam concessas. Prima itaque immunitas est a censibus, qui possessionum nomine fisco dependuntur. Quæ immunitas a censibus et vectigalibus postea sæpius infracta, præsertim sub Valente, ut constat ex duobus Gregorii Nazianzeni epistolis, puta clix. et clvi. Basilius quoque epistola cclxxix. ad Modestum præfectum-prætorio Orientis de eadem immunitate, sub eodem Valente imperatore conculcata, conqueritur, eamque instaurari petit, &c.

^q Athan. Apol. ii. p. 788, edit. Paris. 1627. (tom. i. p. 178, edit. Paris. 1698.) (Colon. 1686, vol. i. p. 778. D.) Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ζητήσαντες καὶ μὴ εὐρόντες, ὕστερον μετὰ γνώμης τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον συντιθείας, καὶ πλάττονται πρώτην

unjustly accused of imposing a tax upon Egypt for the use of the Church of Alexandria. So, in the Theodosian code^r, there is a whole title, *De Canone Frumentario Urbis Romæ*, which signifies the tribute of corn that was exacted of the African provinces for the use of the city of Rome. It is otherwise called *jugatio*, from *juga*; which as Gothofred notes^s, signifies as much land as a yoke of oxen could plough in a year; and, because the taxation was made according to that rate, it had therefore the name of *jugatio* and *juga*. It has also frequently the name of *capitatio* and *capita*; and, because men's servants and cattle were reckoned into their taxable possessions as well as their lands, therefore, in some laws^t, the one is called *capitatio terrena*, and the other *capitatio humana et animalium*, or *animarum descriptio*. These taxes were usually paid three times a year, once every four months; whence Sidonius Apollinaris^u styles them *tria capita*, or the 'monster with three heads:' which he desired the Emperor Majorianus to free him from, that he might live and subsist the better: for, thus he addresses himself to him, in his poetical way:—

“Geryones nos esse puta, monstrumque tributum :
Hic capita, ut vivam, tu mihi tolle tria.”

In which words, which none of the commentators rightly understood, he refers to the law^w of Valentinian's, and several

κατηγορίαν διὰ Ἰσίωνος, καὶ Εὐδαίμονος, καὶ Καλλινίκου, περὶ στιχαρίων λινῶν, ὡς ἐμοῦ κανόνα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπιβαλόντος, καὶ πρώτους αὐτοὺς ἀπαίτησαντος.—Collato Sozomeno, qui referens eandem historiam, lib. ii. c. xxi. scribit, Πρώτην ὑπομένει γραφὴν ὡς χιτωνίων λινῶν φόρον ἐπιτιθεῖς Αἰγυπτίους.

^r Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. xv.

^s Gothofred. Com. in Cod. Theod. lib. xiii. tit. x. de Censu, leg. ii. p. 118 : Cave juga, a quibus jugatio : et jugum jugeris, unde jugeratio, confundas : si quid in re obscura judicii mei est, ego juga putem dicta terræ modum, cui colendo, per annum, jugo boum opus est : sicut jugum jugeris, quantum in die jugo boum exerceri potest.

^t Cod. Theod. lib. xi. tit. xx. de Conlat. Donat. leg. vi. Exceptis his, quæ in capitazione humana atque animalium, diversis qualicumque concessa sunt ; ita ut omnium, quæ prædicto tempore, atque etiam sub inclutæ recordationis avo nostro in terrena sive animarum descriptione revelata sunt, &c.

^u Sidon. Carm. xiii. ad Majorianum. (Bibl. Patr. vol. x. p. 599.)

^w Cod. Theod. lib. xi. tit. i. de Annona et Tribut. leg. xv. Unusquisque annonas species, pro modo capitacionis et sortium, præbiturus, per quaternos menses anni curriculo distributo, tribus vicibus summam collationis implebit.

others in the Theodosian Code, where this sort of tribute is required to be paid by three certain portions in a year, or once in four months; which, in his phrase, is the *tria capita*, or 'monster with three heads.' The collectors of this tax were also hence called *cephalæotæ*, 'collectors of the capitation', in some laws of the Theodosian Code. And, because this tribute was commonly paid in specie, as in corn, wine, oil, iron, brass, &c. for the emperor's service, therefore it is often called *specierum collatio*; and, being the ordinary standing tax of the empire, it is no less frequently styled *indictio canonica*, in opposition to the *superindicta et extraordinaria*, that is, such taxes as were levied upon extraordinary occasions. I have noted these things here all together, that I may not be put to explain the terms at every turn hereafter, as I have occasion to make use of them; which are indeed a little uncommon, and not easily understood, but by such as are conversant in the civil law.

Now to the question in hand, whether the clergy in general were exempt from this ordinary canonical tribute laid upon men's goods and possessions, I answer in the negative against Baronius, who asserts the contrary. Some particular Churches, indeed, had special favours granted them by indulgent princes, to exempt them from all tribute of this kind; but those very exceptions prove, that what was matter of grace to some particular Churches could not be the common privilege of all Churches. Theodosius, junior, granted a special exemption to the Church of Thessalonica, that she should pay no capitation* for her own estate, provided she did not take

* Cod. Theod. lib. xi. tit. xxiv. de Patrocin. Vicor. leg. vi. Nequaquam cephalæotis, hierarchis, logographis chomatum, et cæteris liturgiis, sub quolibet patrocinii nomine, publicis functionibus denegatis, etc.

† Ibid. lib. vi. tit. xxvi. de Proximis Comitib. etc. leg. xiv. Quamvis innumeris legibus scriniorum gloria decoretur, jubemus tamen, ut primo omnium sit eorum secura possessio ab omnibus sordidis muneribus excusata; superindictum non timeant, venalicium non petantur, solumque canonicæ indictionis præstent tributum: Glevæ auri solutionem nesciat labore dignitas conquesta, extraordinarium munus ignoret, etc.

‡ Ibid. lib. xi. tit. i. de Annona et Tribut. leg. xxxiii. Sacrosancta Thessalonicensis ecclesia civitatis excepta: ita tamen ut aperte sciat, propriæ tantummodo capitationis modum beneficio mei numinis sublevandum: nec

other lands into her protection, to the detriment of the commonwealth, under the pretence of an ecclesiastical title. He also allowed the Churches of Constantinople and Alexandria the same privilege^a, upon the like condition, that they should not take any villages, great or small, into their patronage, to excuse them from paying their ancient capitation. Gothofred is also of opinion, that, in the beginning of Constantine's reign, while the Church was poor, and her standing revenues but small, her estates and possessions were universally excused from tribute: for there is a law in the Theodosian Code which may be interpreted to this purpose, though the words are so obscure^b, that, without the help of so wise an interpreter, one would hardly find out the sense of them. However, admitting them to signify such a privilege, it is certain it lasted not many years; for, in the next reign, under Constantius, when the Church was grown pretty wealthy, all the clergy that were possessed of lands, were obliged to pay tribute, in the same manner as all others did, as appears from a law of Constantius, directed to Taurus, *præfectus-prætorio*, which is still extant^c in both the codes. This is further evident from the testimony of Valentinian; who, in an epistle to the bishops of Asia, recorded by Theodoret^d, says, "all good bishops thought themselves obliged to pay tribute, and did not resist the

externorum gravamine tributorum rempublicam ecclesiastici nominis abusione lædendam.

^a Cod. Theod. lib. xi. tit. xxiv. de Patrocin. Vicorum, leg. v. *Quicquid ecclesiæ venerabiles (id est, Constantinopolitana et Alexandrina) possedissee deteguntur, id pro intuitu religionis, ab his præcipimus firmiter retineri: sub ea videlicet sorte, ut in futurum functiones omnes quas metropolim debent, et publici vici pro antiquæ capitationis professione debent, sciant subeundas.*

^b Ibid. lib. xi. tit. i. de Annon. et Tribut. leg. i. *Præter privatas res nostras et ecclesias catholicas et domum clarissimæ memoriæ Eusebii ex-consule et ex-magistro equitum et peditum, et Arsacis regis Armeniorum, nemo ex nostra jussione præcipuis emolumentis familiaris juvetur substantiæ.*

^c Ibid. lib. xvi. tit. xi. de Episc. et Cleric. leg. xv. *De his sane clericis, qui prædia possident, sublimis auctoritas tua non solum eos aliena juga nequam statuet excusare, sed etiam his, quæ ipsi possident, eosdem ad pensitanda fiscalia perurget: universos namque clericos possessores duntaxat provinciales pensitationes fiscalium recognoscere jubemus. Vid. etiam Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. iii. leg. iii.*

^d Theodor. lib. iv. c. viii. (Reading, p. 236. B 10.) *Τὰ δημόσια κατὰ νόμους εἰσκομίζειν ἴσασι, καὶ οὐκ ἀντιλέγουσι τῇ τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἐξουσίᾳ.*

imperial power.” And thus matters continued to the time of Honorius, and Theodosius, junior; in one of whose laws^e the Church lands are still made liable to this ordinary or canonical tribute, as it is there worded, though excused from all other. So little reason had Baronius to assert, with that confidence, that no prince, except Julian the Apostate, and Valens the Arian, and the younger Valentinian, who was under the conduct of an Arian woman, ever exacted any tribute of the clergy, when as it appears, that every emperor after Constantine did exact it; and Baronius could not be ignorant of this, having viewed and perused the Theodosian Code, where these things are recorded.

SECT. IV.—*Of the Tribute called Aurum Tironicum, Equi Canonici, &c.*

If in any thing of this tribute they were exempt, it must be from the obligation some provinces lay under to furnish the emperors with new soldiers, called *tirones*, and fresh horses for the wars; which, because they were exhibited by way of tribute, they are called in the law *equi canonici*, from the civil law term *canon*, and *canonica*; which, as I observed before, signifies the tribute that was laid upon men's lands and possessions. Sometimes this tribute was exacted in money instead of horses; and then it was called^f *equorum canonicorum adæratio*, ‘horse-money.’ In like manner, as the sum that was paid instead of the *tirones* was called *aurum tironicum et stratioticum*, ‘soldiers’ money,’ which we find men-

^e Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. et Clericis, leg. xl. Placet rationabilis consilii tenore perpenso, dstricta moderatione præscribere, a quibus specialiter necessitatibus ecclesiæ urbium singularum habeantur immunes. Prima quippe illius usurpationis contumelia depellenda est, ne prædia usibus cælestium secretorum dicata sordidorum munerum fasce vexentur: nulla jugatione, quæ talium privilegiorum sorte gratulatur, muniendi itineris constringat injuria: nihil extraordinarium, ab hac superindicticiumve flagitetur: nulla pontium instauratio: nulla translationum sollicitudo gignatur: non aurum cæteraque talia poscantur. Postremo nihil præter canonicam illationem, quod adventitiæ necessitatis sarcina repentina deposcerit, ejus functionibus adscribatur.

^f Ibid. lib. xi. tit. xvii. de Equor. Conlat. leg. iii. Equos canonicos militaris dioceseos Africanæ, secundum subjectam notitiam singularum provinciarum, ex præsentī duodecima indictione jussimus adædari, etc.

tioned in Synesius; where speaking^g of Andronicus, governor of Ptolemais, he says, "he set one Thoas to collect this *aurum tironicum*;" which the editor, by mistake, says, was so called *quia solvebatur tironibus*, because it was paid to the *tirones*; whereas, indeed, it was the money that was paid, instead of the *tirones*, by way of tribute, into the treasury of the empire. Now that some bishops, at least in Afric, were excused from this tribute, is concluded by some learned men from a law^h of Theodosius, junior, which excuses certain persons from it, under the title of *sacerdotes*, in the Proconsular Afric, and that because they were otherwise obliged to be at great expenses in that province. But now the question is, who are meant by the name *sacerdotes*? The learned Petitⁱ says, it denotes Christian bishops; and if so, the case would be clear as to their exemption. But Gothofred rather inclines^k to think it means the high priests among the heathens, who are still in being, and obliged, by their office, to be at great expenses in exhibiting the *ludi sacerdotes* to the people. I will not venture to decide so nice a dispute betwixt two such learned men; but think, however, I may safely infer, even from Gothofred's notion, that if the Christian emperors were so liberal to the heathen high priests, they would, at least, be as liberal to their own bishops, and grant them the same immunity. But I leave this matter to further inquiry.

^g Synes. Epist. lxxix. ad Anastas. (Paris. 1640. p. 224. D. 2.) (p. 224, edit. Par. 1533.) Δεινός ἀνὴρ ὑποθέσεις εὕρισκεν, τῇ τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῇ θόαντος φύσει προεπούσας· ὃν ἐπὶ τῶν δεσμωτῶν ὄντα, ταῖς ἀπαιτήσεσιν ἔταξε τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ χρυσίου τοῦ καλουμένου Τιρωνικοῦ.

^h Cod. Theod. lib. vii. tit. xiii. de Tironibus, leg. xxii. Mansura in sæculum auctoritate præcipimus, pro-consularis provinciæ non eamdem sacerdotalium, que est de cæteris, in præbendis tironibus habendam esse rationem: non inique, siquidem ea potissimum ab hoc officio provincia videtur excepta, quæ omnium intra Africam provinciarum obtinet principatum, cujusque majoribus sacerdotes fatigantur expensis, in quarum solatium indemnem esse convenit dignitatem.

ⁱ Petit. Variar. Lection. lib. iii. c. i. p. 28.

^k Gothofr. Com. in Cod. Theod. lib. vii. tit. xiii. leg. xxii. Sacerdotes quoque provinciarum, paganos scilicet tironibus præstandis obnoxios fuisse, singulares hæc lex ostendit; et recte: nam et hi honoratis proximi in provinciis fuerunt: iidemque aliis quoque expensis subiacebant: ut vel hæc lex testatur. Et quidem ludis exhibendis, etc.

SECT. V.—*The Church obliged to such Burdens as Lands were tied to before their Donation.*

One thing is more certain, that whatever burdens any lands were originally encumbered with, they were liable to the same, even after their donation to the Church, unless discharged of them by some particular grant and favour of the emperors. This we learn from a memorable instance in a particular case, wherein St. Austin was concerned, the account of which we have from his own relation. For the right understanding of which I must first acquaint the reader, that by the laws of the Roman polity, many times a company of tradesmen were so incorporated into a society, for the service of the empire, that their estates were tied to that office and duty, so that whoever had the propriety of them, he was bound to the duty annexed to them. Thus it was particularly with the incorporated company of the *navicularii* of Afric and Egypt, who were concerned in transporting the yearly tribute of corn from those provinces to Rome and Constantinople. Their estates were tied to the performance of this service, as appears from a title in the Theodosian Code¹, which is *De Prædiis Naviculariorum*; and they were so tied, that if any ship chanced to be lost in the passage, the whole body was obliged to make good the effects to the emperor's coffers; and the master of the ship was obliged^m to give up his men that escaped the shipwreck, to be examined by torture afterwards; otherwise he must have borne the whole burden himself alone, on presumption that he was guilty of some fraud in the matter against the rest of his society. Now it happened, while St. Austin was bishop of Hippo, that one of these *navicularii*, Boniface, a master of a ship, left his whole estate to the Church; which yet St. Austin refused to receive, because of these burdens that lay upon it. "For," says heⁿ, "I was not

¹ Cod. Theod. lib. xiii. tit. vi.

^m Ibid. lib. xiii. tit. ix. de Naufragiis, leg. ii. Si quando causatio est de impetu procellarum, medium ex his nautis numerum navicularius exhibeat questionem. . . Quo eorum tormentis plenior veritas possit inquiri.

ⁿ Aug. Sermon. xlix. de Diversis, (Bened. v. p. 1382. F.) (tom. x. p. 520.) Bonifacii hereditatem suscipere nolui; non misericordia, sed timore. Navicularium nolui esse ecclesiam Christi. Multi sunt quidem qui etiam de navibus

willing to have the Church of Christ concerned in the business of transportation. 'Tis true, indeed, there are many who get estates by shipping; yet there is one temptation in it—if a ship should chance to go and be lost, then we should be required to give up our men to the rack, to be examined by torture, according to law, about the drowning of the ship, and the poor wretches that had escaped the waves must undergo a new severity from the hands of the judge. But we could not thus deliver them up, for it would not become the Church so to do; therefore, she must answer the whole debt to the exchequer. But whence should she do this? for our circumstances do not allow us to keep a treasury. A bishop ought not to lay up gold in bank, and meanwhile refuse to relieve the poor.” These words of St. Austin do plainly evince what has been observed, that the donation of an estate to the Church did not ordinarily free it from the tribute or duty, that the public otherwise demanded of it; but, if the Church would receive it, she must take it with the usual burdens that lay upon it. I confess, indeed, the sense of the passage, as it lies in St. Austin, without a comment, is not very easy to be understood; nor have any of his editors, no, not the last Benedictines, thought fit to expound it; but, for that reason, as well as to make good my own observation, I have recited it in this place, and explained it from those laws and customs of the empire to which it manifestly refers; and such a digression, if it were a digression, I presume, would not be unacceptable to the curious reader.

SECT. VI.—*Of the Chrysargyrum, or Lustral Tax, and the Exemption of the Clergy from it.*

But now to proceed. Another sort of tribute, in which the clergy had some concern, was the tax upon trade and commerce. This, in ancient writers°, is known by the name of

acquirunt. Tamen una tentatio esset; iret navis et naufragaret; homines ad tormenta daturi eramus, ut de submersione navis secundum consuetudinem quaereretur; et torquerentur a iudice qui essent a fluctibus liberati? sed non eos daremus: nullo pacto enim hoc facere deceret ecclesiam. Onus ergo fiscale persolveret? Sed unde persolveret? Enthecam nobis habere non licet, etc.

° Evagr. Histor. Eccles. lib. iii. c. xxxix. (Reading, p. 337. C.) Ὑπερμύθησις

χρυσάργυρον, *chrysargyrum*, the silver and gold tax, because it was paid in those coins. Zosimus^p, indeed, makes the *chrysargyrum* another thing, viz., a scandalous tax, exacted of lewd men and women; and, in his spite to Christianity, he represents Constantine as the author of it; in which his groundless calumny, he is abundantly refuted by Baronius^q, and more especially by the learned^r Gothofred and Pagi, whom the curious reader may consult. Here I take the *chrysargyrum* in the common notion, only for the tax upon lawful trade and commerce, which St. Basil^s calls, *πραγματευτικὸν χρυσίον*, *commerce money*. In the civil law it is known by the name of *lustralis collatio*, ‘the lustral tax;’ because it was

δὲ κατεπράχθη αὐτῷ καὶ θεῖον τι χρῆμα, ἡ τοῦ καλουμένου Χρυσσαργύρου ἐς τέλος κωλύμη.

^p Zosim. lib. ii. (p. 196, edit. Jenens. 1713, 8.) Κωνσταντῖνος ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος διετέλεσε δωρεαῖς οὐκ ἐνδύοντι γινόμεναις, ἀλλὰ εἰς ἀναξίους καὶ ἀνωφελεῖς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς φόρους ἐκδανῶν καὶ τοῖς μὲν εἰσφέρουσι γινόμενος φορτικὸς, τοὺς δὲ μηδὲν ὠφελεῖν δυναμένους πλουτιζών· τὴν δὲ ἀσωτίαν ἡγεῖτο φιλοτιμίαν· οὗτος καὶ τὴν εἰσφορὰν ἐπήγαγε χρυσίου τε καὶ ἀργύρου πᾶσι τοῖς ἀπανταχοῦ γῆς μειοῦσι τὰς ἐμπορίας, καὶ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι πανωνίαν προτιθεῖσι, μέχρι καὶ τῶν εὐτελεστάτων· οὐδὲ δυστυχεῖς ἐταίρας ἔξω ταύτης ἱάσας τῆς εἰσφορᾶς ὥστε ἦν ἰδεῖν, μέλλοντος τοῦ τετραετοῦς ἐνίστασθαι χρόνου, καθ’ ὃν ἔδει τοῦτο τὸ τέλος εἰσφέρεισθαι, θρήνους ἀνὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ ὀδυρμούς· ἐνστάντος δὲ, μάστιγας καὶ βασάνους ἐπιφερομένης τοῖς σώμασι τῶν διὰ πενίας ἐσχάτης ζημίαν ὑπενεγκεῖν μὴ δυναμένων· ἥδη δὲ καὶ μητέρες ἀπιδόντο τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ πατέρες ἐπὶ πορνείῳ θυγατέρας ἐστήσαντο, ἐκ τῆς τούτων ἔργασίας ἀργύριον τοῖς τοῦ χρυσσαργύρου πράκτορσιν εἰσενεγκεῖν ἐπιγόμενοι, κ. τ. λ.

^q Baron. ann. 330, n. xxxvi. (Venet. 1707. vol. iii. p. 336. B 6.) Quod de tributis a Constantino impositis exstet adversus eum querela Zosimi, sunt hæc accuratius examinanda : quod enim ait, auri argentique collationem impositam negotiatoribus, omnibus Dardanariis, nempe fraudulentis venundatoribus annonæ, atque personis quibuscumque vilissimis ac meretricibus, confundit plane diversa tributorum genera : nam quod impositum erat negotiatoribus, proprie auri et argenti erat, dictumque chrysargyrum, diversumque ab eo, quod pendere consueverant lenones, meretrices, et exoleti : quod quidem tantum abest ut a Constantino Christianissimo principe impositum fuerit, ut etiam longe ante Alexandri Imperatoris tempora Romæ exigi consueverit ; quod idem Imperator æquissimus, cum ex turpi lucro colligeretur, vetuit in ærarium inferri ; non tamen abstulit, sed ad publicas fabricas deputavit, etc.

^r Gothofr. Com. in Cod. Theod. lib. xiii. tit. i. de Lustrali Collatione, leg. i. p. 4, § *Sequitur*, tot.—Pagi Critic. in Baron. ann. 330, n. vi. tot.

^s Basil. Epist. cexliii. Τὴν δυσκολίαν τῆς συγκομιδῆς πραγματευτικοῦ χρυσίου, πάντων μάλιστα ἡ σὴ τιμότης κατέμαθε. [Paris. 1730. vol. iii. p. 179. E.]

exacted at the return of every lustrum, or four years' end. It was, indeed, a very grievous tax, especially upon the poor; for not the meanest tradesman was exempted from it. Evagrius[†] says it was exacted even of those who made begging their trade, ἐξ ἐράνου τὴν τροφὴν πορίζουσι. Whence Libanius[‡] calls it the intolerable tax of silver and gold, that made men dread the terrible *pentaeteris*, or return of every fifth year. And for the same reason, as the author under the name of St. Austin[§] takes notice, it was commonly called *aurum pannosum*, 'the poor man's tax;' or, as some editions read it, *aurum pœnosum*, 'the cruel tax,' because it was exacted of the poor. But now a particular respect was paid to the Church in this matter; for, when her revenues were scanty, and not sufficient to give all the clergy a decent maintenance, the inferior orders, the *clerici*, were allowed to traffic, to support themselves, without paying any tribute of this nature. This indulgence was first granted by Constantius without any restriction, that if any of them[¶] was minded to follow a calling to maintain themselves, they should be freed

[†] Evagr. lib. iii. c. xxxix. (p. 337. D 3.) 'Ἐπέκειτο δὲ ἐτέροις τε πολλοῖς ἐξ ἐράνου τὴν τροφὴν πορίζουσι, καὶ ταῖς ἀπεμπωλούσαις τὴν ὥραν τοῦ σώματος, κ. τ. λ.

[‡] Liban. Orat. xiv. contr. Florent. tom. ii. p. 427. (citante Valesio in Annotationibus ad lib. iii. c. xxxix. Evagr. p. 96.) (Reading, p. 337.) Λεγίσθω τοῖνυν καὶ τὸ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα νευνηκός· τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀφόρητος φόρος, ἄργυρος καὶ χρυσὸς φρίττειν προσιοῦσας ποιῶν τὰς δεινὰς πεντητηρίδας· ὄνομα μὴν γὰρ εὐπρεπὲς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμπόρων τῷ πόρῳ τούτῳ· τῇ θαλάττῃ δὲ ἱκείνων εἰς διάδοσιν (διάθεσιν) χρωμένων, οἷς μόλις ἄρτου προσφέρουσιν αἱ χεῖρες, ἀδύλυνται· διαφεύγει δὲ οὐδὲ νευροῤῥάφος, οὗς ἐγὼ πολλάκις εἶδον τὴν σμίλην εἰς οὐρανὸν αἶροντας, ὁμνῶντας μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ πάντα εἶναι σφίσιν· οὐ μὴν τοῦτό γε αὐτοὺς ἀπαλλάττει τῶν ἐγκωμίων (ἐγκειμένων), καὶ ὑλακόντων, καὶ μόνον οὐ δακνόντων· οὗτος ὁ καιρὸς, ὃ βασιλεῦ, πλείω τὴν δουλείαν καθίστησιν, ἐκβάλλων ἐλευθερίας τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων πωλούμενους, οὐχ ἵνα αὐτοῖς δέξῃται τὴν τιμὴν τὸ κιβώτιον, ἀλλ' ἵνα αὐτὴν ἴδωσιν εἰς τὴν τοῦ κατεπίγοντος δέξαν ἔρχομένην.

[§] Aug. Quæst. Vet. et Nov. Testam. c. lxxv. (Bened. vol. iii. Append. p. 73. E.) Didrachma capitum [vel tributi] non prædiorum exactio intelligitur; quod nunc 'pannosum aurum' appellatur, quia et pauperes exiguntur.

[¶] Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. et Cler. leg. viii. Si qui de vobis alimonie causa negotiationem exercere volunt, immunitate potentiuntur.—It. Cod. lib. xiii. tit. i. de Lustrali Collat. leg. i. Negotiatores omnes protinus convenit aurum argentumque præbere: clericos excipi tantum (et) qui copiatæ appellantur, nec alium quenkum esse immunem.

from custom : but, that none of them might abuse this privilege to covetousness, they were confined afterwards, by several laws, to trade within a certain sum, which if they exceeded, they were to pay custom for it. This appears from a second law of the same^y Constantius, and another of Gratian's^z, where the Italian and Illyrican *clerici* are confined to the sum of ten solids ; and the Gallican, to fifteen. Yet, if any would trade further, only with a charitable design, to raise funds and *monte-pios* for the use of the poor ; they were allowed, by two^a other laws of Constantius, to employ what sums they pleased, and pay none of this tribute for them. It is to be noted further, that this immunity was granted by Honorius to the Catholic^b clergy only, and to no others : and the privilege was esteemed so great, that some covetous tradesmen would use means to get themselves admitted to a titular office among the inferior clergy of the church, with no other design but to enjoy this immunity, and to follow their trade without paying the lustral duty. Against whose fraudulency and corruptions, the emperor Arcadius made a severe^c law, commanding all such, if they followed their merchandise, to be deprived of this

^y Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. leg. xv. Clerici vero, vel hi quos copiatas recens usus instituit nuncupari, ita a sordidis muneribus debent immunes atque a collatione prestari, si exiguis admodum mercimonii tenuem sibi victum vestitumque conquirent.

^z Ibid. lib. xiii. tit. i. de Lustrali Collat. leg. xi. Etsi omnes mercatores spectat lustralis auri depensio, clerici tamen, inter Illyricum et Italiam, in denis solidis ; inter Galliam in quinis denis solidis immunem usum conversationis exerceant. Quidquid autem supra hunc modum negotiationis versabitur, id oportet ad functionem aurariam devocari.

^a Ibid. lib. xv. tit. ii. de Episc. et Cler. leg. x. Negotiatorum dispendiis minime obligentur (clerici) cum certum sit, questus quos ex tabernaculis (leg. tabernis) atque ergasteriis colligunt, pauperibus profuturos.—Ibid. leg. xiv. Si quid . . . mercatura . . . congesserint, in usum pauperum atque egentium ministrari oportet : aut id, quod ex eorumdem ergasteriis vel tabernis conquiri potuerit et colligi, collectum id religionis æstiment lucrum.

^b Ibid. lib. xvi. tit. ii. leg. xxxvi. Quicumque catholicæ religionis clerici, intra eum modum, unde victus, emendi vendendique usum lege præfinitum exercent, ab auraria pensione habeantur immunes.

^c Ibid. lib. xiii. tit. i. de Lustral. Collat. leg. xvi. Omnes corporatos . . . præcipimus conveniri, ut aut commoda negotiatorum sequentes a clericorum excusatione discedant, aut sacratissimo numini servientes versutis quæstibus . . . abstineant : distincta enim stipendia sunt religionis et calliditatis.

immunity of the clergy: or, if they would devote themselves to the sacred service, then they should abstain from all such fraudulent and crafty ways of gain; "for," saith he, "the wages of religion and craft are very different from one another." And for this reason, probably, when the revenues of the Church were become sufficient to maintain all the clergy, Valentinian III.^d enacted a law, that none of the clergy should negotiate as formerly; otherwise they should come under the cognizance of the secular judges, and not enjoy the privilege of the clergy. Evagrius^e adds, that the emperor Anastasius quite abolished the *chrysargyrum*, or 'lustral tax,' itself; and that is the reason why there is no mention at all made of it afterward in the Justinian Code.

SECT. VII.—Of the '*Metatum*;' what meant thereby; and the Exemption of the Clergy from it.

Another sort of duty, incumbent on the subjects of the empire, was the burden and charge of giving entertainment to the emperor's court and retinue, when they had occasion to travel; or, to the judges or soldiers, as they passed from one place to another. This the civil law^f calls *metatum*, and the Greeks *μετάρον*, from the word *metatores*, which signifies the emperor's harbingers or forerunners, which were sent before, to provide lodging and entertainment for them. In allusion to which, Cyprian^g, speaking of Rogation, an eminent presbyter of Carthage, who was the first martyr that was sent to prison in the Decian persecution, says, "he was *metator* to the rest, their harbinger, that went before them, to prepare a place in prison for them." And, in the same sense, Lucian the Martyr, in Cyprian, elegantly styles Decius himself^h *metatorem*

^d Valentin. Novel. xii. ad calcem Cod. Theod. Jubemus ut clerici nihil prorsus negotiationis exerceant. Si velint negotiari, scient se iudiciis subditos, clericorum privilegio non muniti.

^e Evagr. lib. iii. c. xxxix. Vid. not. (o) supra p. 30. [Prostituebant: ex harum questu chrysargyri exactoribus pecuniam offerre coacti.]

^f Cod. Theod. lib. vii. tit. viii. de Metatis.—Cod. Justin. lib. xii. tit. xli. de Metatis.

^g Cyprian. Ep. lxxxi. al. vi. edit. Oxon. (edit. Par. 1666. p. 160.) Primum hospitium vobis in carcere preparavit, et metator quodam modo vester, nunc quoque vos antecedit. (Paris. 1726. p. 165.)

^h Lucian. ap. Cyprian. Ep. xx. al. xxii. (Ep. xxi. cit. edit. p. 53.) Tu Deo

Antichristi, 'the harbinger of Antichrist;' who, by that terrible persecution, made preparation for his coming into the world. From this notion of the word *metator*, that duty of yielding entertainment to the emperor's retinue, &c., has the name of *metatum* in the two codes of the civil law. But the clergy were excused from this by a law¹ of Constantius, where he says, they should not be obliged to entertain strangers; by which he cannot be supposed to excuse them from the Christian duty of hospitality to the indigent, but from this civil duty of the Roman state, to which other subjects were obliged. Whence Gothofred^k very truly observes, that the clergy, in this respect, had equal privileges with senators' houses, and Jewish synagogues, and Christian churches, all which were exempt from this duty of entertaining; and, if the Greek collector of the ecclesiastical constitutions, out of the code published by Fabrottus, mistake not, this immunity extended to their servants also; "for," he says^l, "neither the clergy, nor their servants, were subject to any new impositions, or to this burden, called the *metatum*."

SECT. VIII.—*Of the Superindicta and Extraordinaria. The Clergy exempt from them.*

And hence it appears further, that they were freed from all exactions which went by the name of *superindicta* and *extraordinaria*; that is, such impositions as the emperors thought necessary to lay upon the empire, or any part of it, beyond the ordinary canonical taxes, upon great exigencies and extraordinary occasions; for, as the ordinary taxes were called indictions, so these extraordinary were called^m superindictions.

volente ipsum anguem majorem, metatorem antichristi, non tantum confessus deterruisti, etc. (Paris. 1726. p. 30.)

¹ Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. leg. viii. Præterea neque hospites suscipietis.

^k Gothofr. Paratit. ad Cod. Theod. lib. vi. tit. viii. de Onere Metati, tom. ii. p. 264. Immunes erant a metato clerici, senatorum domus, synagogæ Judæorum, et religionum loca.

^l Collat. Constitut. Eccles. ex Cod. lib. i. tit. iii. sect. i. p. 1253. Οἱ κληρικοὶ καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα αὐτῶν οὐχ ὑπόκεινται καιναῖς εἰσφοραῖς, ἢ μεράτοις.

^m Vid. Cod. Theod. lib. xi. tit. vi. de Superindicto, et Cod. Justin. lib. x. tit. xviii. de eodem.

From these the clergy were universally exempted by several laws of Christian emperors: as by that of Constantiusⁿ, in the Theodosian Code, where he refers to a preceding law, to the same purpose. "According to the decree," says he, "which you are said to have obtained heretofore, no one shall impose any new taxes upon you or your servants, but you shall enjoy a perfect immunity in that respect." Gothofred, upon the place, says, "By this law they were freed from all extraordinary tribute, and only bound to the ordinary and canonical taxes." And so it was in the time of Honorius and Theodosius, junior, an. 412, when by a law, granting many other privileges to the Church, relating to her possessions, they insert this among the rest, that no extraordinary tribute or superindiction, but only the common^o canonical tax, should be required of her. Which was finally confirmed by Justinian^p, and made the standing law of the Roman empire.

SECT. IX.—*The Clergy sometimes exempt from contributing to the Reparation of Highways and Bridges.*

As to some other duties and burthens, the laws a little varied; for sometimes the clergy were exempted, and sometimes not, as particularly in the case of contributing to the maintenance and reparation of public ways and bridges. By the forementioned law of Honorius, an. 412, all church lands are excused^q from those duties; and it is called an injury to bind them to any contribution toward them. Yet, not long after, an. 423, Theodosius, junior, made a law for the eastern

ⁿ Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. et Cler. leg. viii. Juxta sanctionem quam dudum meruisse perhibemini, et vos et mancipia vestra nullus novis collationibus obligavit (id est, obligabit), sed vacatione gaudebitis.—Gothofr. in loc. Ab extraordinariis collationibus immunes facti fuerunt, et nondum ab ordinariis et canonicis.

^o Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. et Cler. leg. xl. Nihil extraordinarium ab hac superindictitione flagitetur. . . . Nihil præter canonicam illationem ejus functionibus ascribatur.

^p Justin. Novel. cxxxi. c. v. Θεσπίζομεν, καὶ πασῶν τῶν ἀγιωτάτων ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σεβασμίων οἰκῶν τὰς κτήσεις, μηδὲ ῥυπαρὰς λειτουργίας μήτε (extraordinarias) διαγραφὰς ὑπομένειν.

^q Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. et Cler. leg. xl. Nullam jugationem, quæ talium privilegiorum sorte gratulatur, muniendi itineris constringat injuria. . . . Nulla pontium instauratio: nulla translationum sollicitudo gignatur.

empire, which excepts no order of men from bearing a share in this matter; but obliges, as well his own possessions (called *Domus Divinæ*, in the style and language of those times), as churches^r, to take their proportion in it; and, about the same time, Valentinian III. made a law^s to the same effect in the west. Justinian confirmed the law of Theodosius, by inserting it^t into his Code; and added another law of his own among his Novels; where^u, though he grants the clergy an immunity from extraordinary taxes, yet he adds, “that if there was occasion to make a way, or build or repair a bridge, then Churches, as well as other possessors, should contribute to those works, if they had possessions in any city where such works were to be done.”

SECT. X.—*As also from the Duty called Angariæ, and Parangariæ, &c.*

The laws varied likewise in another instance of duty required of the subjects; which was, to furnish out horses and carriages for conveying of corn for the soldiers, and such other things as belonged to the emperor's exchequer. This duty in the civil law^w goes by the name of *cursus publicus*, and *angariæ*, and *parangariæ*, and *translatio*, and *evectio*; and the horses used in this service are particularly called *paravaredi*, and *equi cursuales*. Now, the clergy at first were exempt from this

^r Cod. Theod. lib. xv. tit. iii. de Itin. Muniendo, leg. vi. Ad instructiones reparationesque itinerum pontiumque nullum genus hominum cessare oportet. Domos etiam divinas ac venerandas ecclesias tam laudabili titulo libenter adscribimus.

^s Valent. Novel. xxi. ad calcem Cod. Theod. Sancimus, ut antiquatis omnibus privilegiis, quæ vel dignitatibus delata fuerunt, vel diversæ militiæ collegia meruerunt, aut nomine venerandæ religionis obtentum est, omnis ubique census, qui non personarum est, sed agrorum, ad universa munia a nova duntaxat indictione, ut supra definivimus, absque ulla discretionem cogatur in quarta parte.

^t Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. ii. leg. vii. Ad instructiones itinerum pontiumque etiam divinas domos et venerabiles ecclesias tam laudabili titulo adscribimus: quia non est inter sordida munera numeratum.

^u Justin. Novel. c. xxxi. c. v. Εἰ μὲν τοι ὁδοστρωσίας, ἢ γεφυρῶν οἰκοδομῆς, ἢ ἀνανεώσεως χρεῖα γίνηται, κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν ἄλλων κητόρων, τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔργον καὶ τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους σιβασμίους οἴκους πληροῦν· ἡνίκα ὑπ' ἐκείνην κίεττηνται τὴν πόλιν, ὑφ' ἧ τὸ τοιοῦτον γίνεται ἔργον.

^w Cod. Theod. lib. viii. tit. v. de Cursu Publico, Angariis et Parangariis.—Cod. Justin. lib. xii. tit. li.

service by two laws of Constantius^x, made in the former part of his reign, which expressly excuse both their persons and their estates from the duty of *parangariæ*. But, by another law, made in the last year of his reign, an. 360, he revoked this privilege, obliging the clergy to 'the duty of translation,' as it is there worded^y; by which he means this duty of furnishing horses and carriages for the emperor's service. And this he did, notwithstanding that the Council of Ariminum had petitioned for an immunity, being at a time when Constantius was displeased with them. However, this law continued in force, not only under Julian, but under Valentinian and Theodosius, till, by a contrary^z law about twenty years after, an. 382, they restored the clergy to their ancient privilege; which was further confirmed to them by Honorius, an. 412, whose law is still extant^a in both the codes. Yet, Theodosius, junior, and Valentinian the Third, an. 440, took away their privilege again; and, by two laws^b, made churchlands liable to these burdens of the *angariæ*, *parangariæ*, &c. (whenever the emperor should be upon any march or expedition), as well as all others. From all which it appears that there was no certain rule observed in this matter; but the clergy had, or had not, this privilege, according as the state

^x Ibid. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. et Cler. leg. x. Parangarium quoque parili modo (a clericis) cesset exactio.—Ibid. leg. xiv. Ad parangarium quoque præstationem non vocentur, nec eorundem facultates atque substantiæ.

^y Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. et Cler. leg. xv. Ut præterea . . . ad universa munia sustinenda translationesque faciendas omnes clerici debeant aditineri.

^z Ibid. lib. xi. tit. xvi. de Extraordin. et Sordidis Muner. leg. xv. Circa ecclesias, rhetores atque grammaticos eruditionis veriusque vetusto more durante . . . Ne paraveredorum hujusmodi viris aut parangiarum præbitio mandetur, etc.

^a Ibid. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. et Cler. leg. xl. Nulla translationum sollicitudo gignatur, etc. (alii signetur, ut in Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. ii. de Sacrosanct. Eccles. leg. v.)

^b Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. ii. leg. xi. Neminem ab angariis, vel parangariis, vel plaustis, vel quolibet munere excusari præcipimus, cum ad felicissimam expeditionem nostri numinis, omnium provincialium per loca, qua iter arripimus, debeant solita nobis ministeria exhiberi; licet ad sacrosanctas ecclesias possessiones pertineant.—It. lib. xii. tit. li. de Cursu Publico, leg. xxi. Nullus penitus cujuslibet ordinis seu dignitatis, vel sacrosancta ecclesia, vel domus regia tempore expeditionis excusationem angariarum seu parangiarum habeat.

of affairs would bear, or as the emperors were inclined to grant it.

SECT. XI.—*Of the Tribute called Denarismus, Unciæ, and Descriptio Lucrativorum; and the Church's Exemption from it.*

Besides these public taxes and duties, there was also one private tax, from which all lands given to the Church, or to any charitable use, were exempt by the laws of the empire. This, in the civil law, is called *denarismus*, or *unciæ*, and *descriptio lucrativorum*. The reason of which names will be understood by explaining the nature of the tribute. It was a sort of tax paid, not to the emperors, but to the *curia* or *curiales* of every city; that is, to that body of men who were obliged, by virtue of their estates, to be members of the court or common council, and bear the offices of their country. Now, it sometimes happened, that one of these *curiales* left his estate to another that was not of the *curia*; and an estate, so descending, was said to come to him *ex causa lucrativa*; which, being opposed to *causa onerosa*, is when a man enjoys an estate by gift or legacy, and not by purchase. But now lest, in this case, the giving away an estate from the *curia* might have brought a greater burden upon the remaining part of the *curiales*,—the person so enjoying it was obliged to pay an annual tribute to the *curia* of the city; which, from the nature of his tenure, was called *descriptio lucrativorum*, ‘the lucrative tax.’ And because every head of land, every *jugum* or *caput*, as the law terms it, was obliged to pay annually a *denarius*, or ‘ounce of silver;’ therefore, the tax itself was called *unciæ*, and *denarismus*; as in the laws^c of Theodosius M., cited in the margin. Theodosius, junior, and Valentinian the Third, made this tax double, laying^d four *siliquæ*, which

^c Cod. Theod. lib. xii. tit. i. de Decurationibus, leg. cvii. Quicumque heres curiali vel legitimus, vel electus testamento graduve successerit . . . vel si quem liberalitas locupletaverit forte viventis, quos a curiæ nexu conditio solet dirimere, sciant pecuniariis descriptionibus, pro ea tantum parte patrimonii, in quam quisque successit, ad denarium sive uncias, sese auctoris sui nomine retinendum.—It. leg. cxxiii. ibid. Quidquid ex substantia curialium ad unumquemque diversa largiendi occasione pervenerit, denarismo vel unciis habeatur obnoxium in ea parte, in qua auctoris sui nomine fuerat retentatum.

^d Ibid. lib. xii. tit. iv. De imponenda lucrativis descriptione leg. unic. Hi

is, 'two ounces of silver,' upon every head of land. According to which rate, every possessor who held any estate by the aforesaid tenure, was obliged to pay tribute out of it to the *curia* of the city, to which it belonged. But if any such estate was given to the Church, it was exempt from this tribute, if not before, yet at least in, the time of Justinian. For there are two laws of his to this purpose*; the one in his Code, the other in his Novels: in both which, such lands as any of the *curiales* gave to a church, or a monastery, or hospital of any kind, are particularly excepted from this lucrative tax; and that, *pietatis intuitu*, as it is there worded, in regard to religion, and because it was fit to put some difference between things human and divine. But whether the Church enjoyed this immunity under any other prince before Justinian, is what I leave the curious to make the subject of a farther inquiry, whilst I proceed to consider another sort of immunity of the clergy, which was their exemption from civil offices in the Roman empire.

SECT. XII.—*The Clergy exempt from all Civil Personal Offices.*

Of these offices, some were personal, and others predial; that is, such as were tied to men's estates and possessions. Some, again, were called *honores*, 'honourable offices;' and others *munera sordida*, 'mean and sordid offices.' Now, from all these, as well patrimonial as personal, honourable as well as

qui ex lucrativa causa possessiones detinent, quæ aliquando curialium fuerint, pro singulis earum jugis et capitibus quaternas siliquas annuæ (leg. annuas) ordinibus nomine descriptionis exsolvant.

* Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. ii. de Sacrosanct. Eccles. leg. xxii. Sancimus, res ad venerabiles ecclesias, vel xenones, vel monasteria, vel orphanotrophia, vel gerontocomia, vel ptochotrophia (vel nosocomia), vel brephotrophia, vel denique ad aliud tale consortium descendentes ex qualicumque curiali liberalitate, sive inter vivos, sive mortis causa, sive in ultimis voluntatibus habita, a lucrativorum inscriptionibus liberas immunesque esse: lege scilicet, quæ super hujusmodi inscriptionibus posita est, in aliis quidem personis suum robur obtinente: in parte autem ecclesiastica, vel aliarum domuum, quæ hujusmodi piis consortiis deputatæ sunt, vigorem suum, pietatis intuitu, mitigante. Cur enim non faciamus discrimen inter res divinas et humanas? et quare non competens prærogativa cœlesti favori conservetur?—Id. Novell. cxxxi. c. v. Si quæ vero res ex curialium substantia ad quamlibet sacrosanctam ecclesiam, aut aliam venerabilem domum secundum leges venerunt, aut postea venerint; liberas eas esse sancimus descriptione lucrativorum.

sordid, by the first laws of Constantine, the clergy were universally and entirely exempt. But after-ages made a little distinction as to such of the clergy who enjoyed patrimonial secular estates of their own, distinct from those of the Church; for such of the clergy were sometimes forced to leave their ecclesiastical employment, and bear the civil offices of the empire: of which more by and by. But, as to offices which were purely personal, the clergy were entirely exempt from them, as appears from a law of Valentinian and Gratian^f, still extant in both the Codes; where every order of the clergy, not only presbyters and deacons, but subdeacons, exorcists, readers, door-keepers, and acolythists, are specified as exempt from personal offices. And that is the meaning of that law of Constantius, mentioned both by Athanasius^g, and Socrates^h, and Sozomenⁱ, where they say, he granted the clergy of Egypt *ἀλειτουργησίαν*, and *ἀτέλειαν λειτουργημάτων*, exemption from such offices as had been forced upon them in the Arian persecution.

SECT. XIII.—*And from Sordid Offices, both Predial and Personal.*

Again, for those called ‘sordid offices,’ not only the persons of the clergy, but the estates of the Church, were discharged of all burdens of that nature. Constantius made two laws^k to this purpose, which Valentinian and Theodosius confirmed, granting the clergy, and some other orders of men, the same

^f Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. et Cler. leg. xxiv. Presbyteros, diaconos, subdiaconos, exorcistas, lectores, ostiarios etiam, et omnes perinde qui primi sunt, personalium munerum expertes esse præcipimus. The Justinian Code, lib. i. tit. iii. leg. vi. has the same, only instead of the words, “Omnes qui primi sunt,” it reads, “Acolythos.”

^g Athan. Apol. ii. (tom. i. p. 772, edit. Par. 1627.) (p. 173. C. edit. Par. 1698.) *Τὴν ἀτέλειαν, ἥς ἔτυχον πάλαι καὶ ἅμα αὐτῷ κληρικοὶ, τοῦτοις βεβαιωθῆναι προσηκόντως.*

^h Socrat. lib. ii. c. xxiii. who has the same words.

ⁱ Sozom. lib. iii. c. xxi. *Προσέταξε . . . ὡς τὸ πρὶν ἀτέλειαν ἔχειν λειτουργημάτων τοὺς αὐτοῦ κληρικοὺς.* (Reading, p. 117. B 5.)

^k Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. leg. x. Ut ecclesiarum cœtus concursu populorum ingentium frequentetur, clericis ac juvenibus præbeatur immunitas, repellaturque ab his exactio munerum sordidorum. — Leg. xiv. ibid. Omnis a clericis indebitæ conventionis injuria, et iniquæ exactiois repellatur improbitas: nullaque conventio sit circa eos munerum sordidorum.

immunity in this respect, as they did to the chief officers and dignitaries of the empire; and they intimate¹, also, that this was no new privilege, but what, by ancient custom, they had always enjoyed. The same is said by Honorius, that this was an ancient privilege of the Church, conferred upon her by his royal ancestors, and that it ought not to be diminished; therefore he made two laws, particularly in behalf^m of the bishop of Rome, that no extraordinary office or sordid function should be imposed upon him. Nor do we ever find the clergy called to bear any such office in the empire; for though Gothofred, in his notes upon the forementioned lawⁿ of Theodosius, where several of these offices are specified, reckons the *angariæ*, and building and repairing of ways and bridges, among sordid offices, yet I have showed before, that what was exacted of the clergy in reference to those two things, was under the notion of a tribute, and not an office; and the laws which require the clergy to contribute toward them, say expressly^o, that they are not to be looked upon as sordid offices, nor any duty to be exacted under that notion.

¹ Cod. Theod. lib. xi. tit. xvi. de Extraord. et Sordid. Muner. leg. xv. Maximarum culmina dignitatum, consistoriani quoque comites, notarii etiam nostri, et cubicularii omnes, atque ex cubiculariis, ab omnibus sordidis muneribus vindicentur: cæteris autem palatina vel militari intra palatium prærogativa munitis, ita demum privilegium simile contingat, si prioribus statutis se ad ejusmodi exactionem docuerint pertinere: ut non singulis indulta personis, sed in communi dignitati vel corpori ejusmodi beneficia doceantur fuisse concessa circa ecclesias, rhetores atque grammaticos eruditionis utriusque vetusto more durante, etc.

^m Ibid. leg. xxi. Privilegia venerabilis ecclesiæ, quæ divi principes contulerunt, imminui non oportet: proinde etiam, quæ circa urbis Romæ episcopum observatio intemerata custodiet: ita ut nihil extraordinarii muneris ecclesia vel sordidæ functionis agnoscat.—Ibid. leg. xxiv. Privilegio venerabilis ecclesiæ imminui non patimur, ita ut nihil extraordinarii muneris ecclesiæ, vel sordidæ functionis, agnoscant. Quidquid igitur præceptis veteribus reverentia religionis obtinuit, mutilari, etiam pœnæ interminatione, prohibemus: ita, ut hi quoque qui ecclesiæ obtemperant, his quibus cautum est, beneficiis perfruantur.

ⁿ Gothofr. in Cod. Theod. lib. xi. tit. xvi. leg. xv. Quantum sordidum munus est, paraveredorum et parangariarum præbitio . . . Duodecimum munus inter sordida numeratur viarum et pontium constructionis sollicitudo.

^o Cod. Theod. lib. xv. tit. iii. de Itin. Muniendo, leg. vi. Honor. et Theodos. jun. Absit ut nos instructionem viæ publicæ, et pontium, stratarumque operam . . . inter sordida munera numeremus, &c. Vid. Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. ii. de SS. Eccles. leg. vii. ejusdem Honorii et Theodos.

SECT. XIV.—*Also from Curial or Municipal Offices.*

As to the other sort of offices, called *honores*, 'honourable or municipal offices' (which are otherwise termed curial offices, because they who bare them, were called *curiales* and *decuriones*, 'men of the court or curia of every city,') all the clergy, who had no lands of their own, but lived upon the revenues and possessions of the Church, were entirely exempt from them; because the duties of the Church and state were not thought well consistent in one and the same person; and it was deemed unreasonable to burden the lands of the Church with the civil duties of the empire. When Constantine was first quietly settled in his government, immediately after the great decennial, commonly called the Diocletian persecution, he seems to have granted a full and unlimited immunity in this respect to all the clergy, as well those who had lands or patrimony of their own, as those who lived wholly upon the revenues of the Church. For thus he expresses himself in a law directed to Anulinus, proconsul of Afric, recorded by Eusebius, which bears date an. 312 or 313: "Our pleasure is, that all those in your province, who minister in the Catholic church, over which Cæcilian presides, who are commonly called 'the clergy,' be exempted^p from all public offices whatsoever; that they may not be let or hindered in the performance of divine service by any sacrilegious distraction." Anulinus has also an epistle still extant in St. Austin^q, written to Constantine not long

P Constant. Ep. ad Anulin. apud Euseb. lib. x. c. vii. (Reading, p. 433. A 1.) 'Εκείνους τοὺς εἰσω τῆς ἐπαρχίας τῆς σοι πεπιστευμένης ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ᾧ Καικιλιανὸς ἐφέστηκε, τὴν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ὑπηρεσίαν τῇ ἀγίᾳ ταύτῃ θρησκείᾳ παρέχοντας, οὕσπερ κληρικοὺς ἐπονομάζειν ἐλώθασι, ἀπὸ πάντων ἀπαξιαπλῶς τῶν λειτουργιῶν βούλομαι ἀλειτουργήτους διαφυλαχθῆναι· ὅπως μὴ διὰ τινος πλάνης ἢ ἐξολισθήσεως ἱεροσύλου ἀπὸ τῆς θεραπείας τῆς τῷ Θεοῷ τῇ ὀφειλομένης ἀφέλκωνται, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἄνευ τινὸς ἐνοχλήσεως τῷ ἰδίῳ νόμῳ ἐξυπηρετῶνται.

q Anulin. Ep. ad Constant. ap. Aug. Ep. lxxviii. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 213.) Scripta cœlestia majestatis vestræ accepta atque adorata, Cæcilianus et his qui sub eodem agunt, quique clerici appellantur, devotio mea apud Acta parvitatibus mea insinuare curavit, eosdemque hortata est, ut unitate consensu omnium facta, cum omni omnino munere indulgentia majestatis vestre liberati esse videantur, catholica custodita, sanctitatis legis debita reverentia ac divinis rebus inserviant.

after, wherein he mentions this grant, as sent to him, to be intimated to Cæcilian and the Catholic clergy, viz., “that, by the kind indulgence of his majesty, they were exempt from all manner of offices, that they might, with due reverence, attend divine service.” And this epistle of Anulinus is also related, but not so correctly, in the Collation^r of Carthage. In this grant, it is very observable, that this privilege was only allowed to the Catholic clergy, which made the Donatists very uneasy, because they could not enjoy the same favour: and, upon this, they became tumultuous and troublesome to the Catholics, procuring the clergy, in some places, to be nominated to public offices, and to be made receivers of the public revenues, &c. But complaint hereof being made to Constantine, it occasioned the publishing of a new order in Afric, pursuant to the former, “that whereas he was given to understand, that the clergy of the Catholic Church^s were molested by the heretical faction, and by their procurement nominated to public offices, and made susceptors or receivers of tribute, in derogation of the privileges which he had formerly granted them; he now signified his pleasure again, that if the magistrates found any person so aggrieved, they should substitute another in his room; and take care, for the future, that no such injuries should be offered to the men of that profession.” This law was published an. 313, and it is the first of this kind that is extant in the Theodosian Code. About six years after, an. 319, he put forth another, upon a like complaint made in Italy, that the clergy were called away from their proper function to

^r Collat. Carth. die iii. c. cexvi. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 1488.) Augustis nostris Anulinus v. c. proconsul Africae: Scripta cœlestia majestatis vestræ accepta atque adorata, Cæciliano, et his qui sub eodem agunt, quique clerici appellantur, devotio mea apud Acta parvitatæ meæ insinuare curavit.—C. cexx. Martialis exceptor ex superioribus gestis recitavit: Eisdem hortata est, ut unitate consensu omnium facta munere majestatis vestræ liberati esse videantur, catholica custodita sanctitati legis debita reverentia, ac divinis rebus inserviant.

^s Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. leg. i. Hæreticorum factione compertimus ecclesiæ catholicæ clericos ita vexari, ut nominationibus seu susceptionibus aliquibus, quas publicus mos exposcit, contra indulta sibi privilegia, prægraventur. Ideoque placet, si quem tua gravitas invenerit ita vexatum, eidem alium subrogari, et deinceps supradictæ religionis hominibus hujusmodi injurias prohiberi.

serve in public offices : and in this he grants them the same^t general immunity as before. So again, an. 330, a complaint being made against the Donatists in Numidia, that when they could not have their will upon the superior clergy, by reason of the former immunity that was granted them, they, notwithstanding, forced the inferior clergy to bear offices in *curia*, upon pretence that the exemption did not extend to them ; Constantine, to cut off all dispute, published another law, wherein^u he particularly exempts the inferior clergy, readers, subdeacons, and the rest, from bearing offices in *curia* ; and orders, that they should enjoy, in Afric, the same perfect immunity as they did in the Oriental churches.

SECT. XV.—*But this last Privilege, confined to such of the Clergy as had no Estates but what belonged to the Church, by the Laws of Constantine.*

Now this immunity was so great a privilege, that it not only became the envy of heretics, but also provoked some Catholic laymen (who were possessed of estates, qualifying them to bear the offices of their country) to get a sort of titular ordination to some of the inferior offices of the Church, on purpose to enjoy this immunity, when yet they neither designed to do the duty of that office, nor to arise to any higher order in the Church ; which being interpreted a mere fraudulent collusion, to deprive the state of fit men to serve the commonwealth, and noways benefit the Church, it was presently resented by Constantine as an abuse ; and various laws were made, both by him and his successors, as occasion required, to restrain and correct it. Constantine, at first, as I observed before, granted this immunity indifferently to all the clergy, as well possessors as not possessors of private estates, whom he found actually engaged in the service of the Church, when he came to the quiet possession of the empire. Nor did he, for some years

^t Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. leg. ii. Qui divino cultui ministeria religionis impendunt, id est, hi qui clerici appellantur, ab omnibus omnino muneribus excusentur: ne sacrilego livore quorundam a divinis obsequiis avocentur.

^u Ibid. lib. xvi. tit. ii. leg. vii. Lectores divinorum apicum, et hypodiaconi, cæterique clerici, qui per injuriam hæreticorum ad curiam devocati sunt, absolvantur : et de cætero ad similitudinem orientis minime ad curias devocentur, sed immunitate plenissima potiantur.

after, perhaps, restrain any sort of men from taking orders in the Church. But, when he found this indulgence to the Church, by the artifice of cunning men, only turned to the detriment of the state, and that rich men sheltered themselves under an ecclesiastical title, only to avoid the offices of their country, he then made a law, that no rich plebeian, who was qualified by his estate to serve in *curia*, and bear civil offices in any city, should become an ecclesiastic; or, if he did, he should be liable, from the time that law was made, to be fetched back, and returned *in curiam*, to bear the offices of his country as a layman. What year that law was made, is not very certain, save only that it was before an. 320; when a second law was made upon the same subject, referring to the first. And from this we learn what was the import of both: that it was Constantine's design to put a distinction betwixt such of the clergy as were ordained before that first law, and such as were ordained afterward; the former he exempted from civil offices, though they were possessed of estates, but not the latter; which plainly appears from the words of the second law, which are these:—"Whereas by a former law we ordained, that from thenceforward no counsellor, or counsellor's son, or any one who, by his estate, was sufficiently qualified to bear public offices, should take upon him the name or function of the clergy, but only such whose fortune is small, and they not tied to any civil offices, we are now given to understand, that such of the clergy who were ordained before the promulgation of that law, are molested upon that account; wherefore, our command is, that those be discharged of all further trouble, and that such only as entered themselves among the clergy since the law was made, with intention to decline public offices, shall be returned to the *curia*, and states

¶ Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. leg. iii. Cum constitutio emissa præcipiat, nullum deinceps decurionem, vel ex decurione progenitum, vel etiam instructum idoneis facultatibus, atque obeundis publicis muneribus opportunum, ad clericorum nomen obsequiumque confugere; sed eos . . . qui fortuna tenues, neque muneribus civilibus teneantur obstricti: cognovimus illos etiam inquietari, qui ante legis promulgationem clericorum se consortio sociaverint: ideoque præcipimus, his ab omni molestia liberatis, illos qui post legem latam obsequia publica declinantes, ad clericorum numerum confugerunt, curiæ ordinibusque restitui, et civilibus obsequiis inservire.

of their city, to serve in the civil offices of their country." There is another law of Constantine's, published after this *, an. 326, a year after the Council of Nice, which speaks to the same effect, and shows that this was the standing rule of the latter part of Constantine's reign, to exempt none among the clergy, who were qualified by estates of their own, from bearing personally the public offices of the empire.

SECT. XVI.—*Constantine's Laws a little altered by the succeeding Emperors in favour of the Church.*

But however this might be well designed, at first, by him to prevent some abuses, yet, in process of time, it became very prejudicial to the Church ; for by this means, sometimes presbyters and deacons, after they had been twenty or thirty years in the Church's service, were called upon, by litigious men, to bear civil offices inconsistent with the spiritual, and thereupon they were forced to forsake their ecclesiastical function. This was so great an inconvenience, that it well became the wisdom of the following emperors to find out some suitable remedy for it : which they did, by new modifying Constantine's law, and abating something of the rigour of it ; for they did not lay the burden of civil offices upon the persons of the clergy, but only upon their patrimonial estates, not belonging to the Church, and in some cases they excused those also. Constantius acquitted all bishops of this burden, both as to their estates and persons ; for, by his † laws, they might keep their estates to themselves, and neither be obliged to bear civil offices in person, nor substitute any other in their room. And he allowed the same privilege to presbyters and deacons, and all others, provided they were ordained by the consent of the civil court, or *curia*, and the general request of the people. But,

* Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. leg. vi. Si inter civitatem et clericos super alicujus nomine dubitetur, si eum æquitas ad publica trahat munera, et progenie municipis, vel patrimonio idoneus dignoscetur, exemptus clericis civitati tradatur : opulentos enim sæculi subire necessitates oportet, pauperes ecclesiarum divitiis sustentari.

† Ibid. lib. xii. tit. i. de Decurion. leg. xlix. Episcopum facultates suas curiæ, sicut ante fuerat constitutum, nullus adigat mancipare, sed antistes maneat, nec faciat substantiæ cessionem, etc.

if they were not so ordained, all that they were obliged to do, was only to part with two-thirds of their estate to their children, or next relations, and substitute them in their room ; or, in defect of such relations, to give up two parts of their estate to the *curia*, and retain the third to themselves. Valentinian, in the first year of his reign, an. 364, made the law a little stricter ; that such persons ^a, when they were ordained, should give all their estate to one of their relations, and substitute him as a *curialis* in their room, or else give it up to the *curia* itself ; otherwise, they should be liable to be called back to serve in civil offices as laymen. But he extended this obligation no further than to the beginning of his own reign ; for, by another law, made seven years after, an. 371, he exempted all such as were in the service of the Church ^a, when he came to the crown, though they had estates of their own, qualifying them to bear civil offices. Valens exempted all such as had been ten years ^b in the Church's service ; so that, if they were not called upon by the civil courts within that term, they were for ever after to be excused. Valentinian II. exempted them ^c, provided they put a substitute in their room. Theodosius exempted all that were ordained ^d before the year 388,

^a Cod. Theod. lib. xii. tit. i. de Decurion. leg. lix. Qui partes eligit ecclesiæ, aut in propinquum bona propria conferendo eum pro se faciet curialem, aut facultatibus curiæ cedat, quam reliquit ; ex necessitate revocando eo qui neutrum fecit, cum clericus esse cœpisset, etc.

^a Ibid. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. leg. xxi. Qui ecclesiæ jure obsequium deputarunt, curiis habeantur immunes, si tamen ante ortum imperii nostri ad cultum se legis nostræ contulisse constiterit.

^b Ibid. lib. xvi. tit. ii. leg. xix. Quicumque ex curialium natus genere ad clericatum venerit, et præjudicium sanguinis cœperit postulari, certi temporis definitione defendatur : ut si in consortio clericatus decennium quietis impleverit, cum patrimonio suo in perpetuum habeatur immunis : si vero intra finitos annos fuerit a curia revocatus, cum substantia sua functionibus subjaceat civitatis : observando hoc, ut hi quos decennium vindicat, petitione superflua minime fatigentur.

^c Ibid. lib. xii. tit. i. de Decurion. leg. xcix. Jussio, qua sibi Judææ legis homines blandiuntur, per quam eis curialium munerum datur immunitas, rescindatur : cum ne clericis quidem liberum sit, prius se divinis ministeriis mancipare, quam patriæ debita universa persolvant. Quisquis igitur vere Deo dicatus est, alium instructum facultatibus suis ad munera pro se complenda constituat.

^d Ibid. leg. cxxi. Qui ante secundum consulatum mansuetudinis meæ ex ordine curiali, vel presbyteri fastigium, vel ministerium diaconi, vel exorcistæ

which was the tenth year of his reign; and of those that were ordained afterward, he only required ^a the aforesaid conditions, that they should either provide a proper substitute, or give up their estates to the court at their ordination. Which is also taken notice of by St. Ambrose, in his answer to Symmachus, where he shows ^f how unreasonable it was for him to plead for the exemption of the heathen priests in this respect, when the laws did not grant it to the Christian clergy but upon such conditions. Arcadius, indeed, by the instigation of Eutropius, an. 398, cancelled all these favourable laws, and brought the clergy again to the hard rule of Constantine, that if any ^g of the *curiales* were ordained in the Church, they should, by force, be returned to the civil courts again in person, and not enjoy the benefit of those laws, which allowed them to take orders, provided they disposed of their estates to proper substitutes, who might bear offices in their stead. But this law was but very shortlived; for Chrysostom, and some others, very justly declaiming against it, Arcadius disannulled it the year following by a new law, wherein ^h he granted such of the clergy as

suscepit officium, omne ejus patrimonium immune a curialibus nexibus habeatur, ac liberum. Ii vero, qui se ad religiosa divini cultus obsequia, quocumque sub nomine, post memorati consulatus tempora præscripta contulerint, omnia sciunt cedendum esse patrimonio. — Leg. cxxiii. Evidens præcepto nostro tempus expressum est, ex quo consulatu, si qui de curialibus ad ecclesiam confugissent, omni scirent patrimonio curiæ esse cedendum.

^e Cod. Theod. lib. xii. tit. i. de Decurion. leg. civ. Curiales, qui ecclesiis malunt servire quam curiis, si volunt esse quod simulant, contemnunt illa quæ subtrahunt: nec enim eos aliter, nisi contemptis patrimoniis liberamus: quippe animos divina observatione devinctos non decet patrimoniorum desideriis occupari. — Leg. cxv. Ad curiam clerici pertinentes sciant, ex patrimonio suo, si ipsi immunes cupiunt permanere, alios idoneos esse faciendos, qui recedentium præsentiam personamque restituant in publicis muneribus subeundis.

^f Ambros. contr. Symmach. (tom. v. Opp. edit. Colon. 1616, pp. 97—99).

^g Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xlv. de his qui ad Eccles. Confug. leg. iii. Decuriones et omnes, quos solita ad debitum munus functio vocat, vigore et sollertia judicantium ad pristinam sortem, velut manu mox injecta, revocentur: quibus legem veterum prodesse non patimur, quæ cessione patrimonii subsequuta, decuriones esse clericos non vetabat.

^h Ibid. lib. xii. tit. i. de Decurion. leg. clxiii. Si qui ex secundo divi patris nostri consulatu curiam relinquentes, clericorum se consortio manciparunt, si jam episcopi, vel presbyteri, vel diaconi esse meruerunt, in sacris quidem et secretioribus Dei mysteriis perseverent, sed aut substitutum pro se curiæ offerre cogantur, aut juxta legem dudum latam tradant curiæ facultates. Residui

were taken and ordained out of the body of the *curiales*, the same privilege that they had under his father, Theodosius ; which was, that all that were ordained before the second consulship of Theodosius, an. 388, should enjoy a perfect immunity without any molestation ; and such as were ordained after that term, if they were of the superior clergy, bishops, presbyters, or deacons, they might continue in the Church's service, either providing a substitute to bear the offices of the *curia* for them, or giving up their estates to the *curia*, as former laws in that case had directed. Only it was required, that the inferior clergy, readers, subdeacons, &c., should be returned to the *curia* again, and obliged to bear offices in person. And the same was determined by Theodosius¹, junior, and Valentinian III.^k, and Majorian^l, whose laws are extant at the end of the Theodosian Code. Justinian, also, has a Novel to the same purpose, wherein^m he orders such of the inferior clergy, as

omnes, lectores, subdiaconi, vel hi clerici quibus clericorum privilegia non debentur, debitis mox patriæ muneribus præsententur.

¹ Theod. Novel. xxvi. Illustris magnificentia tua pragmatici nostri tenore comperto sciat, corporatum urbis Romæ, qui non expleto ordine cæpti officii, priusquam ad primum iter favor ad locum emeritus pervenerit, ad militiæ cuiuslibet cingulum se credidit transferendum, corporibus cui nomen suum ante dicaverat, oportere revocari : sive etiam in clericorum numero reperitur, usque ad diaconi locum similis præcepti conditio teneatur, etc.—It. Novel. xxxviii. Præsenti lege sancimus, ut quisquis ante hujus sanctionis diem suscepit clericatus officium, non expletis urbis propriæ muniis ac muneribus, in ea quidem, qua meruit, religionis observatione perduret, sed omnia per suffectum tam personalia quam patrimonii onera cogatur agnoscere, facultates suas pro virili portione singulis filiis dividat, sibimet simili parte servata, etc.

^k Valent. Novel. xii. Qui intra decennium transactum a die latæ hujus legis diaconi ordinati sunt, suffectos pro se dare debebunt. Si non habent, unde sibi hac ratione prospiciant, ipsi ad nexum proprium reducantur. Cæteris inferioris gradus ad competentia ministeria retrahendis : exceptis episcopis atque presbyteris : servatis tamen, quæ de patrimonio talium personarum legum præcedentium statuta sanxerunt.

^l Majorian. Novel. i. Quicumque se sub nomine clericatus, seu quodam religionis obtentu curialis vel corporatus fortasse subtraxerit, secundum præcedentium legum statuta, si infra diaconatus gradum locatus probatur, ad originem suam sine dilatione revocetur. Si vero jam diaconus, aut presbyter, aut episcopus latæ hujus legis tempore reperitur, sive adhuc obnoxius functionibus, sive muniis persolutis, nihil de patrimonio suo alienaturum se esse cognoscat.

^m Justin. Novel. cxliii. c. xv. ex Epitom. Julian. Antecess.—Cod. lib. i. tit. iii. de Episc. post leg. iv.

were taken out of any *curia*, to be returned thither again, unless they had lived fifteen years a monastic life, and then they were to give three parts of their patrimony to the *curia*, and retain one to themselves; but he allowed bishops to put in a substitute, and be free from bearing civil offices in person, as Julianus Antecessorⁿ, in his Epitome of the Authentics, understands him. Though I confess there is something to incline a man to think Justinian, at first, was a little more severe to such bishops, because he revived that antiquated law of Arcadius^o in his Code. But, however this be, upon the whole matter it appears, that the Christian princes, from first to last, always made a wide difference between the public patrimony of the Church, which was properly ecclesiastical, and the private estates of such of the clergy as had lands of a civil or secular tenure. For the one, the clergy were obliged to no duty or burden of civil offices; but, for the other, they were and could not be excused from them, but either by parting with some portion of their estates, or providing proper substitutes to officiate for them. The reason of which was, that such of the clergy were looked upon as irregularly promoted; it being as much against the rules of the Church, as the laws of the state, to admit any of the *curiales* to any ecclesiastical function, without first giving satisfaction to the *curia*, whence they were taken, as has been showed in another place. I have been the more curious in searching to the bottom of this business, about tribute and civil offices, and given a particular and distinct account of them from the grounds of the civil law, because but few men have recourse to those fountains whence this matter is to be cleared; and the reader will scarce find this subject handled, but either very imperfectly, or with some partiality, or some confusion, in modern authors.

ⁿ Vid. Julian. Epit. Novel. cxxiii. c. iv. post leg. xxxviii. lib. i. tit. iii. Cod. de Episc. Episcopalis ordo liberat a fortuna servili, sed non a curiali sive officiali; nam et post ordinationem durat; ita ut per subjectam vel interpositam personam officium adimpleatur: nisi curiæ vel officio restituatur.

^o Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. iii. de Episc. leg. xii. Si quis curialis clericus fuerit ordinatus, nec statim conventionem præmissa, pristinae conditioni reddatur, in vigore et sollertia judicantium, ad pristinam sortem, veluti manu injecta mox revocetur: clericis enim ulterius legem prodesse non patimur: quæ, cessione patrimonii subsequuta, decuriones clericos esse non vetabat.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE REVENUES OF THE ANCIENT CLERGY.

SECT. I.—*Several Ways of providing a Fund for the Maintenance of the Clergy: 1st, by Oblations,—some of which were Weekly.*

THE next thing that comes in order to be considered, is the maintenance of the ancient clergy; where it will be proper, first, to inquire into the ways and methods that were taken for raising of funds for their subsistence. And here, to set aside a little the consideration of tithes, which will be spoken of in the next chapter, we find other ways by which, in ancient times, a decent provision was made for them. As, first, by the voluntary oblations of the people, of which some learned persons think there were two sorts: 1, the weekly or daily oblations that were made at the altar; 2, the monthly oblations that were cast into the treasury of the Church. The first sort of oblations were such as every rich and able communicant made at his coming to partake of the Eucharist, where they offered not only bread and wine, out of which the Eucharist was taken, but also other necessities, and sometimes sums of money, for the maintenance of the Church and relief of the poor; as is evident from those words of St. Jerome, in his Comments upon Ezekiel^a, where he tells us, “That thieves and oppressors made their oblations among others, out of their ill-gotten goods, that they might glory in their wickedness;

^a Hieron. Com. in Ezek. xviii. p. 537. Quod multos facere conspiciamus, qui opprimunt per potentiam, vel furta committunt, ut de multis parva pauperibus tribuant, et in suis sceleribus gloriantur. Publiceque diaconus in ecclesiis recitet offerentium nomina: tantum offert illa, tantum ille pollicitus est; placentque sibi ad plausum populi, torquente eos conscientia. (Vallars. vol. v. p. 209, at top.)

while the deacons in the church publicly recited the names of those that offered: Such an one offers so much; Such an one hath promised so much: and so they please themselves with the applause of the people, while their own conscience lashes and torments them." Those called the Apostolical Canons^b, speak also of the oblation of fruits, and fowls, and beasts; but order such to be sent home to the bishop and presbyters, who were to divide them with the deacons and the rest of the clergy.

SECT. II.—*And others Monthly.*

Another sort of oblations were made monthly, when it was usual for persons that were able and willing to give, as they thought fit, something to the ark or treasury of the church; which sort of collation is particularly taken notice of by Tertullian^c, who says, "it was made *menstrua die*, 'once a month,' or when every one pleased, and as they pleased; for no man was compelled to it: it was not any stated sum, but a voluntary oblation." Baronius^d thinks this ark or treasury was called the *corban* of the Church; because Cyprian^e uses that

^b Can. Apost. c. ii. Εἰ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου διάταξιν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ, προσενέγκῃ ἑτερά τινα ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ἢ μίλκῃ, ἢ γάλα, ἢ ἀντὶ οἴνου σίκερα, ἢ ἐπιτηδεύτᾳ, ἢ ὄρνεις, ἢ ζῶά τινα, ἢ ὄσπρια, ὡς παρὰ τὴν διάταξιν Κυρίου ποιῶν, καθαιρεῖσθω, πλὴν νέων χιδρῶν, ἢ σταφυλῆς τῷ καιρῷ τῷ δέοντι. Μὴ ἐξὸν δὲ ἴστω προσάγεσθαι τι ἕτερον εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ἢ ἔλαιον εἰς τὴν λυχνίαν, καὶ θυμίαμα τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἀγίας προσφορᾶς.—Can. iv. Ἡ ἄλλη πᾶσα ὀπώρα εἰς οἶκον ἀποστελλίσθω ἀπαρχῆς τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον. Δῆλον δὲ, ὡς ὁ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἐπιμερίζουσι τοῖς διακόνους καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς κληρικῶς.

^c Tertul. Apol. c. xxxix. (p. 31. B 2.) Si quod arcæ genus est, non de honoraria [ordinaria] summa, quasi redemptæ religionis congregatur: modicam unusquisque stipem menstrua die, vel quum velit, et si modo velit, et si modo possit, apponit: nam nemo compellitur, sed sponte confert.

^d Baron. ann. xliv. n. lxix. Idem etiam meminit de antiquo ecclesiarum usu, qui hætenus perdurabat, ut et in ecclesiis essent gazophylacia, in quibus oblatæ pecuniæ conderentur, quæ a Cypriano corbona nuncupantur. (Venet. 1705. vol. i. p. 269. E.)

^e Cypr. de Oper. et Eleemos. (p. 218, edit. Paris. 1606.) Locuples et dives es, et dominicum celebrare te credis, quæ corbonam [corban] omnino non respicis; quæ in dominicum sine sacrificio venis; quæ partem de sacrificio, quod pauper obtulit, sumis! [Paris. 1726. p. 242. line 3.]

word when he speaks of the offerings of the people; rebuking a rich and wealthy matron for coming to celebrate the Eucharist without any regard to the *corban*, and partaking of the Lord's Supper without any sacrifice of her own. Others^f conceive, that *corban* is not a name for the treasury, but signifies the gift or oblation itself; and that Cyprian so uses it, making it the same with the sacrifices or offerings of the people. But the Evangelist (Matt. xxvii. 6.) seems rather to favour the opinion of Baronius; for, when he says, "the chief priests did not think it lawful to put Judas's money εἰς τὸν κορβανᾶν," it is evident he there by *corban* means the treasury, as most translators render it.

SECT. III.—*Whence came the Custom of a Monthly Division among the Clergy.*

But however this be, it is very probable that hence came the custom of dividing these oblations, once a month, among the clergy. For, as Tertullian speaks of a monthly collation, so Cyprian frequently mentions^g a monthly division, in which the presbyters had their shares by equal portions, and other orders after the same manner. Whence the clergy are also styled, in his language^h, *sportulantes fratres*, 'partakers of the distribution;' and what we now call *suspensio a beneficio*, is, in his styleⁱ, *suspensio a divisione mensurna*, 'suspension from the monthly division;' which plainly implies, that this sort of Church revenues was usually divided, once a month, among

^f Basnag. Exercitat. in Baron. p. 597. Baronio adsentiri non possum de significatione corban: in ecclesiis erant gazophylacia, in quibus oblatæ pecuniæ conderentur.—N. lxxix. Arcula in quam pecunia congregabatur, non designatur a Cypriano voce hac corbona; sed donum ipsum a fidelibus oblatum, etc.

^g Cyprian. Ep. xxxiv. al. xxxix. (Paris. 1726. p. 48.) Presbyterii honorem designasse nos illis jam sciatis, ut et sportulis iisdem cum presbyteris honorentur, et divisiones mensurnas æquatis quantitibus partiantur, etc.

^h Ibid. Ep. lxxvi. al. i. (Paris. p. 114.) Quæ nunc ratio et forma in clero tenetur, ut qui in ecclesia Domini ordinatione clerica promoventur in nullo ab administratione divina avocentur, nec molestiis et negotiis sæcularibus alligentur, sed in honore sportulantium fratrum, tanquam decimas ex fructibus accipientes, ab altari et sacrificiis non recedant, etc.

ⁱ Ibid. Ep. xxviii. al. xxxiv. Interim se a divisione mensurna tantum contineant, non quasi a ministerio ecclesiastico privati esse videantur, sed ut integris omnibus ad nostram præsentiam differantur. (Paris. 1726. p. 39.)

the clergy. And, perhaps, in conformity to this custom it was, that the Theodotian heretics, having persuaded one Natalius, a confessor, to be ordained a bishop among them, promised him a monthly salary of one hundred and fifty *denarii*, *μηνιαία δηνάρια ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα*, as Eusebius^k words it, referring to the usual way of distribution once a month among the clergy.

SECT. IV.—*Secondly, Other Revenues arising from the Lands and Possessions of the Church.*

Another sort of revenues which the clergy enjoyed, were such as arose annually from the lands and possessions which were given to the Church. These, indeed, at first, were but small, by reason of the continual vexations and persecutions which the Church underwent for the three first ages, when immovable goods were always most exposed to danger. It was the custom of the Church of Rome, therefore, never to keep any immovable possessions, no, not for many ages, if we may credit^l Theodorus Lector, who speaks of it as customary in his own time an. 520. But if any such were given to the Church, they immediately sold them, and divided the price into three parts, giving one to the Church, another to the bishop, and the third to the rest of the clergy. And Valesius finds no exception to this till near the time of Gregory the Great. But if this was the custom of the Church of Rome, it was a very singular one; for other churches had their immovables, both houses and lands, even in the times of persecution, as appears from the edicts of Maximinus, wherein he revoked his former decrees that had raised the persecution; and in these latter edicts granted the Christians liberty not only to rebuild their churches, but also ordered, that if any houses or lands belonging to them had been confiscated, or sold, or given

^k Euseb. lib. v. c. xviii. (Reading, p. 220. A 6.) 'Ανεπίσθη ὁ Ἀνατάλιος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ σάλαιψ ἑπίσκοπος κληρωθῆναι ταύτης τῆς αἰρέσεως, ὥστε λαμβάνειν παρ' αὐτῶν μηνιαία δηνάρια ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα.

^l Theod. Lect. Collect. lib. ii. p. 567. "Ἔθος τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς Ῥώμης, ἀκίνητα μὴ κρατεῖν δίκαια· ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ περιέλωσιν, εὐθέως πικράσκεσθαι, καὶ εἰς μοίρας τρεῖς διαιρεῖσθαι τὸ τίμημα· καὶ τὸ μὲν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ δίδοσθαι· τὸ δὲ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ· τὸ δὲ κλήρῳ.

away^m, they should be restored to them again. That this was meant of houses and lands belonging to the Church, as well as private Christians, is evident from the decree of Constantine and Licinius, published the same year, an. 313, wherein they gave orders, that, whereas the Christians were known to have not only places of assembly, but also other places belonging not to any private man, but to the whole body, all such placesⁿ should be restored to the body and to every particular assembly among them. Which is repeated again in Constantine's letter to Anulinus^o, and other public acts of his recorded by Eusebius^p in his life, where he makes mention of houses, gardens, lands, and other possessions belonging to the Church, of which she had been plundered and despoiled in the late persecutions. These are undeniable evidences that some part of the ecclesiastical revenues were anciently raised from houses and lands settled upon the Church, even before any Christian emperors could give encouragement to them.

SECT. V.—*These very much augmented by the Laws of Constantine.*

But when Constantine was quietly settled upon the throne, the Church revenues received great augmentations in this kind: for he enacted a law at Rome, (which is still extant in both the Codes^q.) that any one whatsoever should have liberty

^m Euseb. lib. ix. c. x.

ⁿ Apud Euseb. lib. x. c. v. p. 318. D.

^o Constant. Epist. ad Anulinum ap. Euseb. (Reading, p. 429. A.) 'Επειδὴ περ προφρήμεθα ταῦτα ἅπερ αἱ αὐταὶ ἐκκλησίαι πρότερον ἐσχέκσαν, τῷ δικαίῳ αὐτῶν ἀποκατασταθῆναι, κ. τ. λ.

^p Euseb. Vit. lib. ii. c. xxxvii. (Reading, p. 496.) 'Ιδύτωσαν ἅπαντες, εἰ τε χωρίον· εἴ τ' οἰκίαν· εἰ τε κῆπον· εἰ τε ἕτερόν τι τῶν προειρημένων κατέχουσιν, καλὸν καὶ λυσιτελὲς αὐτοῖς εἶναι, καὶ ὁμολογεῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀποκαθιστάναι σὺν πάσῃ ταχύτητι.—Ibid. c. xxxix. "Ἀπαντα ὅσα ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις προσήκειν ὁρθῶς ἂν φανείη· εἴτ' οἰκίαι τὸ κτῆμα τυγχάνουσιν· εἴτ' ἀγροὶ τινες καὶ κῆποι· εἴθ' ὅποια δὴ ποτε ἕτερά τινα, οὐδενὸς τῶν εἰς τὴν δεσποτείαν ἐλαττουμένων δικαίων, ἀλλ' ἀκεραίων πάντων μενόντων, ἀποκαθιστασθαι προστάττομεν.

^q Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. leg. iv.—It. Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. ii. de Sacrosanct. Eccles. leg. i. Habeat unusquisque licentiam sanctissimo catholico venerabilique concilio, decedens bonorum quod optaverit relinquere.

at his death to bequeath by will what part of his goods he pleased to the holy Catholic Church. By which means, the liberality of pious persons was very much encouraged, and great additions were made to the standing revenues of the Church. Therefore, Baronius is very injurious^r to the memory of Constantine, and justly corrected by Gothofred^s and Mr. Pagi^t for it, in that he insinuates as if Constantine had relapsed toward heathenism at this very time, an. 321, when he published this law, so much in favour of the Church.

SECT. VI.—*Whose Laws were confirmed, and not revoked, by the succeeding Emperors, as some mistake.*

Others are no less injurious to some of his successors, when they represent them as injurious to the Church, in forbidding widows and orphans to leave any legacies to the Church. Baronius cannot help complaining, also, upon this point, though he contradicts himself about it; for in one place^u he says, “The foresaid law of Constantine did so augment the Church’s wealth, that the following emperors began to dread the consequences of it, that it would turn to the detriment and poverty of the commonwealth; and, therefore, they made laws to restrain the faithful from being so profuse in their donations to the Church.” Yet, when he comes to speak particularly of those laws, he owns they were not designed^w against the Church, but only to correct the scandalous prac-

^r Baron. an. 321. n. 18. (Venet. 1707. vol. iii. p. 184.) Quem hactenus tot tantaque adeo insignia pro Christiana religione, hoc anno atque superioribus temporibus, statuissæ vidimus, tum ex scriptis hisce ab eo legibus, tum ex aliis citatis auctoribus, in fine tamen hujus ipsius anni (o dolendum facinus!) minus plane dignum atque adeo abhorrens a Christiano Imperatore rescriptum dedisse ad Maximum Præfectum Urbis, apparet, quo Aruspices consulendos esse discernit, etc.

^s Gothofr. Com. in Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. x. de Paganis, leg. i. pp. 257, 258.

^t Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 321. n. 4, 5.

^u Baron. an. 321. n. 17.

^w Ibid. an. 370. n. 121. (Venet. vol. iv. p. 215. D 2.) Qua quidem [sanctione] nequaquam prohibentur Ecclesiæ hereditates accipere vel legata, vel quid hujusmodi, sed Ecclesiasticæ personæ, sive clerici, sive monachi, qui continentium nomine honestabuntur; ut plane intelligas hosce nebulones privatim aucupantes hereditates, tamquam harpyas quasdam inhiantes matronarum divitiis, et impuris [moribus] manibus cuncta fœdantes proscribere ab Urbe studuisse ipsos Imperatores.

tices of some sordid monks and ecclesiastics, who, being of an avaricious and parasitical temper, made a gain of godliness; and, under pretence of religion, so screwed themselves into the favour and affections of some rich widows and orphans, that they prevailed upon them to leave them great legacies, and sometimes their whole estates, to the prejudice of the right heirs and next relations; which was so dishonest and unbecoming a practice in such persons, that Valentinian made a law to prevent it, decreeing "that* no ecclesiastics, nor any that professed the monastic life, should frequent the houses of widows or orphans, nor be qualified to receive any gift or legacy from the donation or last will of any such persons." Which law, as Gothofred^y rightly observes, did not prohibit them from leaving any thing to the Church, though some learned men so misunderstand it, but only tended to correct this unworthy practice of some particular persons; which is equally complained of by the ancient writers of the Church. St. Ambrose and St. Jerome, and others, mention this law, but they do not at all inveigh against it, but against those vices that occasioned it. "I do not complain of the law," says St. Jerome^z, "but am grieved that we should deserve such a law, that, when idol-priests, and stage-players, and carters, and harlots, may inherit, only clerks and monks are prohibited; and that not by persecuting emperors, but Christian princes." He adds, "that it was a very prudent caution in the law, but yet it did not restrain the avarice of

* Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. leg. xx. Ecclesiastici aut ex ecclesiasticis, vel qui continentium se volunt nomine nuncupari, viduarum ac pupillarum domos non adeant: sed publicis exterminentur judiciis, si posthac eos adfines earum vel propinqui putaverint deferendos. Censemus etiam, ut memorati nihil de ejus mulieris, cui se privatim sub prætextu religionis adjunxerint, liberalitate quacumque, vel extremo judicio, possint adipisci: et omne in tantum inefficax sit, quod alicui horum ab his fuerit derelictum, ut nec per subjectam personam valeat aliquid, vel donatione, vel testamento, percipere.

^y Gothofr. in locum.

^z Hieron. Ep. ii. ad Nepotian. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 260, at bottom.) Pudet dicere, sacerdotes idolorum, mimi, et aurigæ, et scorta, hereditates capiunt: solis clericis ac monachis hac lege prohibetur: et prohibetur non a persecutoribus, sed a Principibus Christianis. Nec de lege conqueror, sed doleo cur meruerimus hanc legem . . . Provida severaque legis cautio: et tamen nec sic refrænatur avaritia. Per fidei commissa, legibus illudimus; et quasi majora sint Imperatorum scita quam Christi, leges timemus, Evangelia contemnimus.

such persons, who found out an artifice to elude the law, *per fidei commissa*, by getting others to receive in trust for them." Which shows us the sense St. Jerome had of this matter, that he did not think the emperors were injurious to the Church in making such a law; but those persons were only to be blamed whose avarice and sordid flatteries compelled them to make it: and any one that will consult St. Ambrose^a, or the author under his name^b, will find that they give the same account of it. Theodosius, indeed, some years after, made a law relating particularly to such deaconesses of the Church as were of noble families, that they should not^c dispose of their jewels, or plate, or furniture, or any other such things as were the ancient marks of honour in their families, under pretence of religion, while they lived; nor make any church, or clerk, or poor, their heirs when they died. But as this law was made upon some particular reasons of state, so it did no harm to the Church: for, within two months, the same emperor recalled^d it by a contrary law, which granted liberty to such

^a Ambros. Epist. xxxi. ad Valentin. p. 145, edit. Basil. 1569. (tom. v. opp. edit. Colon. 1616, ep. xii. p. 98.) Nobis etiam privatæ successionis emolumenta recentibus legibus denegantur, et nemo conqueritur: non enim putamus injuriam, quia dispendium non dolemus. . . . Scribuntur testamenta templorum ministris, nullus excipitur profanus, nullus ultimæ conditionis, nullus prodigus verecundiæ: soli ex omnibus clerico commune jus clauditur, a quo solo pro omnibus votum commune suscipitur, officium commune defertur: nulla legata vel gravium viduarum, nulla donatio. Et ubi in moribus culpa non deprehenditur, tamen officio mulcta præscribitur. Quod sacerdotibus fani legaverit Christiana vidua, valet: quod ministris Dei, non valet. Quod ego non ut querar, sed ut sciant quid non querar, comprehendere: malo enim nos pecunia minores esse, quam gratia. Sed referunt, ea quæ vel donata vel relicta sunt Ecclesiæ, non esse temerata, etc. (Paris. 1836. vol. iv. p. 257.)

^b Id. Homil. vii. (lxvi. tom. v. p. 46, edit. Colon. 1616.)

^c Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. leg. xxvii. Nihil de monilibus et suppellectili, nihil de auro, argento, cæterisque clæræ domus insignibus, sub religionis defensione consumat (diaconissa) sed universa integra in liberos proximos vel in quoscunque alios arbitrii sui existimatione transcribat: ac si quando diem obierit, nullam ecclesiam, nullum clericum, nullum pauperum scribat heredes, etc.

^d Ibid. leg. xxviii. Legem, quæ diaconissis vel viduis nuper est promulgata, ne quis videlicet clericus, neve sub ecclesiæ nomine mancipia, suppellectilem, prædæm (velut infirmi sexus dispoliator) invaderet, et remotis adfinibus ac propinquis, ipse sub prætextu Catholicæ disciplinæ se ageret viventis heredem, eatenus animadvertat esse revocatam, ut de omnium chartis, si jam nota est, auferatur: nequam quisquam, aut litigator ea sibi utendum, aut judex noverit exsequendum.

deaconesses to dispose of their goods in their lifetime to any church or clerk whatsoever. And Marcian made the law a little more extensive, allowing^e deaconesses and all other religious women to dispose of any part of their estates, by will or codicil, to any church, or oratory, or clerk, or monk, or poor whatsoever. Which law Justinian also confirmed, and inserted it^f into his Code. So that Constantine's law continued always in full force; and the succeeding princes did not derogate from the privilege which he had granted the Church, in this respect, for fear (as Baronius pretends) lest the liberality of the subject to the Church should impoverish the commonwealth. Men were very liberal, indeed, in their gifts and donations to the Church in this age, but yet not so profuse as to need statutes of mortmain^g to restrain them.

^e Marcian. Novel. v. ad calcem Cod. Theod. Generali lege sancimus, sive vidua, sive diaconissa, sive virgo Deo dicata, vel sanctimonialis mulier, sive quocunque alio nomine religiosi honoris vel dignitatis femina nuncupetur, testamento vel codicillo suo . . . ecclesiae, vel martyrio, vel clerico, vel monacho, vel pauperibus, aliquid vel ex integro vel ex parte, in quacunq[ue] re vel specie, credidit relinquendum, id modis omnibus ratum firumque constet.

^f Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. ii. de Sacrosanct. Eccles. leg. xiii. Generali lege sancimus, etc. ut sub not. (c).

^g In gratiam eorum, qui, quid significet amortizatio, ignorant, lubet huc transcribere, quæ illustris Boehmerus noster hac de re habet in jure suo parochiali, sect. v. c. i. § xxiii. p. 265, edit. tertiæ. Acquiruntur, inquit, bona parochialia, sicuti cætera ecclesiastica, plurimis in locis per amortizationem: quum enim ecclesia sit tale corpus, quod non moriatur, adeoque bona quæ semel accepit, non reddat sed perpetuo teneat, atque ita dicatur habere manus mortuas; merito providendum erat, ne bona immobilia, superstitione hominum ingravescente, nimium usibus reip. eximerentur, et per exsuperantes divitias ecclesiarum respublica detrimentum caperet. Hinc multis in locis cautum, ne immobilia in ecclesiam transferre liceret sine consensu ejus qui reip. gubernacula tenet; sed ut hujus demum voluntate potestas ecclesiae fiat acquirendi et retinendi bona immobilia per manum mortuam. . . . Atque hoc ipsum est, quod dicitur amortizatio, denotatque translationem bonorum immobilium consensu principis in manum mortuam seu possessorem immortalem, qualis est ecclesia. . . . Deducta hæc vox videtur a Gallica voce, 'amortir,' quod est, 'extinguere.' Nam bona in ecclesias delata, quoad emolumenta civilia et usus publicos, videntur esse extincta et civiliter mortua, cum generaliter oneribus, fundorum possessionibus impositis, hæc immunia et exemta sint. . . . adeoque hoc intuitu ex publicis catastribus (denen Steuerbüchern) extincta videantur, quin etiam a seculari jurisdictione per principem exemta sint. . . . Ratio hujus juris sat manifesta est, quia et juris naturæ principium vult, ut nemini adeoque nec reip. jus suum auferatur, quod tamen sæpe fit per translationem bonorum in ecclesiam, etc. (Grischor.)

SECT. VII.—*Thirdly, Another Part of Church Revenues raised by Allowances out of the Emperor's Exchequer.*

For, besides the liberality of the subjects, the emperors, in these ages, found it necessary to make the clergy an allowance out of the public revenues of the empire; which was another way of providing a maintenance for them. Constantine both gave the clergy particular largesses, as their occasions required, and also settled upon them a standing allowance out of the exchequer. In one of his epistles to Cæcilian, bishop of Carthage, recorded by Eusebius^ε, he acquaints Cæcilian with his orders, which he had given to Ursus, his general receiver in Afric, to pay him three thousand pholles, *τρισχιλίους φόλλεις*, to be divided, at his discretion, among the clergy of the provinces of Africa, Numidia, and the two Mauritaniæ; and, if this sum would not answer all their present necessities, he gave him further orders to demand of his procurator, Heraclides, whatever he desired more. I need not stand here to inquire critically what this sum of three thousand pholles was (though it may be computed above twenty thousand pounds), since Constantine gave the bishop unlimited orders to demand as much as the needs of the clergy should require. But he not only supplied their present necessities, but also gave orders for a standing allowance to be made them out of the public treasury; for Theodoret^η and Sozomen^ι say, he

^ε Euseb. lib. x. c. vi. (Reading, p. 431.) 'Επειδήπερ ἤρесе κατὰ πάσας ἐπαρχίας, τὰς τε Ἀφρικὰς καὶ τὰς Νουμιδίας, καὶ τὰς Μαυριτανίας, ῥητοῖς τισι τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τῆς ἐνθίσμου καὶ ἀγιωτάτης καθολικῆς θρησκείας, εἰς ἀναλώματα ἐπιχορηγηθῆναι τι, ἔδωκα γράμματα πρὸς Οὐρσον τὸν διασημότατον καθολικὸν τῆς Ἀφρικῆς, καὶ ἰδὼσα αὐτῷ, ὅπως τρισχιλίους φόλλεις τῇ σὺ στεφρόντητι ἀπαριθμῆσαι φροντίσῃ. Σὺ τοίνυν ἡνίκα τὴν προδηλουμένην ποσότητα τῶν χρημάτων ὑποδεχθῆναι ποιήσεις, ἅπασιν τοῖς προσημμένους κατὰ τὰ βρεούσιον τὸ πρὸς σε παρὰ Ὁσίου ἀποσταλὲν, ταῦτα τὰ χρήματα διαδοθῆναι κέλευσον· εἰ δ' ἄρα πρὸς τὸ συμπληρωθῆναι μου τὴν εἰς τοῦτο περὶ ἅπαντας αὐτοὺς προαίρεσιν, ἐνδεῖν τι καταμάθοις, παρὰ Ἡρακλεῖδα τοῦ ἐπιτρόπου τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐτημάτων, ἀναμφιλέκτως ὅπερ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι καταμάθοις, αἰτήσαι δοεῖλεις.

^η Theod. lib. i. c. xi. (p. 32. C 3.) Καὶ μὲν τοι καὶ γράμματα πρὸς τοὺς τῶν ἰθνῶν προστατεύοντας δίδωκεν ἄρχοντας, καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν χορηγεῖσθαι παρεγγυῶν ταῖς αἰεὶ παρθένοις καὶ χήραις, καὶ τοῖς ἀφιερωμένοις τῇ θεῇ λειτουργίᾳ, ἐτήσια σιτηρήσιον φιλοτιμίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ χρεῖα ταῦτα μετρήσας.

^ι Sozom. lib. v. c. v. (p. 171. C 6.) Κληρικοὺς μὲν τοι, πᾶσαν ἀτέλειαν, καὶ τιμὴν καὶ τὰ σιτηρήσια ἀφείλετο Κωνσταντῖνον· . . . ἡνίκα γὰρ Κων-

made a law, requiring the chief magistrates in every province to grant the clergy, and virgins and widows of the Church, an annual allowance of corn, *ἐτήσια σιτηρέσια*, out of the yearly tribute of every city. And thus it continued to the time of Julian, who withdrew the whole allowance. But Jovian restored it again, in some measure, granting them a third part of the former allowance only, because at that time the public income was very low, by reason of a severe famine; but he promised them the whole, so soon as the famine was ended, and the public storehouses were better replenished. But either Jovian's death prevented his design, or the necessities of the clergy did not afterward require it; for, though Sozomen seems to say the whole was restored, yet Theodoret, who is more accurate, affirms that it was only *τριτημόριον*, a third part, and that so it continued to his own times. In this sense, therefore, we are to understand that law of the Emperor Marcian, which Justinian^k has inserted into his Code, decreeing, that the salaries which had been always given to the Churches, in divers sorts of grain, out of the public treasures, should be allowed them, without any diminution. This did not entitle them to the whole allowance, first made them by Constantine (as some may be apt to imagine from the general words of the law), but only to the third part, which had been the customary allowance from the time of Jovian.

SECT. VIII.—*Fourthly, The Estates of Martyrs and Confessors dying without Heirs, settled upon the Church by Constantine.*

Another way by which some small addition was made to the revenues of the Church, was from a law of Constantine, mentioned by Eusebius^l in his Life, where he tells us that, as he

σταντῖνος τὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν δίδωται πράγματα, ἐκ τῶν ἐκάστης πόλεως φόρων τὰ ἀρκοῦντα πρὸς παρασκευὴν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπένειμε τοῖς πανταχοῦ κλήροις, καὶ νόμῳ τοῦτο ἐκράτουνεν, ὡς καὶ νῦν κρατεῖ, ἐξ οὗ τίθησεν Ἰουλιανός, ἐπιμελῶς φυλαττόμενος.

^k Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. ii. de SS. Eccles. leg. xii. *Salaria quæ sacrosanctis ecclesiis in diversis speciebus de publico hactenus ministrata sunt, jubemus nunc quoque inconcussa, et a nullo prorsus imminuta præstari.*

^l Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. ii. c. xxxvi. (p. 495.) *Εἰ τῶν ἀγχιστίων μηδεὶς ὑπολείπεται μηδενὸς τῶν προειρημένων κατὰ λόγον ἂν γενόμενος κληρονόμος, μήτε τῶν μαρτύρων φημί, μήτε τῶν ὁμολογησάντων, μήτε τῶν μετοίκων τῶν*

ordered all the estates of martyrs and confessors, and whoever had suffered in time of persecution, to be restored to their next relations; so, if any of them died without relations, the Church should become their heir, and, in every place where they lived, succeed to their inheritance.

SECT. IX.—*Fifthly, The Estates of Clergymen dying without Heirs and Will, settled in like manner.*

Theodosius junior and Valentinian III. made such another law, in reference to the temporal possessions of the clergy, that if any presbyter^m or deacon, or deaconess, or subdeacon, or other clerk, or any man or woman professing a monastic life, died without will and without heirs, the estates and goods they were possessed of should fall to the church or monastery to which they belonged, unless they were antecedently tied to some civil service. This implies, that the clergy were at liberty to dispose of their own temporal estates as they pleased; and they fell to the Church only in case they died intestate. But the Council of Agde, in France, under Alaric the Goth, an. 506, went a little further, and decreed, thatⁿ every bishop, who had no children nor nephews, should make the Church his heir, and no other: as Caranza's edition, and Gratian, and some others, read it. And the Council of Seville^o made a like decree for the Spanish Churches; upon which Caranza^p makes this remark: "that the canon was fit to be renewed in council, that the Church should be the bishop's heir, and not

ἐπὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ μεταστάντων προφάσει, ἢ καθ' ἑκάστους αἰεὶ τόπους ἐκκλησία διαδίδχεσθαι τὸν κληρὸν.

^m Cod. Theod. lib. v. tit. iii. de Bonis Clericorum, leg. i. Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. iii. de Episcop. leg. xx.

ⁿ Concil. Agath. c. xxiv. al. xxxiii. ap. Gratian. caus. xii. qu. ii. c. xxxiv. (Labbeus, tom. iv. p. 1388, ita habet: Episcopus, qui filios aut nepotes non habens, alium quam ecclesiam relinquit heredem, si quid de ecclesia, non in ecclesiæ causa aut necessitate præsumsit, quod distraxit, aut donavit, irritum habeatur.)

^o Concil. Hispal. i. c. i. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1589. B 9.) Comperimus in canone (consulentes vetera statuta) ut episcopus, qui res proprias, excepto filiis et nepotibus, alteris et non ecclesiæ suæ dimiserit, quidquid de ecclesiæ rebus aut donavit, aut vendidit, aut quoquo modo ab ecclesia transtulit, irritum haberetur.

^p Caranz. in loc. Hic canon erat renovandus in concilio, ut heres defuncti episcopi esset ecclesia, non tamen papa. Secundo, alienum est a sententia horum patrum, licere episcopo instituire primogenituras, vel locupletare consanguineos.

the pope ; and that it was against the mind of those fathers, that bishops should set up primogenitures, or enrich their kindred out of the revenues of the Church." Which reflection, among other things, might, perhaps, contribute towards his being brought into the Spanish inquisition, though he was archbishop of Toledo ; after which he underwent a ten years' imprisonment at Rome, and had some of his books prohibited in the Roman Index ; of which Spondanus^q, in his Annals, will give the reader a further account. But I return to the primitive Church.

SECT. X.—*Sixthly, Heathen Temples, and their Revenues, sometimes given to the Church.*

Where we may observe another addition made to the revenues of the clergy, by the donation of heathen temples, and sometimes the revenues that were settled upon them ; for, though the greatest part of these went commonly to the emperor's coffers, or to favourites that begged them, upon the demolishing of the temples, as appears from the laws of Honorius^r and Gratian, and several others, in the Theodosian Code, yet some of them were given to the Church. For Honorius^s takes notice of several orders and decrees of his

^q Spondan. Annal. Eccles. an. 1559, n. xxix. Bartholomæus Caranza Mirandensis, archiepiscopus Toletanus . . . æque de religione postulatus, captusque ab inquisitoribus (tanta est illorum in Hispania auctoritas) multis annis e vinculis causam dixit. Qui postea jussu Pii V. Romam deductus anno 1567, in Hadriani mole custoditus fuit et interrogatus: quousque demum anno 1576, a Gregorio XIII. suspectus tamen judicatus, post voluntariam omnis pravitatis hæreticæ detestationem, ac legitimam Catholicæ fidei confessionem, certis poenis injunctis, absolutus fuit, et ad Dominicanorum sui ordinis monasterium Minervæ remissus ; ibique paullo post pie riteque sacris ecclesiæ sacramentis procuratus obiit . . . Scripsit Caranza summam omnium conciliorum et pontificum usque ad Paulum III. ; necnon catechismum, qui in Romano Indice prohibitus reperitur ; et alia quædam.

^r Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. x. de Paganis, leg. xix. Templorum detrahantur annonæ, et rem annonarium jubent exspensis devotissimorum militum profuturæ. . . . Ædificia ipsa templorum, quæ in civitatibus vel oppidis, vel extra oppida sunt, ad usum publicum vindicentur, aræ locis omnibus destruantur : omniaque templa possessionibus nostris, ad usus accomodos transferantur. — Ibid. leg. xx. Omnia loca, quæ sacris error veterum deputavit, secundum divi Gratiani constituta nostre rei jubemus sociari, etc.

^s Ibid. leg. xx. Ea autem, quæ multiplicibus constitutis ad venerabilem ecclesiam volumus pertinere, Christiana sibi merito religio vindicabit.

own, whereby such settlements had been made upon the Church, which were to continue the Church's property and patrimony for ever. And it is probable, some other emperors might convert the revenues of the temples to the same use; at least the fabrics themselves, and the silver and golden statues that were in them, were sometimes so disposed of; for, Sozomen^t says, the *Μίθριον*, or 'temple of the sun,' at Alexandria, was given to the Church by Constantius. And we learn from Socrates^u, that, in the time of Theodosius, the statues of Serapis, and many other idols, at Alexandria, were melted down for the use of the Church; the emperor giving orders, that the gods should help to maintain the poor.

SECT. XI.—*Seventhly, As also Heretical Conventicles, and their Revenues.*

Honorius made a like decree, an. 412, in reference to all the revenues belonging to heretical conventicles; that both the churches or conventicles themselves, and all the lands^w that were settled upon them, should be forfeited, and become the possession and property of the Catholic church, as by former decrees he had appointed. And, I suppose, it was by virtue of these laws, that Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, shut up all the Novatian churches, and seized upon all their revenues, and deprived Theomas, their bishop, of his substance: though Socrates^x, in telling the story, represents the matter a little more invidiously, as if Cyril had done all this

^t Sozom. lib. v. c. vii. (Reading, p. 174. B 7.) Πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τοῖονδε τότε συνέβη περὶ τὸ καλούμενον παρ' αὐτοῖς Μίθριον· τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν τόπον, ἱερὸν πάσαι γενόμενον, ἰδωρήσατο Κωνστάντιος τῇ Ἀλεξανδρίῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ, κ. τ. λ.

^u Socrat. lib. v. c. xvi. (p. 238. D 5.) Τὰ ἀγάλματα τῶν θεῶν μετεχωρεύετο εἰς λεβήτια καὶ εἰς ἐτήρας χρείας τῆς Ἀλεξανδρίῳ ἐκκλησίας, τοῦ βασιλέως χαρισαμένου τοὺς θεοὺς εἰς δαπανήματα τῶν πτωχῶν.

^w Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. v. de Hæretic. leg. lii. Clerici ministrique eorum ac perniciosissimi sacerdotes ablati de Africano solo, quod ritu sacrilego poluerunt, in exilium viritum ad singulas quasque regiones sibi idonea prosecutione mittantur; ecclesiis eorum vel conventiculis, prædiisque, si qua in eorum ecclesiis hæricorum largitas prava contulit, proprietati potestatique catholicæ (sicut jam dudum statuimus) vindicatis.

^x Socrat. lib. vii. c. vii. (p. 296. D 1.) Εὐθὺς Κύριλλος τὰς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ Ναυατιανῶν ἐκκλησίας ἀποκλείσας, πάντα μὲν αὐτῶν τὰ ἱερὰ κειμήλια ἔλαβεν· τὸν δὲ ἐπίσκοπον αὐτῶν θεόπεμπτον, πάντων ὧν εἶχεν ἀφέλιτο.

by his own private usurped authority and arbitrary power; which will hardly gain credit with any one that considers that those laws of Honorius were published before Cyril came to the episcopal throne; which was not till the year 412, when those laws were reinforced by the imperial power.

SECT. XII.—*Eighthly, The Estates of Clerks deserting the Church, to be forfeited to the Church.*

While I am upon this head, it will not be improper to observe further, that by Justinian's laws^γ, if any clergymen or monks, who were possessed of temporal estates, forsook their church or monastery, and turned seculars again, all their substance was forfeited to the church or monastery to which they belonged. These were the several methods that were anciently taken for augmenting and improving the revenues of the Church, besides those of first-fruits and tithes, of which more hereafter.

SECT. XIII.—*No disreputable Ways of augmenting Church Revenues encouraged; Fathers not to disinherit their Children, to make the Church their Heir.*

But I must observe, that as these methods were generally reputed legal and allowable, so there were some other as generally disallowed and condemned. Particularly we find in St. Austin's time, that it was become a rule in the African Church to receive no estates that were given to the Church, to the great detriment and prejudice of the common rights of any others; as, if a father disinherited his children to make the Church his heir, in that case no bishop would receive his donation. Possidius tells^ς us St. Austin refused some estates so given, because he thought it more just and equal that they should be possessed by the children, or parents, or next kindred

^γ Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. iiii. de Episc. leg. liiii. Si illi monasteria aut ecclesias relinquunt, atque mundi fiant, omne ipsorum jus ad monasterium aut ecclesiam pertinet.—Novel. v. c. iv. Εἰ τις ἄπαξ ἑαυτὸν καθιερώσας τῷ μοναστηρίῳ καὶ τοῦ σχήματος τυχὼν, εἴτα ἀναχωρῆσαι τοῦ μοναστηρίου βουλευθείη καὶ ἰδιώτην τυχόν ἐλίσθαι βίον, αὐτὸς μὲν ἴστω ποίαν ὑπὲρ τούτου δώσει τῷ Θεῷ τὴν ἀπολογίαν· τὰ πράγματα μὲν τοι ὅποσα ἂν ἔχοι, ἡνίκα εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον εἰσῶι, ταῦτα τῆς δεσποτίας ἔσται τοῦ μοναστηρίου, καὶ οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν παντελῶς ἐξάξει.

^ς Possid. Vit. Aug. c. xxiv.

of the deceased persons. And that he did so, is evident from his own words in his discourse, *De Vita Clericorum*^a, where he says, “he had returned an estate to a son which an angry father at his death had taken from him; and he thought he did well in it; professing, for his own part, that if any disinherited his son to make the Church his heir, he should seek some one else to receive his donation, and not Austin; and he hoped, by the grace of God, there would be none that would receive it.” He adds, in the same place, a very remarkable and laudable instance of great generosity and equity in Aurelius, bishop of Carthage, in a case of the like nature. A certain man^b having no children, nor hopes of any, gave away his whole estate to the Church, only reserving to himself the use of it for life. Now it happened afterwards that he had children born to him; upon which the bishop generously returned him his estate, when he did not at all expect it. “The bishop, indeed,” says Austin, “had it in his power to have kept it, *sed jure fori, non jure poli*, only by the laws of man, but not by the laws of heaven; and, therefore, he thought himself obliged in conscience to return it.” This shews how tender they were of augmenting the revenues of the Church by any methods that might be thought unequitable, or such as were not reputable, honest, or of good report: herein observing the apostle’s rule, “to let their moderation,” τὸ ἐπιεικὲς, ‘their equity,’ “be known to all men:” not doing any hard thing for lucre’s sake; not taking advantages by rigour of law, when conscience and charity were against them.

SECT. XIV.—*Nothing to be demanded for administering the Sacraments of the Church, nor for consecrating Churches, nor Interment of the Dead.*

To avoid scandal also, and to provide things honest in the sight of all men, they forbade any thing to be demanded for

^a Aug. Serm. xlix. de Diversis (Benedict. vol. v. p. 1383. B.) (tom. x. p. 520.) Quando donavi filio, quod iratus pater moriens abstulit, bene feci. Quid plura, fratres mei! Quicumque vult exheredato filio hæredem facere ecclesiam, quaerat alteram qui suscipiat, non Augustinum; imo Deo propitio neminem inveniat.

^b Id. ibid.

administering the sacraments of the Church. The Council of Eliberis seems to intimate, that it was customary with some persons, at their baptism, to cast money into a basin by way of gratuity to the minister; but even this is there forbidden by a canon, lest the priest^c should seem to sell what he freely received. Whence we may conclude, that if the people might not offer, the priest might much less exact or demand, any thing for administering the sacrament of baptism. In other churches a voluntary oblation was allowed of from persons that were able and willing to make it; but all exactions of that nature from the poor were still prohibited, for fear of discouraging them from offering themselves or their children to baptism. Thus it was in the Roman Church, in the time of Gelasius, as we learn from^d his Epistles; and in the Greek Church, in the time of Gregory Nazianzen, who takes occasion to answer this objection^e which poor men made against coming immediately to baptism, because they had not wherewith to make the usual present that was then to be offered, or to purchase the splendid robe that was then to be worn, or to provide a treat for the minister that baptized them. He tells them, “no such things would be expected or exacted of them: they need only make a present of themselves to Christ, and entertain the minister with their own good life and conversation, which would be more acceptable to him than any other offerings.” This implies, that it was then the custom for the

^c Conc. Eliber. c. xxxviii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 976.) Emendari placuit, ut qui baptizantur (ut fieri solebat) nummos in concham non immittant; ne sacerdos, quod gratis accepit, pretio distrahere videatur.

^d Gelas. Epist. i. al. ix. ad Episc. Lucaniæ, c. v. (tom. iv. Concil. p. 1189. D 4.) Baptizandis consignandisque fidelibus sacerdotes pretia nulla præfigant, nec illationibus quibuslibet impositis exagitare cupiant renascentes: quoniam quod gratis accepimus, gratis dare mandamur. Et ideo nihil a prædictis prorsus exigere moliantur, quo vel paupertate cogente deterriti, vel indignatione revocati, redemptionis suæ causas adire despiciant; certum habentes, quod qui prohibita deprehensi fuerint admisisse, vel commissa non potius sua sponte correxerint, periculum subituri proprii sint honoris.

^e Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. xl. de Baptism. tom. i. p. 655. C 3. Αἰσχρὸν εἰπεῖν, ποῦ δὲ μοι τὸ καρποφοροῦμενον ἐπὶ τῇ βαπτίσματι; ποῦ δὲ ἐμφώτειος ἰσθῆς ἢ λαμπρυνθήσομαι; ποῦ δὲ τὰ πρὸς δεξιῶσιν τῶν ἐμῶν βαπτιστῶν; . . . σπαντὸν καρποφόρησον, Χριστὸν ἐνδύσαι, θρίψον με πολιτείᾳ· οὕτως ἐγὼ χαίρω φιλοφρονοῦμενος, οὕτως καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τὰ μέγιστα χαριζόμενος.

people to make a voluntary oblation at their baptism; but not the custom of ministers to demand it, as a matter of right, for fear of giving scandal. Some editions of Gratian^f and Vicecomes^g allege a canon of the third or fourth Council of Carthage to the same purpose; which, if the allegation were true, would prove that the same custom obtained in the African Church. But as Antonius^h Augustinus, and the Romanⁱ correctors of Gratian have observed, there is no such canon to be found in any African Council, but it is a canon of the second Council of Bracara, in Spain; which, finding a corrupt practice crept in among the clergy (notwithstanding the former prohibition of the Eliberitan Council), that ministers did exact pledges of the poor who had not ability to make any offering, endeavoured to redress this corruption, by passing a new order, that, though^k voluntary oblations might be received, yet no pledge should be extorted from the poor who were not able to offer, because many of the poor, for fear of this, kept back their children from baptism. The same Council of Bracara made a decree that no bishop should exact^l any thing as a due of any founders of churches for their consecration; but if any thing was voluntarily offered, he might receive it. And so, in like manner, for confirmation^m and administering the Eucharistⁿ, all bishops and presbyters are

^f Gratian. Caus. i. q. i. c. ciii.

^g Vicecom. de Ritib. Bapt. lib. iv. c. ii.

^h Anton. Aug. de Emendat. Gratiani, lib. i. dial. xiv. (p. 230, edit. Arnhem. 1678.) Fragmentum, 'placuit ut unusquisque,' etc. concilio Bracarense II. cap. vii. restituatur, oportet, licet Gratianus Carthaginensis IV. esse dicat.

ⁱ Gratian. edit. Rom. an. 1582 (vid. etiam edit. Colon. Munat. 1717, 4to; ubi sequentia leguntur: Emendata est inscriptio ex aliquot vetustis codicibus. Nam in vulgatis erat, ex Carthaginensi quarto, in quo non habetur. *Grisekov.*)

^k Conc. Bracar. II. c. vii. edit. Crab. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 898.) Qui infantes suos ad baptismum offerunt, si quid voluntarie pro suo offerunt voto, suscipiatur ab eis; si vero, per necessitatem paupertatis, aliquid non habent quod offerant, nullum illis pignus violenter tollatur a clericis. Nam multi pauperes, hoc timentes, filios suos a baptismo retrahunt.

^l Ibid. can. v. p. 897. Placuit, ut quotiens ab aliquo fidelium ad consecrandas ecclesias episcopi invitantur, non quasi ex debito munus aliquod a fundatore requiratur; sed [si ipsi] ipse fundator si quidem aliquid ex voto suo [obtulerint] obtulerit, non respuatur.

^m Gelas. Ep. i. al. ix. ad Episc. Lucanæ, c. x. (tom. iv. Conc. p. 1189.) See note (d) p. 76.

ⁿ Conc. Trullan. c. xxiii. (Labbe, vol. vi. Conc. p. 1154.) *Περί τοῦ μῆδιν*

strictly enjoined not to exact any thing of the receivers; because the grace of God was not to be set to sale, nor the sanctification of the Spirit to be imparted for money. St. Jerome assures us further, that it was not very honourable, in his time, to exact any thing for the burying-places of the dead; for he censures those that practised it, as falling short^o of the merit of Ephron the Hittite, whom Abraham forced to receive money for the burying-place which he bought of him. "But now," says he, "there are some who sell burying-places, and take money for them, not by compulsion, as Ephron did, but by extortion rather from those that were unwilling to pay." By which we may understand, that in his time it was hardly allowable to demand any thing for the use of a public or private cemetery; nor was this any part of the Church-revenues in those days, when as yet the custom of burying in churches was not generally brought in, but was the practice of later ages; of which more when we come to speak of the funeral rites of the Church.

SECT. XV.—*The Oblations of the People anciently one of the most valuable Parts of Church Revenues.*

If any one is desirous to know what part of the Church revenues was anciently most serviceable and beneficial to the Church, he may be informed from St. Chrysostom and St. Austin, who give the greatest commendations to the offerings and oblations of the people, and seem to say that the Church was never better provided than when her maintenance was

εἴτε ἐπίσκοπον, εἴτε πρεσβύτερον, ἢ διάκονον, τῆς ἀχράντου μεταδιδόντα κοινωνίας, παρὰ τοῦ μετέχοντος εἰσπράττειν τῆς τοιαύτης μεταλήψεως χάριν ὀβολοὺς ἢ εἶδος τὸ οἰονοῦν· οὐδὲ γὰρ πεπραμένη ἡ χάρις, οὐδὲ χρήμασι τὸν ἀγισμὸν τοῦ Πνεύματος μεταδίδομεν.

^o Hieron. Quæst. Hebr. in Genes. xxiii. tom. iii. p. 214, edit. Basil. 1615. (p. 141, edit. Francof. 1634.) In Hebræo primum nomen ejus scribitur 'Ephron,' secundum 'Ephran.' Postquam enim pretio victus est, ut sepulcrum venderet argento, licet cogente Abraam, tau littera, quæ apud illos pro o legitur, ablata de ejus nomine est; et pro 'Ephron' appellatus est 'Ephran,' significante Scriptura, non eum fuisse consummatæ perfectæque virtutis, qui potuerit memorias vendere mortuorum. Sciant igitur, qui sepulera venditant, et non coguntur ut accipiant pretium, sed a nolentibus quoque extorquent, immutari nomen suum, et perire quid de merito eorum, quum etiam ille reprehendatur occulte, qui invitus acceperit. (Vallars. vol. iii. p. 340.)

raised chiefly from them ; for then men's zeal prompted them to be very liberal in their daily offerings : but as lands and possessions were settled upon the Church, this zeal sensibly abated, and so the Church came to be worse provided for under the notion of growing richer ; which is the thing that St. Chrysostom complains of, in his own times, when the ancient revenues arising from oblations were in a great measure sunk, and the Church, with all her lands, left in a worse condition than she was before. For now her ministers were forced to submit to secular cares, to the management of lands and houses, and the business of buying and selling, for fear the orphans, and virgins, and widows of the Church should starve. He exhorts the people, therefore, to return to their ancient liberality of oblations, which would at once ease the ministry of all such cares, and make a good provision for the poor, and take off all the little scoffs and objections that some were so ready to make and cast upon the clergy, that they were too much given to secular cares and employments, when indeed it was not choice but necessity that forced them to it. "There are," says he, "in this place" (at Antioch he means), "by the grace of God, a hundred thousand persons that come to church. Now, if every one^p of these would but give one loaf of daily bread to the poor, the poor would live in plenty ; if every one would but contribute one halfpenny, no man would want ; neither should we undergo so many reproaches and derisions, as if we were too intent upon our possessions." By this discourse of Chrysostom's, it plainly appears that he thought the oblations of the people in populous cities, when men were acted with their primitive zeal, was a better provision for the clergy than even the lands and possessions of the Church. And St. Austin seems to have had the same sense of this matter ; for Possidius^q tells us in his Life, that

^p Chrysost. Hom. lxxxvi. in Matth. (Benedict. vol. vii. p. 310. A 5.) Τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι εἰς δέκα μυριάδων ἀριθμὸν αἶμαι τοὺς ἐνταῦθα συναγομένους τελεῖν· καὶ εἰ ἀφ' ἑνὸς ἄρτου μετεδίδου τινὶ τῶν πενήτων ἕκαστος, ἅπαντες ἂν ἐν εὐπορίᾳ· εἰ ἔξ ἑνὸς μόνου ὀβολοῦ, οὐδεὶς ἂν ᾔην πίνης, οὐκ ἂν τοσαῦτα ὑπερμειναιμεν ὀνειδῆ καὶ σκώμματα ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὰ κτήματα προνοίας.

^q Possid. Vit. Aug. c. xxiii. (Bened. vol. x. p. 273. C.) Dum forte (ut adsolet) de possessionibus ipsis invidia clericis fieret, alloquebatur plebem Dei, malle se ex collationibus magis plebis Dei vivere, quam illarum possessionum

when he found the possessions of the Church were become a little invidious, he was used to tell the laity, "that he had rather live upon the oblations of the people of God than undergo the care and trouble of those possessions; and that he was ready to part with them, provided all the servants and ministers of God might live as they did under the Old Testament, when, as we read, they that served at the altar were made partakers of the altar. But though he made this proposal to the people, they would never accept of it;" which is an argument that the people also thought that the reducing the clergy's maintenance to the precise model of the Old Testament would have been a more chargeable way to them than the other, since the oblations of the Old Testament included tithes and first-fruits; concerning the state and original of which, as to what concerns the Christian Church, I come now to make a more particular inquiry.

CHAPTER V.

OF TITHES AND FIRST-FRUITS IN PARTICULAR.

SECT. I.—*Tithes anciently reckoned to be due by Divine Right.*

CONCERNING tithes, so far as relates to the ancient Church, it will be proper to make three inquiries. 1. Whether the primitive fathers esteemed them to be due by divine right? 2. If they did, why they were not always strictly demanded? 3. In what age they were first generally settled upon the Church? As to the first inquiry, it is generally agreed by learned men, that the ancients accounted tithes to be due by divine right. Bellarmine, indeed^a, and Rivet^b, and Mr. Selden^c, place them upon another foot; but our learned Bishop

curam vel gubernationem pati; et paratum se esse illis cedere, ut eo modo omnes Dei servi et ministri viverent, quo in Vetere Testamento leguntur altari deservientes de eodem participari. Sed nunquam id laici suscipere voluerunt.

^a Bellarm. de Clericis, lib. i. c. xxv. § Quod non sit morale (p. 127, b. edit. Colon. 1695).

^b Rivet. Exercit. lxxx. in Gen. xix. p. 386, edit. Amstel. 1651 (p. 310, tot. seq. edit. Rotterdam. 1651).

^c Selden, History of Tithes, c. iv.

Andrews^d, and Bishop Carleton^e, who wrote before Mr. Selden, and Bishop Montague^f and Tillesly^g, who wrote in answer to him (not to mention many others who have written since), have clearly proved that the ancients believed the law about tithes not to be merely a ceremonial or political command, but of moral and perpetual obligation. It will be sufficient for me, in this place, to present the reader with two or three of their allegations. Origen, in one of his Homilies^h on Numbers, thus delivers his opinion about it: "How does our righteousness exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, if they dare not taste of the fruits of the earth before they offer the first-fruits to the priests, and separate the tithes for the Levites, whilst I do nothing of this, but only so abuse the fruits of the earth, that neither the priest, nor the Levite, nor the altar of God, shall see any of them?" St. Jeromeⁱ says expressly, "that the law about tithes and first-fruits was to be understood to continue in its full force in the Christian Church, where men were commanded not only to give tithes, but to sell all that they had, and give to the poor. But," says he, "if we will not proceed so far, let us at least imitate the Jewish practice, and give part of the whole to the poor, and the honour that is due to the priests and Levites; which he that does not, defrauds God and makes himself liable to a curse." St. Austin as plainly favours the same opinion, tell-

^d Andrews, de Decimis, inter Opuscula.

^e Carleton, Divine Right of Tithes, c. iv.

^f Montague, Diatribæ, etc,

^g Tillesly, Answer to Selden.

^h Orig. Hom. xi. in Num. xviii. (Benedict. vol. ii. p. 305, at bottom.) (tom. i. p. 210.) Quomodo ergo 'abundat justitia nostra plusquam Scribarum et Phariseorum,' si illi de fructibus terræ suæ gustare non audent, priusquam primitias suas sacerdotibus offerant, et Levitis decimæ separantur? Et ego nihil horum faciens, fructibus terræ ita abutar, ut sacerdos nesciat, Levites ignoret, divinum altare non sentiat?

ⁱ Hieron. Com. in Mal. iii. (Vallars. vol. vi. p. 978. B 8.) Quod de decimis primitiisque diximus, quæ olim dabantur a populo Sacerdotibus ac Levitis, in ecclesiæ quoque populis intelligite; quibus præceptum est, non solum decimas dare et primitias; sed et vendere omnia quæ habent, et dare pauperibus, et sequi Dominum Salvatorem. Quod si facere nolumus, saltem Judæorum imitemur exordia, ut pauperibus partem demus ex toto, et Sacerdotibus ac Levitis honorem debitum deferamus. Quod qui non fecerit, Deum fraudare et supplantare convincitur, et maledicatur ei in penuria rerum omnium.

ing men^k “that they ought to separate something out of their yearly fruits or daily income, and that a tenth to a Christian was but a small proportion; because, it is said, the Pharisees gave tithes: ‘I fast twice in the week; I give tithes of all that I possess.’ And our Lord saith, ‘Except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of Heaven.’ But if he, whose righteousness you are to exceed, give tithes, and you give not a thousandth part, how can you be said to exceed him, whom you do not so much as equal?” By these few allegations, the reader may be able to judge what notion the ancients had of tithes, as due by divine right under the gospel, as well as under the law; and that the precept concerning them was not a mere ceremonial or political command, given to the Jews only.

SECT. II.—*Why not exacted in the Apostolical Age, and those that immediately followed.*

But why then, it may be said, were not tithes exacted by the apostles at first, or by the fathers in the ages immediately following? For it is generally believed that tithes were not the original maintenance of ministers under the gospel. To this, Bishop Carleton^l has returned several very satisfactory answers, which the reader may take in his own words:—
1. That tithes were paid to the priests and Levites in the time of Christ and his apostles: now the synagogue must first be buried, before these things could be orderly brought into use in the Church. 2. In the times of the New Testament, and somewhat after, there was an extraordinary maintenance by a community of all things, which supplied the want

^k Aug. Com. in Peal. cxlvi. (Benedict. vol. iv. p. 1648. F 2.) (tom. viii. p. 698.) Præcidite ergo aliquid, et deputate aliquid fixum, vel ex annuis fructibus, vel ex quotidianis questibus vestris. . . . Exime aliquam partem reddituum tuorum. Decimas vis? decimas exime, quamquam parum sit. Dictum est enim, quia Pharisei decimas dabant, ‘Jejuno bis in sabbato, decimas do omnium quæcunque possideo.’ Et quid ait Dominus? ‘Nisi abundaverit justitia vestra plusquam Scribarum et Phariseorum, non intrabitis in regnum cælorum.’ Et ille, super quem debet abundare justitia tua, decimas dat: tu autem nec milliesimam das. Quomodo superabis eum, cui non æquaris?

^l Carleton, Divine Right of Tithes, c. iv. p. 31.

of tithes ; but this community was extraordinary, and not to last always. 3. The use of paying tithes, as the Church then stood, was so incommodious and cumbersome, that it could not well be practised ; and, therefore, as circumcision was laid aside for a time, whilst Israel travelled through the wilderness, not because the people of right ought not then also to have used it, but because it was so incommodious for that estate and time of the Church, that it could not without great trouble be practised, even so the use of tithes in the time of Christ and his apostles was laid aside, not because it ought not, but because it could not, without great incumbrance, be done. And as circumcision was resumed, as soon as the estate of the Church could bear it, so tithes were re-established as soon as the condition of the Church could suffer it: for tithes cannot well be paid but where some whole state or kingdom receiveth Christianity, and where the magistrate doth favour the Church; which was not in the times of the apostles. To these reasons some other learned persons^m have added a fourth, which is also worth noting, that the tithes of fruits were not so early paid to Christian priests, because the inhabitants of the country were the latest converts; whence also the name ‘pagans’ stuck by the heathens, because the greatest relics of them were in country villages.

SECT. III.—*In what Age they were first generally settled upon the Church.*

As to the last inquiry, when tithes began first to be generally settled upon the Church? the common opinion is, that it was in the fourth century, when magistrates began to favour the Church, and the world was generally converted from heathenism. Some thinkⁿ Constantine settled them by law upon the Church; so Alsted, who cites Hermannus Gigas for

^m Fell. not. in Cypr. Ep. lxvi. al. i. (Oxon. 1682. p. 2.) (p. 179, edit. Amstelod. 1700.) *Serius quidem decimas ex fructibus accipiebant sacerdotes Christiani, quia ruris incolæ, quique agriculturam exercebant, non nisi sero ad fidem erant conversi; unde ‘paganorum’ nomen ethnicis adhæsit.*

ⁿ Alsted. Supplem. Chamier. de Membris Eccles. c. x. n. iii. *Accedit, quod consuetudo illa, ut decimæ ad N. T. ecclesias pervenerint, a Christianis imperatoribus primo haud dubie est profecta. Nam Hermannus Gigas auctor est, Constantinum M. præcepisse, ut de rebus omnibus decimæ ecclesiis omnibus solverentur.*

the same opinion. But there is no law of Constantine's now extant, that makes express mention of any such thing. That which comes the nearest to it, seems to be the law about an annual allowance of corn to the clergy, in all cities, out of the public treasuries, which has been spoken of in the last chapter. But this was not so much as a tenth of the yearly product, for the whole tribute itself seems to have been no more; for, in some laws of the Theodosian Code°, the emperor's tribute is called *decimæ*, 'tithes;' and the publicans who collected it are, upon that account, by Tully^p called *decumani*; and in Hesychius, the word δεκατεύειν, 'to tithe,' is explained by τελωνεῖν and δεκάτην εισπράττεσθαι, 'to pay tribute, or pay their tithes to the collectors of the tribute.' Unless, therefore, we can suppose that Constantine settled the whole tribute of the empire upon the Church (which it is evident he did not), we cannot take that law for a settlement of tithes upon the clergy. Yet it might be a step towards it; for, before the end of the fourth century, as Mr. Selden^q himself not only confesses, but proves out of Cassian, Eugippius, and others, tithes were paid to the Church. St. Austin lived in this age, and he says, "Tithes were paid before his time, and much better than they were in his own time;" for he makes a great complaint of the nonpayment of them. "Our forefathers," says he^r, "abounded in all things, because they gave tithes to God, and tribute to

° Cod. Theod. lib. x. tit. xix. de Metallis, leg. x. Cuncti, qui, per privatorum loca, saxorum venam laboriosis effossionibus persequuntur, decimas fisco, decimas etiam domino representent.—Leg. xi. Hi, quibus ad exercenda metalla privata dives marmorum vena consentit, excidendi exsecandique, juxta legem dudum latam, habeant facultatem, ita ut decima pars fisci nostri utilitatibus, decima ei, cujus locus est, deputetur.

^p Cicer. Orat. iii. in Verr. n. xxi. (Harles, vol. ii. p. 41.) Apronius decumanus, non decumam debitam, non frumentum remotum atque celatum; sed tritici septem millia medimnum ex Nymphonis arationibus, edicti pœna, non redemptionis aliquo jure, tollit.—Ibid. n. xxii. Hac ille vi et hoc metu adductus, tantum decumanis, quantum iste imperavit, exsolvit.

^q Selden, History of Tithes, c. v. p. 47, &c.

^r Aug. Hom. xlviii. ex l. (Benedict. vol. v. p. 156. B of Appendix.) (tom. x. p. 201, ed. Par.) Majores nostri ideo copii omnibus abundabant, quia Deo decimas dabant, et Cæsari census reddebant. Modo autem quia decessit devotio Dei, accessit indictio fisci. Nolumus partiiri cum Deo decimas, modo autem totum tollitur. Hoc tollit fisco, quod non accipit Christus.

Cæsar. But now, because our devotion to God is sunk, the taxes of the state are raised upon us. We would not give God his part in the tithes, and therefore the whole is taken away from us. The exchequer devours what we would not give to Christ." St. Chrysostom^s, and the author of the *Opus Imperfectum*^t on St. Matthew, that goes under his name, testify for the practice of other Churches about the same time. And it were easy to add a list of many other fathers and councils of the next age, which speak of tithes^u as then actually settled upon the Church. But since they who dispute most against the divine right of them, do not deny this as to fact, it is needless to prosecute this matter any further; which they that please may see historically deduced through many centuries by Mr. Selden^w.

SECT. IV.—*The Original of First-fruits, and the manner of offering them.*

There is one part more of Church revenues, whose original remains to be inquired into, and that is, first-fruits, which are frequently mentioned in the primitive writers; for not only those called the Apostolical Canons^x and Constitutions^y speak

^s Chrysost. Hom. iv. in Ephes. p. 1058. (tom. v. p. 896, edit. Francof. 1697.) (Bened. vol. xi. p. 31. A 3.) *Τί οὐκ ἐποίουν ἐκεῖνοι; δεκάτας, καὶ πάλιν δεκάτας ἐτίρας παρείχον ὀρφανοῖς, χήραις, προσηλύτοις ἐπήρκουν. Ἀλλὰ ἐμοὶ τις θαυμάζων τινὰ ἔλεγε· δεκάτας δίδωσιν ὁ δεῖνα, πόσης αἰσχύνης τοῦτο γέμει, εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὐκ ἦν θαυμασμοῦ, τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν θαυμαστον γέγονεν; εἰ τότε κίνδυνος ἦν, τὸ δεκάτας ἀπολιπεῖν, ἐννόησον ὅσον ἐστὶ νῦν.*

^t *Opus Imperf. in Matth. hom. xlv. Sacerdotes avaritia pleni, si quis de populo decimas non obtulisset, ita eum corripiebant, quasi magnum crimen fecisset, qui decimam alicujus rei vel saltem minimæ non obtulisset: si quis autem de populo in Deum peccabat, aut lædebat aliquem, aut aliquid tale faciebat, nemo curabat corripere eum . . . Sic enim et modo fit . . . Si populus decimas non obtulerit, murmurant omnes: et si peccantem populum viderint, nemo murmurat contra eum.*

^u Concil. Aurel. I. an. 511, can. xvii. (N.B. Nihil in hoc vel ullo alio istius concilii canone de decimis invenitur, adeoque falsa est adlegatio. G.)—Concil. Matiscon. II. an. 588, c. v. (tom. v. p. 981. D 1.) *Leges divinæ, consulentes sacerdotibus ac ministris ecclesiarum, pro hereditatis portione omni populo præceperunt decimas fructuum suorum locis sacris præstare, ut, nullo labore impediti, horis legitimis spiritalibus possint vacare ministeriis.*

^w Selden, *History of Tithes*, c. v. & c.

^x Can. Apost. c. iv. (vol. i. p. 25.) *Ἡ ἄλλη πᾶσα ὁπώρα εἰς οἶκον ἀποστελλίσθω ἀπαρχὴ τῇ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις.*

of them, as part of the maintenance of the clergy; but writers more ancient and more authentic, as Origen and Irenæus, mention them also as oblations made to God. "Celsus," says Origen², "would have us dedicate first-fruits to demons; but we dedicate them to Him who said, 'Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit-tree yielding fruit after his kind:' to whom we give our first fruits, to Him also we send up our prayers, having a great High Priest, that is entered into heaven," &c. In like manner, Irenæus³ says, "Christ taught his disciples to offer the first-fruits of the creatures to God;" and that this was the Church's continual oblation, with thanksgiving for the enjoyment of all the rest; which implies, either that they had a particular form of thanksgiving, as there is in both the Greek and Latin rituals; or else, that these first-fruits were offered, with other oblations, at the time of the Eucharist. However this be, it is evident, that as they were principally designed for agnizing the Creator, so they were, secondarily, intended for the use of his servants; and, therefore, we find the Eustathian heretics censured by the Synod of Gangra, an. 324, for that they took the first-fruits, which were anciently given to the Church, and divided them among the saints of their own party^b. In opposition to which practice there are two canons^c, made by that Council,

¹ Constit. lib. viii. c. xl. (vol. i. p. 503.) Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Κύριε παντοκράτορ, δημιουργὲ τῶν ὅλων καὶ προνοητὰ διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου παιδὸς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, ἐπὶ ταῖς προσενεχθείσαις σοι ἀπαρχαῖς, οὐχ ὅσον ὀφείλομεν ἀλλ' ὅσον δυνάμεθα.

² Origen. contr. Celsum, lib. viii. (Bened. vol. i. p. 766. E.) (p. 400, at top, Cantab. 1677.) Κέλσος μὲν δαιμονίοις ἀνατιθίνει βούλεται· ἡμεῖς δὲ τῷ εἰπόντι, Βλαστησάτω ἡ γῆ βοτάνην χόρτον, σπείρον σπέρμα κατὰ γένος καὶ καθ' ὁμοιότητα, καὶ ξύλον κάρπιμον ποιοῦν καρπὸν, οὐ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ κατὰ γένος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. ᾧ δὲ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ἀποδίδωμεν, τούτῳ καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀναπέμπομεν, ἔχοντες ἀρχιερέα μέγαν, διεληλυθότα τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ.

³ Iren. lib. iv. c. xxxii. Sed et suis discipulis dans consilium, primitias Deo offerre ex suis creaturis, non quasi indigenti, sed ut ipsi nec infructuosi, nec ingrati sint.—Ibid. c. xxxiv. Offerre igitur oportet Deo primitias ejus creature.

^b Conc. Gangr. in Præfat. (tom. ii. Conc. 413. E. 2.) Κάρποφορίας τε τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς τὰς ἀνέκαθεν διδομένας τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἑαυτοῖς καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἁγίοις, τὰς διαδόσεις ποιούμενοι.

^c Conc. Gangr. p. 420, c. vii. Εἰ τις καρποφορίας ἐκκλησιαστικὰς ἱεῖλοι λαμβάνειν, ἢ διδόναι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἢ τοῦ

forbidding any one to receive or distribute such oblations out of the Church, otherwise than by the directions of the bishop, under pain of excommunication. Some other rules are also given by one of the Councils^d of Carthage, inserted into the African Code, concerning these first-fruits, that they should be only of grapes and corn; which shows that it was also the practice of the African Church. Nazianzen, likewise, mentions the first-fruits of the wine-press and the floor, which were to be dedicated^e to God. And the author of the Constitutions has a form of prayer^f, *ἐπὶ κλήσεις ἐπὶ ἀπαρχῶν*, ‘an invocation upon the first-fruits,’ to be used at their dedication. So that it seems very clear, that the offering of first-fruits was a very ancient and general custom in the Christian Church, and that this also contributed something toward the maintenance of the clergy; whose revenues I have now considered, so far as concerns the several kinds, and first original of them.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE MANAGEMENT AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE REVENUES OF THE ANCIENT CLERGY.

SECT. I.—*The Revenues of the whole Diocese anciently in the Hands of the Bishop.*

THE next thing to be considered is, the ancient way of managing and distributing these revenues among the clergy, and such others as were dependents upon the Church; which, being a little different from the way of later ages, since settle-

ἡγεχειρισμένοι τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ μὴ μετὰ γνώμης αὐτοῦ ἐθέλοι πράττειν, ἀνάθεμα ἴστω.—Can. viii. *Εἰ τις διδοῖ ἢ λαμβάνει καρποφορίαν παρεκτὸς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἢ τοῦ ἐπιμεταγμένου εἰς οἰκονομίαν εὐποιίας, καὶ ὁ διδοὺς καὶ ὁ λαμβάνων, ἀνάθεμα ἴστω.*

^d Can. Cone. Afric. c. xxxvii. al. xl. (tom. ii. p. 1068, at bottom.) *Μηδὲν δὲ πλεον ἐν ταῖς ἀπαρχαῖς προσφέρεισθω, ἢ ἀπὸ σταφυλῶν καὶ σίτου.*—Cone. African. c. iv. (ibid. p. 1643.)

^e Gregor. Nazian. Ep. lxxx. (Paris. 1630. vol. i. p. 833. D.) *Ἀπαρχὰς ἑλωνός τε καὶ ληνοῦ, καὶ τέκνων τοὺς ἀληθῶς φιλοτέκνους, ἀνατιθέναι Θεῷ, δικαίον τε καὶ ὅσιον.*

^f Constit. lib. viii. c. xl.

ments were made upon parochial churches, for the right understanding of it we are, in the first place, to observe, that anciently the revenues of the whole diocese were all in the hands of the bishop; who, with the advice and consent of his senate of presbyters, distributed them, as the occasions of the Church required. This will appear evident to any one that will consider these two things (which will hereafter be proved, when we come to speak of parochial churches, and their original): first, that there were anciently no presbyters, or other clergy, fixed upon particular churches or congregations in the same city or diocese: but they were served indifferently by any presbyter from the *ecclesia matrix*, 'the mother, or cathedral church,' to which all the clergy of the city or diocese belonged, and not to any particular congregation. Secondly, that when presbyters were fixed to particular churches or assemblies in some cities, yet still those churches had no separate revenues; but the maintenance of the clergy, officiating in them, was from the common stock of the mother church, into which all the oblations of particular churches were put, as into a common fund, that from thence there might be made a general distribution. That thus it was at Constantinople till the middle of the fifth century, is evident from what we find in Theodorus Lector, who says^a, that "Marcian, the *æconomus*, or 'guardian of the Church,' under Gennadius, an. 460, was the first that ordered the clergy of every particular Church to receive the offerings of their own Church; whereas before, the great Church received them all."

SECT. II.—*And by his Care distributed among the Clergy.*

Now, this being the ancient custom, it gives us a clear account how all the revenues of the Church came to be in the hands of the bishop; and how it was made one part of his office and duty, by the canons, to concern himself in the care

^a Theod. Lect. (Cambr. 1720. p. 566.) Προεβάλειτο Γεννάδιος Μαρκιανόν, οικονόμον τῆς τῶν Καθαρῶν ὄντα θρησκείας, εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετελθόντα· ὃς ἅμα τῷ γενέσθαι οἰκονόμος, τὰ προσφερόμενα ἐν ἐκάστῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τοὺς τοῦ τόπου κληρικοὺς κομίζεσθαι διετύπωσεν, ἕως τούτου τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας πάντα κομιζομένης.

and distribution of them. Of which, because I have already^b spoken elsewhere, I shall say no more in this place, save only that the bishop himself, to avoid suspicion, and prevent mismanagement, was obliged to give an account of his administration in a provincial^c synod; as also, at his election, to exhibit a list of his own goods and estate, that such things as belonged to him^d might be distinguished from those that belonged to God and the Church. And, for the same reason, the great Council of Chalcedon^e ordered, that every bishop should have an *æconomus*, or 'guardian of the Church,' and he to be chosen by the vote of all the clergy, as has been noted in another place.—See Book iii. c. xii. § 4.

SECT. III.—*Rules about the Division of Church Revenues.*

As to the distribution itself, in the most primitive ages, we find no certain rules about it; but, as it was in the apostles' days, so it continued for some time after. What was collected, was usually deposited with the bishop, and distribution was made to every man, according as he had need; but the following ages brought the matter to some certain rules, and then the revenues were divided into certain portions, monthly or yearly, according as occasion required, and these proportioned to the state or needs of every order. In the Western Church, the division was usually into three or four parts, whereof one fell to the bishop; a second, to the rest of the clergy; a third, to the poor; and the fourth was applied to the maintenance of the fabric, and other necessary uses of the Church. The Council of Bracara^f makes but three parts: one for the

^b Lib. ii. c. iv. § vi. vol. i. p. 108, seq.

^c Conc. Antioch. c. xxv. (vol. ii. p. 573.) *Εἰ μεταβάλλοι τὰ πράγματα εἰς οικιακὰς αὐτοῦ χρείας, καὶ τοὺς πόρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἢ τοὺς τῶν ἀγρῶν καρποὺς, μὴ μετὰ γνώμης τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἢ τῶν διακόνων, χειρίζοι, ἀλλ' οἰκείοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ συγγενέσιν, ἢ ἀδελφοῖς, ἢ νίοις, παράσχοιτο τὴν ἐξουσίαν, εἰς τὸ, διὰ τῶν τοιούτων λελθότως βλάπτεσθαι τοὺς λόγους τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦτον εὐθύνας παρέχειν τῇ συνόδῳ τῆς ἐπαρχίας.*

^d Can. Apost. c. xxxix. al. xl. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 33.) *Ἔστω φανερά τὰ ἴδια τοῦ ἐπισκόπου πράγματα (εἶγε καὶ ἴδια ἔχει) καὶ φανερά τὰ κυριακὰ, ἵνα ἐξουσίαν ἔχῃ τῶν ἰδίων τελειῶν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, οἷς βούλεται, καὶ ὡς βούλεται, καταλείπει.*

^e Conc. Chalced. c. xxv. (tom. iv. p. 767. B 8.) *Τὴν μὲν τοι πρόσδοον τῆς χηρενοσύνης ἐκκλησίας ὧσαν φυλάττεσθαι παρὰ τῷ οἰκονόμῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας.*

^f Conc. Bracar. I. c. xxv. (Brac. II. c. vii. edit. Labbe, vol. v. p. 840.) *Placuit,*

bishop; another for the clergy; and the third for the fabric and lights of the Church: but then, it was supposed, that the bishop's hospitality should, out of such a proportion, provide for the necessities of the poor. By other rules the poor, that is, all distressed people, the virgins and widows of the Church, together with the martyrs and confessors in prison, the sick and strangers, have one-fourth^s in the dividend expressly allotted them; for all these had relief (though not a perfect maintenance) from the charity of the Church. At Rome there were fifteen hundred such persons, besides the clergy^h, provided for this way in the time of Cornelius; and above three thousand at Antiochⁱ, in the time of Chrysostom. By which we may make an estimate of the revenues and charities of those populous churches.

SECT. IV.—*In some Churches the Clergy lived all in common.*

In some churches they made no such division, but lived all in common, the clergy with the bishop, as it were in one man-

ut de rebus ecclesiasticis tres æquæ fiant portiones, id est, episcopi una, alia clericorum, tertia in reparatione [recuperatione] vel in luminariis ecclesiæ.

^s Gelas. Ep. i. al. ix. ad Episcop. Lucaniæ, c. xxvii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1195. C.) Quatuor tam de redditu, quam de oblatione fidelium . . . convenit fieri portiones: quarum sit una pontificis, altera clericorum, pauperum tertia, quarta fabricis applicanda.—Simplic. Epist. iii. ad Florent. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1069. E 1.) De redditibus ecclesiæ vel oblatione fidelium, quid deceat nescienti, nihil licere permittat, sed sola ei ex his quarta portio remittatur. Dux ecclesiasticis fabricis, et erogationi peregrinorum et pauperum profuturæ, ab Onagro presbytero sub periculo sui ordinis ministrentur: ultima inter se clericis pro singulorum meritis dividatur.—Gregor. Magn. lib. iii. ep. xi. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1143. C 8.) Cognovimus de redditibus ecclesiarum noviter acquisitis, canonicam dispositionem quartarum minime convenire, sed episcopos locorum tantummodo distribuere quartam antiquorum reddituum, nunc vero quesita suis usibus retinere. Quam rem pravam subintroducendamque consuetudinem fraternitas tua vivaciter emendare festinet, ut sive de præteritis redditibus, sive de iis quæ nunc obvenerunt, vel obvenerint, quartæ secundum distributionem canonicam dispensentur.

^h Cornel. Ep. ad Fab. ap. Euseb. lib. vi. c. xliii. (Reading, p. 272. A 6.) 'Εν ᾧ οὐκ ἡγνόμεναι . . . χήρας σὺν θλιβομένοις, ὑπὲρ τὰς χιλίας πεντακοσίας, οὓς πάντας ἡ τοῦ Δεσπότου χάρις καὶ φιλανθρωπία διατρέφει.

ⁱ Chrysostom. Homil. lxvii. in Matth. (tom. i. p. 720, edit. Francof.) (Benedict. vol. vii. p. 658. B 2.) 'Εννόησον ὅσαις ἀπαρκεῖ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν χήραις, ὅσαις παρθένοις· καὶ γὰρ εἰς τὸν τῶν τρισχιλίων ἀριθμὸν ὁ κατάλογος αὐτῶν ἔφθασε.

sion and at one table. But this they did, not by any general canon, but only upon choice, or particular combination and agreement in some particular Churches; as Sozomen^k notes it to have been the custom at Rinocurura, in Egypt; and Possidius affirms^l the same of the church of St. Austin. What was the practice of St. Austin and his clergy, we cannot better learn than from St. Austin himself, who tells us, "that all his clergy^m laid themselves voluntarily under an obligation to have all things in common: and therefore none of them could have any property, or any thing to dispose of by will: or if they had, they were liable to be turned out, and have their names expunged out of the roll of the clergy: which he resolved to do, though they appealed to Rome, or to a thousand councils against him: by the help of God, they should not be clerks where he was bishop. For his own part," he tells us, "he was so punctual to this rule, that if any one presented him with a robe finer than ordinary, he was used to sell it; that since his clergy could not wear the same in kind, they might at leastⁿ partake of the benefit, when it was sold and made common." But as this way of living would not comport with the state of all Churches, so there were but few that embraced it; and those that did, were not compelled to it by any general law, but only by local statutes of their own appointment.

^k Sozom. lib. vi. c. xxxi. fin. Κοινή δὲ ἐστὶ τοῖς αὐτόθι κληρικοῖς οἰκησίς τε καὶ τράπεζα καὶ τ' ἄλλα πάντα.

^l Possid. Vit. Aug. c. xxv. Cum ipso semper clerici una etiam domo, ac mensa sumtibusque communibus alebantur et vestiebantur.

^m Aug. Serm. l. de Diversis sive de Communi Vita Clericorum. (Benedict. vol. v. p. 1390. D.) (tom. x. p. 523. edit. Paris. 1637.) (tom. x. p. 1405, edit. Basil. 1569.) Quia placuit illis, Deo propitio, socialis hæc vita, quisquis cum hypocrisi vixerit, quisquis inventus fuerit habens proprium, non illi permitto ut inde faciat testamentum, sed delebo eum de tabula clericorum. Interpellet contra me mille concilia, naviget contra me quo voluerit, sit certe ubi potuerit: adjuvabit me Deus, ut ubi ego episcopus sum, ille clericus esse non possit.

ⁿ Ibid. (p. 1389. F.) Modo dicturi sunt homines, quia inveni pretiosas vestes, quas non potuissem habere vel in domo patris mei, vel in illa sæculari professione mea. Non decet: talem debeat habere, qualem possum, si non habuerit, fratri meo dare. Qualem habere potest presbyter, qualem potest habere decenter diaconus et subdiaconus, talem volo accipere: quia in commune accipio. Si quis meliorem dederit, vendo: quod et facere soleo; ut quando non potest vestis esse communis, pretium vestis sit commune.

SECT. V.—*Alterations made in these Matters by the Endowment of Parochial Churches.*

Yet in one of these two ways the clergy were commonly provided for out of the revenues of the great Church, till such times as endowments and settlements began to be made upon parochial churches; which was not done in all places at the same time, nor in one and the same way; but it seems to have had its rise from particular founders of churches, who settled manse and glebe upon the churches which they builded; and upon that score were allowed a right of patronage to present their own clerk, and invest him with the revenues of the church wherewith they had endowed it. This practice was begun in the time of Justinian, an. 500, if not before; for there are two of his laws which^o authorize and confirm it. About the same time, a settlement of other revenues, as oblations, &c. was also made in some places upon parochial churches, as has been observed before out of Theodorus Lector's accounts of the churches of Constantinople. Yet the change is thought by some^p to be much later in England; for they collect out of Bede^q, that the ancient course of the clergy's officiating only *pro tempore* in parochial churches, whilst they received maintenance from the cathedral church, continued in England more than a hundred years after the coming of Austin into

^o Justin. Novell. lvii. c. ii. Εἰ τις οἰκοδομήσας ἐκκλησίαν, ἢ καὶ ἄλλως χορηγῶν τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ λειτουργοῦσι σιτήσεις, βούλοιτο τινὰς κληρικοὺς ἐγκαθίσταν, κ. τ. λ.—Novel. cxliii. c. xviii. Εἰ τις ἐκτὴριον οἶκον κατασκευάσει, καὶ βουλευθεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ κληρικοὺς προβάλλεσθαι, ἢ αὐτὸς ἢ οἱ τοῦτον κληρονόμοι· εἰ τὰς δαπάνας αὐτοὶ τοῖς κληρικοῖς χορηγήσουσι καὶ ἀξίους ὀνομάσουσι, τοὺς ὀνομασθέντας χειροτονεῖσθαι.

^p Cawdrey, Disc. of Patronage, c. 2, p. 8.—Selden of Tithes, c. 9, p. 255.

^q Bed. Hist. Gentis Anglor. lib. iv. c. xxvii. (Lond. 1838. p. 320.) A temporibus ibidem antiquis et episcopus cum clero, et abbas solebat manere cum monachis; qui tamen et ipsi ad curam episcopi familiariter pertinerent. Quia nimirum Ædan, qui primus ejus loci episcopus fuit, cum monachis illuc et ipse monachus adveniens, monachicam in eo conversationem instituit; quomodo et prius beatus pater Augustinus in Cantia fecisse noscitur, scribente reverentissimo papa Gregorio, quod et supra posuimus. 'Sed quia tua fraternitas,' inquit, 'monasterii regulis erudita, seorsum fieri non debet a clericis suis; in ecclesia Anglorum, quæ nuper, auctore Deo, ad fidem perducta est, hanc debet conversationem instituire, quæ in initio nascentis Ecclesiæ fuit patribus nostris; in quibus nullus eorum ex his, quæ possidebant, aliquod suum esse dicebat; sed erant illis omnia communia.'

England, that is, till about the year 700. For Bede plainly intimates, that, at that time, the bishop and his clergy lived together, and had all things common, as they had in the primitive Church, in the days of the apostles.

SECT. VI.—*No Alienations to be made of Church Revenues or Goods, but upon Extraordinary Occasions.*

I have but one thing more to observe upon this head, which is, that such goods or revenues as were once given to the Church, were always esteemed devoted to God; and therefore were only to be employed in his service, and not to be diverted to any other use, except some extraordinary case of charity absolutely required it, as if it was to redeem captives, or relieve the poor in time of famine, when no other succours could be afforded them: in that case, it was usual to sell even the sacred vessels and utensils of the church, to make provision for the living temples of God, which were to be preferred before the ornaments of the material buildings. Thus St. Ambrose melted down the communion-plate of the church of Milan to redeem some captives, which otherwise must have continued in slavery; and when the Arians objected this to him invidiously as a crime, he wrote a most elegant apology and vindication for himself; where, among other things worthy the reader's perusal, he pleads his own cause after this manner:—“Is it not better that the bishop^r should melt the plate to sustain the poor, when other sustenance cannot be had, than that some sacrilegious enemy should carry it off by spoil and plunder? Will not our Lord expostulate with us upon this account?—‘Why did you suffer so many helpless persons to die with famine, when you had gold to provide them sustenance? Why were so many captives carried away, and sold without redemption? Why were so many suffered to be slain by the enemy? It had been better to have preserved the vessels of living men than lifeless metals.’ What answer can be returned to this? For what shall a man say? I was afraid lest the temple of God should want its ornaments. But Christ will answer: ‘My sacraments do not require gold, nor please

^r Ambros. de Offic. lib. ii. c. xxviii.

me the more for being ministered in gold, which are not bought with gold; the ornament of my sacraments is the redemption of captives; and those are truly precious vessels which redeem souls from death.'” Thus, that holy father goes on to justify the fact, which the Arians called sacrilege, but he, by a truer name, charity and mercy, for the sake of which he concludes it was no crime for a man to break, to melt, to sell the mystical vessels of the church, though it were a very great offence for any man to convert them to his own private use. After the same example, we find^a St. Austin disposed of the plate of his church for the redemption of captives. Acacius, bishop of Amida, did the same for the redemption of seven thousand Persian slaves from the hands of the Roman soldiers, as Socrates^t informs us. From whence we also learn, that in such cases they did not consider what religion men were of, but only whether they were indigent and necessitous men, and such as stood in need of their assistance. We have the like instances in the practice of Cyril of Jerusalem, mentioned by Theodoret^u and Sozomen^w; and in Deo-

^a Possid. Vit. Aug. c. xxiv. De vasis dominicis, propter captivos et quam plurimos indigentes, frangi et conflari jubebat, et indigentibus dispensari.

^t Socrat. lib. vii. c. xxi. (Reading, p. 305.) Τότε δὴ καὶ Ἀκάκιον, τὸν τῆς Ἀμίδης ἐπίσκοπον, πρᾶξις ἀγαθὴ περιφανέστερον πεποίηκε τοῖς πᾶσιν· ὥς γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαίων στρατιῶται τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους Περσῶν, οὓς τὴν Ἀζαζηνὴν πορθήσαντες ἔλαβον, ἀποδοῦναι τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεῖ κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον ἐβούλοντο, λιμῶν τε οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι ἐφθείροντο, περὶ τοὺς ἑπτακισχιλίους ὄντες τὸν ἀριθμόν· καὶ ταῦτα οὐ μικρῶς ἐλύπει τὸν βασιλεῖα τῶν Περσῶν· τότε ὁ Ἀκάκιος οὐ παρῆιδε ταῦτα γινόμενα· συγκαλέσας δὲ τοὺς ὑφ' αὐτῷ κληρικοὺς ἄνδρας, ἔφη· Ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν οὔτε δίσκων, οὔτε ποτηρίων χρῆζει· οὔτε γὰρ ἐσθίει, οὔτε πίνει, ἐπεὶ μὴ προσδεῖς ἐστίν· ἐπεὶ τοίνυν πολλὰ κειμήλια χρυσᾶ τε καὶ ἀργυρᾶ ἢ ἐκκλησία ἐκ τῆς εὐγνωμοσύνης τῶν προσηκόντων αὐτῇ κέκτηται, προσήκει ἐκ τούτων ῥύσασθαι τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, καὶ διαθρῆψαι αὐτούς. Ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα πλῆθονα τούτοις παραπλήσια διεξιλθὼν, χωνεύει μὴν τὰ κειμήλια· τιμήματα δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις ὑπὲρ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καταβαλὼν, καὶ διαθρῆψας αὐτοὺς, ἔλτα δούς ἐφόδια, τῷ οἰκίῳ ἀπέπεμψε βασιλεῖ.

^u Theod. lib. ii. c. xxvii. (p. 98. B 7.) Τὴν ἱερὰν στολὴν, ἣν ὁ πανεὐφύμνος Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ βασιλεὺς, τὴν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίαν γεραίρων, δέδωκε τῷ Μακαρίῳ τῷ τῆς πολέως ἐκείνης ἀρχιερεῖ, ἵνα ταύτην περιβαλλόμενος, τὴν τοῦ θείου βαπτίσματος ἐπιτελῇ λειτουργίαν· ἐκ χρυσῶν δὲ αὕτη κατεσκευάστο νημάτων· πεπρακέναι τὸν Κύριλλον ἔφη, κ. τ. λ.

^w Sozom. lib. iv. c. xxv. (p. 157. D 4.) Λιμοῦ καταλαβόντος τὴν Ἱεροσολύμων χώραν, ὥς εἰς ἐπίσκοπον ἐβλεπε τὸ τῶν δεομένων πλήθος, τῆς ἀναγκείας

gratias, bishop of Carthage, whose charity is extolled by Victor Uticensis^x upon the same occasion; for he sold the communion-plate to redeem the Roman soldiers that were taken captives in their wars with the Vandals. This was so far from being esteemed sacrilege, or unjust alienation, that the laws against sacrilege excepted this case, though they did no other whatsoever; as may be seen in the law of Justinian, which^y forbids the selling or pawning the church plate or vestments, or any other gifts, except in case of captivity or famine, to redeem slaves, or relieve the poor; because, in such cases, the lives or souls of men were to be preferred before any vessels or vestments whatsoever. The poverty of the clergy was a pitiable case of the same nature; and, therefore, if the annual income of the Church would not maintain them, and there was no other way to provide them of necessaries, in that case, some canons^z allowed the bishop to alienate or sell certain goods of the Church to raise a certain maintenance.

τροφῆς ἀπορούμενον· ἐπεὶ δὲ χρήματα οὐκ ἦν, οἷς ἐπικουρεῖν ἔδει, κειμήλια καὶ ὑπὸ παραπετάσματα ἀπέδοτο, κ. τ. λ.

^x Victor Utic. de Persecut. Vandal. lib. i. Bibliothec. Patr. tom. vii. p. 591. (edit. Margarin. de la Bigne, Par. 1589, p. 1894.) Posthæc factum est supplicante Valentiniano Augusto, Carthaginensi ecclesiæ, post longum silentium desolationis, episcopum ordinari, nomine Deogratias . . . Illo episcopo constituto factum est peccatis urgentibus, ut urbem illam quondam nobilissimam atque famosam, xv. regni sui anno, Geisericus caperet Romam. Et simul exinde regum multorum divitias cum populis captivavit. Quo dum multitudo captivitatis Africanum attingeret littus, dividendibus Vandalis et Mauris ingentem populi quantitatem, ut moris est Barbaris, mariti ab uxoribus, liberi a parentibus separabantur. Statim sategit vir Deo plenus et clarus universa vasa ministerii aurea vel argentea distrahere, et libertatem de servitute barbarica liberare, et ut conjugalia fœdera manerent, et pignora genitoribus redderentur.

^y Cod. Just. lib. i. tit. ii. de Sacrosanct. Eccles. leg. xxi. Sancimus, nemini licere sacratissima atque arcana vasa, vel vestes, cæteraque donaria, quæ ad divinam religionem necessaria sunt—vel ad venditionem, vel ad hypothecam, vel ad pignus trahere—excepta causa captivitatis et famis in locis quibus hoc contigerit. Nam si necessitas fuerit in redemptione captivorum, tunc et venditionem præfatarum rerum divinarum, et hypothecam et pignorationes fieri concedimus; quoniam non absurdum est, animas hominum quibuscunque vasis vel vestimentis præferri.

^z Conc. Carth. V. c. iv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1216.) Placuit, ut rem ecclesiæ nemo vendat. Quod si aliqua necessitas cogit, hanc insinuandam esse primati provincie ipsius, ut cum statuto numero episcoporum, utrum faciendum sit, arbitretur.—Concil. Agath. c. vii. (tom. iv. p. 1384.)

SECT. VII.—*And that with the Joint Consent of the Bishop and his Clergy, with the Approbation of the Metropolitan or some Provincial Bishops.*

But that no fraud might be committed in any such cases, the same canons did specially provide, that when any urgent necessity compelled the bishop to take this extraordinary course, he should first consult his clergy, and also the metropolitan, and others, his comprovincial bishops, that they might judge of the necessity, and whether it were a reasonable ground for such a proceeding. The fourth Council of Carthage^a disannuls all such acts of the bishop, whereby he either gives away, or sells, or commutes any goods of the Church, without the consent and subscription of his clergy. And the fifth Council of Carthage^b requires him to intimate the case and necessity of his Church, first, to the primate of the province, that he, with a certain number of bishops, may judge whether it be fitting to be done. The Council of Agde^c says, “He should first consult two or three of his neighbouring bishops, and take their approbation.” Thus stood the laws of the Church so long as the bishop and his clergy had a common right in the dividend of ecclesiastical revenues: nothing could be alienated without the consent of both parties, and the cognizance and ratification of the metropolitan or provincial synod; so that the utmost precaution was taken in this affair, lest, under the pretence of necessity or charity, any spoil or devastation should be made of the goods and revenues of the Church.

^a Conc. Carth. IV. c. xxxii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1203.) Irrita erit donatio episcoporum, vel venditio, vel commutatio rei ecclesiasticæ, absque conventia et subscriptione clericorum.

^b Ibid. V. c. iv. Si aliqua necessitas cogit, hanc insinuandam esse primati provinciæ ipsius, ut cum statuto numero episcoporum, utrum faciendum sit, arbitretur.

^c Conc. Agathen. c. vii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1384.) Apud duos vel tres comprovinciales, vel vicinos episcopos, causa qua necesse sit vendi, primitus comprobetur.

BOOK VI.

AN ACCOUNT OF SEVERAL LAWS AND RULES, RELATING TO
THE EMPLOYMENT, LIFE, AND CONVERSATION OF THE
PRIMITIVE CLERGY.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE EXCELLENCY OF THESE RULES IN GENERAL, AND
THE EXEMPLARINESS OF THE CLERGY IN CONFORMING
TO THEM.

SECT. I.—*The Excellency of the Christian Rules attested and
envied by the Heathens.*

I HAVE, in the two foregoing Books, given an account of the great care of the primitive Church in providing and training up fit persons for the ministry; and of the great encouragements that were given them by the state, as well to honour and distinguish their calling, as to excite and provoke them to be sedulous in the discharge of their several offices and functions. There is one thing more remains, which is, to give an account also of the Church's care in making necessary laws and canons, obliging every member of the ecclesiastic body to live conformable to his profession, and exercise himself in the duties of his station and calling. These rules were, many of them, so excellent in their own nature, and so strictly and carefully observed by those who had a concern in them, that some of the chief adversaries of the Christian religion could not but take notice of them, and, with a sort of envy and emulation, bear testimony to them. Among the works of Julian, there is a famous Epistle of his to Arsacius, high-priest of Galatia (which is recorded also ^a by Sozomen); wherein he takes occa-

^a Sozom. lib. v. xvi. (Reading, p. 187. A.) Οὐκ ἀποβλέπομεν, ὃ μάλιστα ἦν ἀθεώτητα συνηύξησεν, ἢ περὶ τοὺς ξένους φιλανθρωπία, καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰς

sion to tell him, " that it was very visible, that the causes of the great increase of Christianity were, chiefly, their professed hospitality towards strangers, and their great care in burying the dead, joined with a pretended sanctity and holiness of life ; therefore he bids him, as high-priest of Galatia, to take care, that all the priests of that religion that were under him, should be made to answer the same character ; and that he should, either by his threatenings or persuasions, bring them to be diligent and sober men, or else remove them from the office of priesthood ; that he should admonish the priests neither to appear at the theatre, nor frequent the tavern, nor follow any calling or employment that was dishonourable and scandalous ; and such as were observant of his directions, he should honour and promote them, but discard and expel the refractory and contumacious." This is plainly to say (and it is so much the more remarkable for its coming from the mouth of an adversary), that the Christian clergy of those times were men that lived by excellent rules, diligent in their employment, grave and sober in their deportment, charitable to the indigent, and cautious and reserved in their whole conversation and behaviour towards all men ; which, as it tended mightily to propagate and advance Christianity in the world, so it was what Julian, upon that account, could not but look upon with an envious eye, and desire that his idol priests might gain the same character, thereby to eclipse the envied reputation of the other, and reflect honour and lustre upon his beloved heathen religion. We have the like testimonies in Ammianus Marcellinus^b, and others, concerning the frugality, temperance,

ταφὰς τῶν νεκρῶν προμήθεια, καὶ ἡ πεπλασμένη σεμνότης κατὰ τὸν βίον· ὧν ἕκαστον οἶμαι χρῆναι παρ' ἡμῶν ἀληθῶς ἐπιτηδεύεσθαι· καὶ οὐκ ἀπόρη τό σε μόνον εἶναι τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἀπαξ ἀπλῶς, οἱ περὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν εἰσὶν ἱερεῖς· οὓς ἡ δυσώπησον, ἡ πείσον εἶναι σπουδαίους· ἡ τῆς ἱερατικῆς λειτουργίας ἀπόστησον, εἰ μὴ προσέρχονται μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ παιδῶν καὶ θεραπόντων τοῖς θεοῖς, ἀλλὰ ἀνέχονται τῶν οἰκετῶν, ἡ υἱέων, ἡ τῶν Γαλλαίων γαμετῶν· ἀσιβούντων μὲν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς, ἀθέοτητα δὲ θεοσεβείας προτιμώντων· ἔπειτα παραίνεσον ἱερέα, μήτε θεάτρῳ παραβάλλειν, μήτε ἐν καπηλείῳ πίνειν, ἡ τέχνης τινὸς καὶ ἐργασίας αἰσχροῦς καὶ ἐπονειδίστου προτίστασθαι· καὶ τοῖς μὲν πιθομένους τίμα· τοὺς δὲ ἀπειθοῦντας ἐξώθει.

^b Ammian. Marcell. lib. xxvii. (pp. 525, 526, edit. Gronovii, Lugd. 1693.) Qui esse poterant beati revera, si magnitudine urbis despecta, quam vitiis opponunt, ad imitationem antistitum quorundam provincialium viverent : quos tenuitas

modesty, and humility of Christian bishops, in their own times; which, coming from the pens of professed heathens, and such as did neither spare the emperors themselves, nor the bishops of Rome, who lived in greater state and affluence, may well be thought authentic relations, and just accounts of those holy men, whose commendations and characters so ample, nothing but truth could have extorted from the adversaries of their religion.

SECT. II.—*The Character of the Clergy from Christian Writers.*

This being so, we may the more easily give credit to those noble panegyrics and encomiums, which some ancient Christian writers make upon the clergy, and their virtues and discipline in general. Origen says^c, “it was the business of their life to traverse every corner of the world, and make converts and proselytes to godliness, both in cities and villages; and they were so far from making a gain hereof, that many of them took nothing for their service; and those that did, took only what was necessary for their present subsistence, though there wanted not persons enough, who, in their liberality, were ready to have communicated much more to them.” St. Austin^d gives the like good character of the bishops and presbyters of his own time, making them the chief ornament of the Catholic Church, and extolling their virtues above those of a monastic

edendi potandique parcissime, vilitas etiam indumentorum, et supercilia humum spectantia, perpetuo numini verisque ejus cultoribus ut puros commendant et verecundos. (Ernesti, Lips. 1773. p. 393.)

^c Orig. contr. Celsum, lib. iii. (p. 116, edit. Cantabrig. 1677.) (Bened. vol. i. p. 453. A 2.) Τινές ἔργον πεποιήνται ἐκ περιέρχεσθαι οὐ μόνον πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ κώμας, καὶ ἐκπαύλει· ἵνα καὶ ἄλλους εὐσεβεῖς τῷ Θεῷ κατασκευάσωσι. καὶ οὐκ ἂν πλοῦτον τις ἔνθα φῆσαι αὐτοὺς τοῦτο πράττειν ἔσθ' ὅτε μὲν οὐδὲ τὰ πρὸς τροφήν λαμβάνοντας· εἰ ποτε δὲ ἀναγκάζονται ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας ταύτης, τῇ χρεῖα μόνῃ ἀρκευμένους, κἂν πλείους αὐτοῖς κοινωγῆν ἐθίλωσι καὶ μεταδιδόναι τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς χρείας.

^d Aug. de Moribus Eccles. Cathol. c. xxxii. (Bened. vol. i. p. 711. E.) (tom. i. p. 330.) Quam multos episcopos optimos viros, sanctissimosque cognovi, quam multos presbyteros, quam multos diaconos et cujuscemodi ministros divinatorum Sacramentorum, quorum virtus eo mihi mirabilior et majore prædicatione dignior videtur, quo difficilius est eam in multiplici hominum genere, et in ista vita turbulentiore servare. Non enim sanatis magis quam sanandis hominibus præsumunt. Perpetiendæ sunt vitia multitudinis ut curentur; et prius toleranda, quam sedanda est pestilentia.

life, because their province was more difficult, having to converse with all sorts of men, and being forced to bear with their distempers, in order to cure them. He that would see more of this general character, must consult the ancient apologists, where he will find it interwoven with the character of Christians in general; whose innocence, and patience, and charity, and universal goodness, was owing partly to the institutions, and partly to the provoking examples of their guides and leaders, who lived as they spake, and first trod the path themselves, which they required others to walk in: which was the thing that set the Christian teachers so much above the philosophers of the Gentiles; for the philosophers, indeed, discoursed and wrote very finely about virtue, in the theory, but they undid all they said in their own practice. Their discourses, as Minucius^e observes, were only eloquent harangues against their own vices; whereas the Christian philosophers expressed their profession, not in their words or habit, but in the real virtues of the soul; they did not talk great, but live well: and so attained to that glory, which the philosophers pretended always to be offering at, but could never happily arrive to. Lactantius^f triumphs over the Gentile philosophers upon the same topic; and so Gregory Nazianzen^g, Tertullian^h, Cyprianⁱ, and many others, whose arguments had been easily retorted, had not the Christian teachers been generally men of

^e Minuc. Octav. p. 110, edit. Oxon. 1678. (p. 144, edit. Halens. 1699.) Philosophorum supercilia contemnimus, quos corruptores et adulteros novimus, et tyrannos, et semper adversus sua vitia facundos. Nos non habitu sapientiam, sed mente præferimus; non eloquimur magna, sed vivimus: gloriamur nos consequutos, quod isti summa intentione quæsierunt, nec invenire potuerunt.

^f Lactant. lib. iv. c. xxiii. tot.

^g Nazianz. Invect. i. in Julian. (pp. 95. 103. 107, 108, 109, edit. Par. 1630.)

^h Tertull. Apolog. c. xli. tot.

ⁱ Cyprian. de Bono Patient. p. 210. (p. 222, edit. Par. 1666.) (Paris. 1726. p. 247.) Hanc (patientiam) se sectari philosophi quoque profitentur. Sed tam illic patientia falsa est, quam et falsa sapientia est. Unde enim vel sapiens esse vel patiens possit, qui nec sapientiam nec patientiam Dei novit! . . . Si sapiens ille est, qui est humilis et mitis; philosophos autem nec humiles videmus esse nec mites, sed sibi multum placentes. . . . Nos autem, qui philosophi non verbis sed factis sumus; nec vestitu sapientiam, sed veritate præferimus; qui virtutum conscientiam magis quam jactantiam novimus; qui non loquimur magna, sed vivimus; quasi servi et cultores Dei, patientiam, quam magisteriis cœlestibus discimus, obsequiis spiritalibus præbeamus, etc.

a better character, and free from those imputations which they cast upon the adverse party.

SECT. III.—*Particular Exceptions no Derogation to their general good Character.*

Some few instances, indeed, it cannot be denied, are to be found of persons who, in these best ages, were scandals and reproaches to their profession. The complaints that are made by good men will not suffer us to believe otherwise. Cyprian^k and Eusebius^l lament the vices of some among the clergy, as well as laity; and reckon them among the causes that moved the Divine Providence to send those two great fiery trials upon the Church—the Decian and the Diocletian persecutions: thereby to purge the tares from the wheat, and correct those enormities and abuses, which the ordinary remedy of ecclesiastical discipline, through the iniquity of the times, was not able to redress. The like complaints are made by Chrysostom^m,

^k Cyprian. de Lapsis, p. 124. (pp. 169, 170, edit. citat.) (Bened. Paris. 1726. p. 182, 10th line from bottom.) Domīnus probari familiam suam voluit; et quia traditam nobis divinitus disciplinam pax longa corruperat, jacentem fidem et p̄ne dixerim dormientem, censura cōlestis erexit: cumque nos peccatis nostris amplius [pati] mereremur, clementissimus Dominus sic cuncta moderatus est, ut hoc omne, quod gestum est, exploratio potius quam persecutio videretur. Studebant augendo patrimonio singuli; et obliiti quid credentes, aut sub apostolis ante fecissent aut semper facere deberent, insatiabili cupiditatis ardore ampliandis facultatibus incubabant. Non in sacerdotibus religio devota, non in ministris fides integra, non in operibus misericordia, non in moribus disciplina. Corrupta barba in viris, in feminis forma fucata. Adulterati post Dei manus oculi, capilli mendacio colorati. Ad decipienda corda simplicium callidæ fraudes, circumveniendis fratribus subdolæ voluntates. Jungere cum infidelibus vinculum matrimonii, prostituere gentilibus membra Christi. Non jurare tantum temere, sed adhuc etiam pejerare: præpositos superbo tumore contemnere, venenato sibi ore maledicere, odiis pertinacibus invicem dissidere. Episcopi plurimi, quos et hortamento esse oportet cæteris et exemplo, divina procuratione contenta, procuratores rerum sæcularium fieri, derelicta cathedra, plebe deserta, per alienas provincias oberrantes, negotiationis quæstuosæ nundinas aucupari, esurientibus in ecclesia fratribus [non subvenire], habere argentum largiter velle, fundos insidiosis fraudibus rapere, usuris multiplicandibus fœnus augere, etc.

^l Euseb. lib. viii. c. i. p. 239, tot.

^m Chrysost. Hom. xxx. in Act. (tom. iii. edit. Francof. p. 276.) (Benedict. 1731. vol. ix. p. 238. B 4.) Διδαξόν με διὰ τοῦ βίου τοῦ σοῦ· αὕτη ἡ διδασκαλία ἀρίστη. Λέγεις ὅτι δεῖ μετριάζειν, καὶ μακρόν ὑπὲρ τούτου λόγον ἀπο-

Gregory Nazianzenⁿ, and St. Jerome^o, of some ecclesiastics in their own times, whose practices were corrupt, and dishonourable to their profession : and, indeed, it were a wonder, if all ages should not afford some such instances of unsound members in so great a body of men, since there was a Judas even among the apostles. But, then, it is to be considered, that a few such exceptions did not derogate from the good character which the primitive clergy did generally deserve ; and the faults of those very men were the occasion of many good laws and rules of discipline, which the provincial synods of those times enacted : out of which I have chiefly collected the following account, which concerns the lives and labours of the ancient clergy.

SECT. IV.—*An Account of some ancient Writers, which treat of the Duties of the Clergy.*

To these the reader may join those excellent tracts of the ancients, which purposely handle this subject : such as St. Chrysostom's six books, *De Sacerdotio* ; St. Jerome's second Epistle to Nepotian, which is called *De Vita Clericorum* ; and Gregory Nazianzen's Apology for flying from the Priesthood ; in all which the duties of the clergy are excellently described. Or, if any one desires to see them rather exemplified in some living instances, and great patterns of perfection, which com-

τείνεις, καὶ ῥητορεύεις ῥέων ἀκωλύτως ; ἀλλὰ σοῦ βελτίων ἐκείνός, φησιν, ὁ δι' ἔργων τοῦτο παιδεύων ἐμέ. οὐ γὰρ οὕτως εἰωθεν ἐντίθεσθαι τῇ ψυχῇ τὰ μαθήματα ἀπὸ ῥημάτων, ὥς ἀπὸ πραγμάτων· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐὰν μὴ τὸ ἔργον ἔχῃς, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ὠφέλησας εἰπὼν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μειζόνως ἐβλάψας. βέλτιον σιγᾶν διατί ; ὅτι ἀδύνατόν μοι τὸ πᾶν κατιστᾶς. ἐννοῶ γὰρ, ὅτε εἰ σὺ ὁ ταῦτα λέγων οὐ κατορθοῖς, πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἐγὼ συγγνώμης ἄξιός, λέγων μηδὲνα. διὰ τοῦτο φησιν ὁ προφήτης· τῷ δὲ ἁμαρτωλῷ εἶπεν ὁ θεός· ἵνα τί σὺ ἐκδιηγῇ τὰ δικαίωματά μου ; μείζων γὰρ αὐτῇ ἢ βλάβη, ὅταν καλῶς διδάσκων τις διὰ ῥημάτων, διὰ τῶν ἔργων πολεμῇ τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ. τοῦτο πολλῶν αἰτίον γέγονε κακῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.

ⁿ Nazianz. Carm. Cygn. de Episcopis, (Paris. 1630. tom. ii. p. 302. B 7.) Turpissimum erat, illorum me fidei cauponum in numero esse : quorum alii nepotes erant eorum, qui tributorum scribæ fuerant, et aliud nihil animo volebant, quam falsas et subdolas rationum depravationes : alii ab aratris venerant, adusti a sole : alii a ligone, vel bidente totum diem non quiescente : alii remos exercitusque reliquerant, redolentes adhuc sentinam, vel corpus fœdatum cicatricibus habentes, populi gubernatores ac militum, etc.

^o Hieron. Epist. ii. ad Nepotian. (tom. i. p. 9, tot. edit. Francof. 1684.)

monly make deeper impression than bare rules, he must consult those excellent characters of the most eminent primitive bishops, which are drawn to the life by the best pens of the age; such as the Life of Ignatius, by Chrysostom; the Life of St. Basil and Athanasius, by Gregory Nazianzen; the Life of St. Austin, by Possidius; the Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus and Meletius, by Gregory Nyssen: in all which the true character and idea of a Christian bishop is set forth and described, with this advantage, that a man does not barely read of rules, but see them, as it were, exemplified in practice. The chief of these discourses, in both kinds, are already translated into our own language by other^p pens; and they are too prolix to be inserted into a discourse of this nature, which proceeds in a different method from them. I shall, therefore, only extract such observations from them as fall in with the public and general laws of the Church (of which I give an account in the following chapters), and leave the rest to the curious diligence of the inquisitive reader.

CHAPTER II.

OF LAWS RELATING TO THE LIFE AND CONVERSATION OF THE PRIMITIVE CLERGY.

SECT. I.—*Exemplary Purity required in the Clergy above other Men; Reasons for it.*

THE laws of the Church which concerned the clergy, I shall, for distinction's sake, consider under three heads, speaking,

1. Of such laws as concerned their life and conversation.
2. Of such as more particularly related to the exercise of the several offices and duties of their function.
3. Of such as were a sort of outguards, or fences, to both the former.

The laws which related to their life and conversation, were such as tended to create in them a sublimity of virtue above other men, forasmuch as they were to be examples and patterns to them,

^p See Bishop Burnet's *Pastoral Care*, c. iv. And Seller's *Remarks on the Lives of the Primitive Fathers*.

which, if good, would be both a light and a spur to others ; but if bad, the very pests and banes of the Church. It is Gregory Nazianzen's reflection^a upon the different sorts of guides, which he had observed then in the Church :—"Some," he complains, "did, with unwashed hands, and profane minds, press to handle the holy mysteries, and affect to be at the altar before they were fit to be initiated to any sacred service. They looked upon the holy order and function, not as designed for an example of virtue, but only as a way of subsisting themselves ; not as a trust, of which they were to give an account, but a state of absolute authority and exemption. And these men's examples corrupted the people's morals faster than any cloth can imbibe a colour, or a plague infect the air ; since men were more disposed to receive the tincture of vice than virtue from the example of their rulers." In opposition to such, he lays down this as the first thing to be aimed at by all spiritual physicians, that they should draw the picture of all manner of virtues in their own lives, and set themselves as examples to the people ; that it might not be proverbially said of them that they set about curing others, while they themselves were full of sores and ulcers. Nor were they to draw this image of virtue slightly, and to a faint degree, but accurately, and to the highest perfection ; since nothing less than such degrees and measures of virtue were expected by God from the rulers and governors of his people ; and then there would be hopes, that such heights and eminences would draw the multitude at least to a mediocrity in virtue, and allure them to embrace that voluntarily by gentle persuasions, which they would not be brought to so effectually and lastingly by

^a Naz. Orat. i. Apolog. de Fuga, (Paris. 1630. tom. i. p. 5. A.) 'Ανίπτοις χερσίν, ὃ δὴ λέγεται, καὶ ἀμύητοις ψυχαῖς, τοῖς ἀγιωτάτοις ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιστάγουσι, καὶ πρὶν ἄξιον γενέσθαι τοῖς ἱεροῖς, μεταποιοῦνται τοῦ βήματος, θλίβονται τε καὶ ὠθοῦνται περὶ τὴν ἁγίαν τράπεζαν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀρετῆς τύπον, ἀλλ' ἀφορμὴν βίου τὴν τάξιν ταύτην εἶναι νομίζοντες, οὐδὲ λειτουργίαν ὑπεύθυνον, ἀλλ' ἀρχὴν ἀνεξίταστον.—Ibid. p. 6. Οὐ γὰρ οὕτως οὔτε δευσοποιῶ βαφῆς μεταλαμβάνει ῥᾷδιως ὕψασμα, οὔτε δυσωδίας ἢ τοῦ ἐναντίου τὸ πλησιάζει, οὔτε νοσερά τις οὕτως εὐκόλως ἀναχεῖται εἰς τὸν αἶρα, καὶ διὰ τοῦ αἵρος ὁμιλεῖ τοῖς ζώοις ἀτμίς (ὃ δὴ λοιμὸς ἔστι τε καὶ ὀνομάζεται), ὥς φιλεῖ τάχιστα τῆς τοῦ προεστῶτος κακίας ἀναπίμπλασθαι τὸ ὑπήκοον, καὶ πολλῶ γε ῥᾶον, ἢ τοῦ ἐναντίου, τῆς ἀρετῆς.

force and compulsion. He urges, further^b, the necessity of such a purity from the consideration of the sacredness and majesty of the function itself. A minister's office sets him in the same rank and order with angels themselves: he celebrates God with archangels, transmits the Church's sacrifices to the altar in heaven, and performs the priest's office with Christ himself; he reforms the work of God's hands, and presents the image to his Maker; his workmanship is for the world above, and therefore he should be exalted to a divine and heavenly nature, whose business is to be as a god himself, and make others gods also. St. Chrysostom^c makes use of the same argument, that the priesthood, though it be exercised upon earth, is occupied wholly about heavenly things; that it is the ministry of angels, put by the Holy Ghost into the hands of mortal men; and therefore a priest ought to be pure and holy, as being placed in heaven itself, in the midst of those heavenly powers. He presses, likewise, the danger and prevalency of a bad example^d. Subjects commonly form their

^b Nazianz. Orat. i. Apolog. de Fuga, (tom. i. p. 31. B 6.) *Τίς ὁ πλάττων, καθάπερ αὐθήμερον τοὺς πηλίνους, τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας προστάτην, τὸν μετὰ ἀγγέλων στησόμενον, καὶ μετὰ ἀρχαγγέλων δοξάσοντα, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄνω θυσιαστήριον ἀναπέμψοντα τὰς θυσίας, καὶ Χριστῷ συνιερύσοντα, τὸν ἀναπλάσσοντα τὸ πλάσμα, καὶ παραστήσοντα τὴν εἰκόνα, καὶ τῷ ἄνω κόσμῳ δημιουργήσοντα, καὶ, τὸ μῆζον ἐκτείν, θεὸν ἐσόμενον καὶ θεοποιήσοντα.*

^c Chrysostom. de Sacerdot. lib. iii. c. iv. *Ἡ ἱερωσύνη τελεῖται μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τάξιν δὲ ἰουρανίων ἔχει πραγμάτων· καὶ μάλα γε εἰκότως· οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρωπος, οὐκ ἄγγελος, οὐκ ἀρχάγγελος, οὐκ ἄλλη τις κτιστὴ δύναμις· ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ὁ παράκλητος ταύτην διετάξατο τὴν ἀκολουθίαν, καὶ ἐτι μένοντας ἐν σαρκὶ τὴν τῶν ἀγγέλων ἔπεισε φαντάζεσθαι διακονίαν· διὸ χρή τὸν ἱερωμένον, ὥσπερ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐστῶτα τοῖς οὐρανοῖς μεταξὺ τῶν δυνάμεων ἐκείνων, οὕτως εἶναι καθαρὸν. (Benedict. 1718. vol. i. p. 382. B 6.)*

^d Ibid. lib. iii. c. xiv. (p. 390. D 7.) *Πέφυκε γάρ, ὡς τὰ πολλὰ, τὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων πλῆθος, ὥσπερ εἰς ἀρχιτεχνόν τινα εἰκόνα, τοὺς τῶν ἀρχόντων τρόπους ὀρεῖν, καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐξομιοῦν ἑαυτούς. πῶς οὖν ἂν τις τὰς ἐκείνων παύσειε φλεγμονάς, οἰδαίνων αὐτοὺς; τίς δ' ἂν ἐπιθυμήσειε ταχέως τῶν πολλῶν γενέσθαι μέτριος, τὸν ἀρχοντα ὀργίλον ὀρῶν; οὐ γάρ ἐστιν οὐκ ἐστὶ δυνατόν, τὰ τῶν ἱερέων κρύπτεσθαι ἑλαττώματα· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μικρὰ ταχέως κατὰδῃλα γίνεται· (p. 391. A 3.) . . . ὥσπερ οὖν αὐτῶν τὰ κατορθώματα πολλοὺς ὤνησε, πρὸς τὸν ἴσον παρακαλοῦντα ζῆλον· οὕτω καὶ τὰ πλημμελήματα ῥαθυμοτέρους κατίστησε περὶ τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔργασίαν· καὶ βλακεύειν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν σπουδαίων παρειαύασε πόρους. διὸ χρή πάντοθεν αὐτοῦ τὸ κάλλος ἀποσθῆναι τῆς ψυχῆς· ἵνα καὶ εὐφραίνειν ἅμα καὶ φωτίζειν δύνηται τὰς τῶν ὀρῶντων ψυχάς. . . . Δεῖ τὸν ἱερέα καθάπερ τισὶν ἀδαμαντίνους ὅπλοις πε-*

manners by the pattern of their princes; how, then, should a proud man be able to assuage the swelling tumours of others; or an angry ruler hope to make his people in love with moderation and meekness? Bishops are exposed, like combatants in the theatre, to the view and observation of all men; and their faults, though never so small, cannot be hid; and, therefore, as their virtuous actions profit many, by provoking them to the like zeal, so their vices will render others unfit to attempt or prosecute any thing that is noble and good. For which reason, their souls ought to shine all over with the purest brightness, that they may both enlighten and extimulate the souls of others who have their eyes upon them. A priest should arm himself all over with purity of life, as with adamantine armour: for, if he leave any part naked and unguarded, he is surrounded both with open enemies and pretended friends, who will be ready to wound and supplant him. So long as his life is all of a piece, he needs not fear their assaults; but, if he be overseen in a fault, though but a small one, it will be laid hold of and improved, to the prejudice of all his former virtues; for all men are most severe judges in his case, and treat him not with any allowance for being encompassed with flesh, or as having an human nature, but expect he should be an angel, and free from all infirmities. He cannot, indeed (as the same Father argues* in another place), with any tolerable decency and freedom, discharge his office in punishing and reproofing others, unless he himself be blameless and without rebuke. The priest's office is a more difficult pro-

φράχθαι πάντοθεν τῇ τε συντίμῃ [συντόνῃ] σπουδῇ, καὶ τῇ διηνεκίᾳ περὶ τὸν βίον νήψει, πάντοθεν περισκοποῦντα, μή που τις γυμνὸν εὐρὼν τόπον καὶ παρημελημένον, πλήξῃ καιρίαν πληγὴν. Πάντες γὰρ περιεστήκασι, τρῶσαι ἔτοιμοι καὶ καταβαλεῖν, οὐ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μόνον καὶ πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ τῶν προσποιομένων φιλίαν . . . ἕως μὲν γὰρ ἂν πανταχόθεν ἡρμοσμένος ᾗ καλῶς ὁ τοῦ ἱερέως βίος, ἀνάλωτος γίνεται ταῖς ἐπιβουλαῖς· ἂν δὲ τύχῃ μικρὸν τι παριδῶν, οὐδὲν αὐτῷ τῶν λοιπῶν κατορθωμάτων ὄφελος, πρὸς τὸ δυνηθῆναι τὰ τῶν κατηγορῶν στόματα διαφυγεῖν· ἀλλ' ἐπισκιάζει παντὶ τῷ λοιπῷ τὸ μικρὸν ἐκεῖνο παράπτωμα· καὶ οὐχ ὥς σάρκα περικειμένῃ, οὐδὲ ἀνθρωπιαν λαχόντι φύσιν· ἀλλ' ὥς ἀγγέλῳ, καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ἀσθενείας ἀπηλλαγμένῳ, &c.

* Chrysost. de Sacerdot. lib. v. c. iii. (Bened. 1718. vol. i. p. 416. D.) "Οὐρ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἀνεπιληπτὸς ἅπασι γίνηται, τότε δυνήσεται μεθ' ὅσης βούλεται ἐξουσίας, καὶ κολάζειν, καὶ ἀνίεναι τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ ταπτομένους ἅπαντας.

vince^f than that of leading an army, or governing a kingdom, and requires an angelical virtue. His soul ought to be purer than the rays of the sun, that the Holy Spirit may never leave him desolate; but that he may be always able to say, "I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me."—He there goes on to draw the comparison^g at large between the clerical and the monastic life; and shows how much more difficult it is to take care of a multitude of men immersed in secular business, than of a single person, that lives retired, and free from temptation. And, upon the whole matter, he concludes^h, that as God requires greater purity in those that serve at his altar, so he will exact a more ample account of them, and more severely punish their offences. By these, and many other such like arguments, did those holy fathers try to raise, both in themselves and others, a just sense of that universal purity which becomes the sacred function.

SECT. II.—*Church Censures more severe against them than any others.*

And, to the strength of these arguments, the Church added the authority of her sanctions, inflicting severer penalties upon offending clergymen than any others; for, whereas all other offenders were allowed, by the benefit of public penance, to regain the privileges of their order, this favour was commonly denied by the Church to such of her sons, among the clergy, as were notorious for any scandalous crimes, whereby they became a reproach to their profession, For such delinquents were usually deposed from their office, and sometimes excommunicated also, and obliged to do penance among the laymen; but with this difference, that though repentance would restore them to the peace of the Church, yet it would not qualify them to act in their office and station again, but they must be

^f Ibid. lib. vi. c. i. (p. 422. A 6.) Οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ στρατηγίας, οὐδὲ βασιλείας ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ πράγματος ἀγγελικῆς ἀρετῆς δεομένου· καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀκτίνων αὐτῶν καθαρωτέραν τῷ ἱερεὶ τὴν ψυχὴν εἶναι δεῖ· ἵνα μηδέποτε ἔρρημον αὐτὸν καταλιμπάνῃ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἵνα δύνηται λέγειν, ὦ δὲ οὐκ ἐγώ, ζῇ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός.

^g Chrysost. de Sacerdot. lib. vi. c. iii. tot.

^h Ibid. lib. vi. c. x. xi. tot.

content thenceforth to communicate only as laymen. Some canons, indeed, did not oblige them to do public penance in the Church, because they thought it punishment enough to degrade them; others required them to submit to that part of discipline also; but still the result and consequence of both was the same, that such persons, for ever after, were only to be treated in the quality of laymen. Those called the Apostolical Canons are sometimes for the former way; for one of themⁱ says, “If a bishop, presbyter, or deacon, is taken in fornication, perjury, or theft, he shall be deposed, but not excommunicated: for the Scripture saith, ‘Thou shalt not punish twice for the same crime.’” I do not now stand to enquire, whether there be any such Scripture as these canons refer to, but only observe what was the practice of the Greek Church, when these canons were made; which is also taken notice of in St. Basil’s^k Canons, and those of Peter of Alexandria^l, and some others, which show it to have been the customary practice of their churches: yet, for simony^m, and some other crimesⁿ, the same Apostolical Canons order both deposi-

ⁱ Can. Apost. xxiv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 29.) Ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ, ἢ ἐπιτορκίᾳ, ἢ κλοπῇ ἁλοῦς, καθαιρεῖσθω, καὶ μὴ ἀφορίζεσθω· λέγει γὰρ ἡ Γραφή, οὐκ ἐκδικήσεις δις ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό.

^k Basil. Epist. Canon. c. iii. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 1720. E.) Διάκονος μετὰ τὴν διακονίαν πορνεύσας, ἀπόβλητος μὲν τῆς διακονίας ἔσται· εἰς δὲ τὸν τῶν λαϊκῶν ἀπωσθὲς τόπον, τῆς κοινωνίας οὐκ εἰρχθήσεται.—Ibid. c. xxxii. (p. 1740.) Οἱ τὴν πρὸς θάνατον ἁμαρτίαν ἁμαρτάνοντες κληρικοὶ, τοῦ βαθμοῦ μὲν κατάγονται, τῆς κοινωνίας δὲ τῶν λαϊκῶν οὐκ ἐκείρονται, οὐ γὰρ ἐκδικήσεις δις ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό.—Ibid. c. li. (p. 1745.) Τὸ κατὰ κληρικοὺς ἀδιαφορίσως οἱ κανόνες ἐξέθεντο, κελεύσαντες μίαν ἐπὶ τοῖς παραπαισσοῦσιν ὀρίζεσθαι τιμωρίαν, τὴν ἐκπτώσιν τῆς ὑπηρεσίας, εἴτε ἐν βαθμῷ τυγχάνουεν, εἴτε καὶ ἀχιροτονήτῳ ὑπηρεσίᾳ προσκαρτεροῖεν.

^l Pet. Alex. Epist. Can. c. x. (ap. Bevereg. Pand. tom. ii. p. 15.) (Labbe, vol. i. p. 961.) Οὐκ ἔστιν εὐλογον οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ κλήρου αὐτομολήσαντας ἐκπεπτωκότας τε καὶ ἀναπαλαίσαντας, ἔτι ἐν τῇ λειτουργίᾳ εἶναι, κ. τ. λ.—Ibid. Ἀρκεῖ αὐτοῖς ἡ κοινωνία μετ’ ἐπιστάσεως καὶ ἀκριβείας πρὸς ἀμφοτέρων γινομένης, καὶ ἵνα μὴ δόξωσι λυπεῖσθαι μετὰ βίας περιδρασσόμενοι τῆς ἐντεῦθεν ἀναλύσεως, καὶ ἵνα μὴ τινες ἐκπεσόντες προφασίζωνται ὡς διὰ τὴν ἀφορμὴν τῆς ἐπιτιμίας ὑπεκλελυμένοι.

^m Can. Apost. c. xxviii. Εἰ τις ἐπίσκοπος διὰ χρημάτων τῆς ἀξίας ταύτης ἐγκρατὴς γίνηται, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, καθαιρεῖσθω καὶ αὐτός, καὶ ὁ χειροτονήσας, καὶ ἐκκοπτέσθω τῆς κοινωνίας παντάπασιν, ὡς Σίμων ὁ μάγος ἀπὸ ἐμοῦ Πέτρου.

ⁿ Ibid. c. xxix. Εἰ τις ἐπίσκοπος κοσμικοῖς ἄρχουσι χρησάμενος, δι’ αὐτῶν

tion and excommunication. And, in the African Church, both punishments were inflicted, also, for one and the same crime, in the time of Cyprian, as appears from his Epistle^o to Cornelius; where, speaking of Novatus, who was guilty of murder, in causing his own wife, by a blow, to miscarry, he says, "For this crime he was not only to be degraded, or expelled the presbytery, but to be deprived of the communion of the Church also." From whence we may collect the severity of the ancient canons against such crimes of the clergy in general, as were committed to the flagrant scandal of the Church.

SECT. III.—*What Crimes punished with Degradation; viz. Theft, Murder, Perjury, &c.*

Hence, also, we may observe, in particular, what sort of crimes were thought worthy to be punished with degradation: namely, such as theft, murder, perjury, fraud, sacrilege, fornication, and adultery, and suchlike gross and scandalous offences; for, in this case, they distinguished between *peccatum* and *crimen*, 'little faults and crimes of a more heinous nature.' "For," St. Austin observes^p, "it was not all manner of failings that hindered men's ordination at first; for if the apostle had required that as a qualification in persons to be ordained, that they should be without sin, all men must have been rejected, and none ordained, since no man lives without sin; but he only requires that they should be blameless in respect to criminal and scandalous offences: and this was the rule the

ἐγκρατὴς γίνηται ἐκκλησίας, καθαιρείσθω καὶ ἀφορίζεσθω, καὶ οἱ κοινωνοῦντες αὐτῷ πάντες.—Ibid. c. l. Εἰ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, ἢ ὄλως τοῦ καταλόγου τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ, γάμων, καὶ κρεῶν, καὶ οἴνου, οὐ δι' ἄσκησιν ἀλλὰ διὰ βδελυρίαν ἀπέχεται, ἐπιλαθόμενος, ὅτι πάντα καλὰ λίαν, καὶ ὅτι ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ βλασφημῶν διαβάλλει τὴν δημιουργίαν, ἢ διορθοῦσθω, ἢ καθαιρείσθω, καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποβαλίσθω ὡσαύτως καὶ λαϊκός.

^o Cyprian. Epist. xlix. al. lii. p. 97. (p. 64, edit. Paris. 1666.)

^p Aug. Tract. xli. in Joh. (Benedict. part. ii. vol. iii. p. 575. A.) (tom. ix. p. 126.) Apostolus Paulus, quando elegit ordinandos vel presbyteros vel diacones, et quicumque ordinandus est ad præposituram ecclesiæ, non ait, 'Si quis sine peccato est;' hoc enim si diceret, omnis homo reprobaretur, nullus ordinaretur: sed ait, 'Si quis sine crimine est, sicuti est homicidium, adulterium, aliqua immunditia fornicationis, furtum, fraus, sacrilegium, et cætera hujusmodi.'

Church observed in canvassing the lives of her clergy after ordination, when they were actually engaged in her service. It was not every lesser failing or infirmity that was punished with degradation, but only crimes of a deeper die, such as theft, murder, fraud, perjury, sacrilege, fornication, and adultery." Concerning the last of which, there are these two things further observable in some of the ancient canons: 1. That if any clergyman's wife was convicted of adultery, he himself was obliged to show his resentment and detestation of the fact by putting her away, under pain of deposition if he continued to live with her; for so the Council of Neo-Cæsarea^q words it. A man, whose wife is evidently convicted of adultery while he is a layman, shall not be ordained; but if she commit adultery after his ordination, he ought to put her away; and if he cohabit with her, he may not retain her and his ministry together. The Council of Eliberis^r is still more severe in the case, denying communion to such persons, even at their last hour, who retained wives guilty of adultery; "because," says the canon, "they who ought to be examples of good conversation to others, do, by this means, teach others the way to sin." 2. The other thing to be observed is, that if a bishop neglected to inflict the censures of the Church upon any of his clergy, who were guilty of fornication, he made himself liable to be deposed: as Socrates^s observes, "The Arians themselves deposed Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, for this reason among others, that he had admitted a deacon to communion, who had been taken in fornication."

SECT. IV.—*Also lapsing in time of Persecution.*

Another crime which brought many clerks under this kind

^q Conc. Neo-Cæsar. c. viii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1481.) Γυνή τινος μοιχευθεῖσα λαϊκοῦ ὄντος, ἐὰν ἐλεγχθῇ φανερώς, ὁ τοιοῦτος εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν ἐλθεῖν οὐ δύναται· Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν μοιχευθῇ, ὀφείλει ἀπολῦσαι αὐτήν· ἐὰν δὲ συζῇ, οὐ δύναται ἔχεσθαι τῆς ἐκχειρισθείσης αὐτῇ ὑπηρεσίας.

^r Conc. Eliber. c. lxxv. (vol. i. p. 977.) Si ejus clerici uxor fuerit mœchata, et sciat eam maritus suus mœchari, et eam non statim projecerit, nec in fine accipiat communionem: ne ab his qui exemplum bonæ conversationis esse debent, ab eis videantur magisteria scelerum procedere.

^s Socrat. lib. ii. c. xlii. (Reading, p. 136. B.) Καθαίρουσι πρῶτον μὲν Μακεδόνην, καὶ ὡς αἴτιον πολλῶν φόνων γενόμενον, καὶ ὅτι διάκονον ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ ἀλόγῳτα ἐδέξατο εἰς κοινωνίαν.

of ecclesiastical censure, was that of lapsing in time of persecution; in which case, repentance was allowed to restore them to the peace of the Church, as laymen, if they pleased, but not to officiate or communicate as ecclesiastics any longer. Thus Trophimus was treated in the time of Cornelius and Cyprian: he was admitted^t to communicate as a layman, but not to retain his office of priesthood. "And this," Cyprian says^u, "was then the rule at Rome, and over all the world, if bishops, or any other, lapsed in time of persecution, to admit them to do penance in the Church, but withal to remove them from the function of the clergy, and honour of the priesthood:" as the African Synod, in whose name he writes to the Spanish Churches, determined in the case of Basilides and Martial, two Spanish bishops, who, when they had lapsed, thought to qualify themselves, by repentance, to retain their bishoprics; but this, he tells them, was contrary to the rule and practice of the universal Church. He repeats this in several other^w epistles, where he has occasion to speak of persons in the same unhappy circumstances with them. We find the same order in the canons of Peter^x, bishop of Alexandria, and the

^t Cyprian. Epist. lii. al. lv. ad Antonian. p. 106. (p. 69, edit. Par. 1666.) (Benedict. 1726. p. 69.) Sic tamen admissus est Trophimus, ut laicus communicet, non, secundum quod ad te malignorum litteræ pertulerunt, quasi locum sacerdotis usurpet.

^u Ibid. Ep. lxvii. al. lxviii. ad Pleb. Hispan. p. 174. (p. 114, edit. cit.) (Bened. p. 119, 4th line from bottom.) Frustra tales episcopatum sibi usurpare conantur, quum manifestum sit ejusmodi homines nec ecclesiæ Christi posse præsesse, nec Deo sacrificia offerre debere: maxime quum jam pridem nobiscum et cum omnibus episcopis omnino in toto mundo constitutis, etiam Cornelius collega noster, sacerdos pacificus et justus, et martyrii quoque dignatione Domini honoratus, decreverit ejusmodi homines ad pœnitentiam quidem agendam posse admitti; ab ordinatione autem cleri atque sacerdotali honore prohiberi.

^w Ibid. Ep. lv. al. lix. ad Cornel. p. 133. (p. 82, edit. citat.) (Benedict. p. 84.) Hi quinque cum paucis vel sacrificatis, vel male sibi consciis, Fortunatum sibi pseudoepiscopum cooptarunt, ut criminibus in unum convenientibus talis esset scilicet rector, quales illi qui reguntur.—Id. Epist. lxiv. al. lxx. ad Epictet. (p. 110.) Graviter et dolenter motus sum, quod cognoverim Fortunatianum quemdam [quondam] apud vos episcopum, post gravem lapsum ruinæ sue, pro integro nunc agere velle, et episcopatum sibi vindicare cœpisse: quæ res contristavit me, &c.

^x Petr. Alex. can. x. (apud Bevereg. tom. ii. p. 15.) "Ὅτε δὲ ἔπταισαν ὡς ἀν περιπευσάμενοι καὶ ταυτοὺς μωμησάμενοι, οὐκέτι δύνανται λειτουργεῖν.

first Council^y of Arles; where, not only such as fell by sacrificing, or open denial of their faith, but also all traditors, are included in the number of lapsers; that is, all such as either gave up their Bibles, or the holy vessels of the Church, or the names of their brethren, to the persecutors; and all such, who were of the clergy, are for ever excluded from the exercise and benefit of their order and function. Such was the discipline of the ancient Church, in reference to those guides, who set their people an ill example by their apostasy in time of persecution: it was not thought fit to trust them to be guides and leaders for the future. Though I do not deny, but that some exceptions may be found to this general rule, either when the discipline of the Church was not so strict, or when it was otherwise found more for the benefit of the Church to restore lapsers to their honours, than to degrade and remove them wholly from them: for I have noted before, that both lapsers, and heretics, and schismatics, were sometimes more favourably treated, when the Church thought she might find her account in showing favour to them.

SECT. V.—*And Drinking and Gaming.*

But, to proceed with the laws of the Church, relating to other misdemeanours. As the life of a clergyman was a continual attendance upon the altar, and constantly to be employed in the exercise of divine and heavenly things; so, upon that account, the utmost sobriety was required of him, together with a strict care to spend his time aright, and lay it out usefully, so as might best answer the ends of his calling, and those spiritual employments he was daily to be engaged in. And, for this reason, drinking and gaming, those two great consumers of time, and enemies of all noble undertakings and generous services, were strictly prohibited the clergy, under the same penalty of deprivation. For so the Apostolical Canons^z word it: “A bishop, presbyter, or deacon, that spends

^y Conc. Arelat. I. c. xiii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1428. D.) De his, qui scripturas sanctas tradidisse dicuntur, vel vasa dominica, vel nomina fratrum suorum, placuit nobis, ut quicumque eorum ex actis publicis fuerit detectus, non verbis nudis, ab ordine cleri amoveatur.

^z Can. Apost. c. xli. Ἐπίσκοπος, ἡ πρεσβύτερος, ἡ διάκονος, κύβοις σχολάζων καὶ μίθαις, ἡ παυσάσθω, ἡ καθαιρείσθω.

time in drinking or playing at dice, shall either reform, or be deposed." Where we may observe this difference between this and the former laws, that it does not make every single act of these crimes, *ipso facto*, deprivation, but only continuance therein, without reforming. And, by Justinian's law ^a, the penalty for playing at tables is changed from deprivation to a triennial suspension, and intrusion into a monastery for the performance of repentance. Some, perhaps, will wonder at the severity of these laws, in prohibiting the exercise of tables under such a penalty; but their wonder will cease, when they are told, that it was equally prohibited to the laity, under pain of excommunication; for the Council of Eliberis^b orders, that a Christian, playing at dice or tables, shall not be admitted to the holy communion, but after a year's penance and abstinence, and his total amendment. And there was good reason for the Church to make such a law in those times, because this kind of gaming was prohibited both by the old and new civil^c law among the Romans, and many other nations, of which the reader may find a particular account in our learned Bishop Taylor^d, together with the reasons of the prohibition, viz. the

^a Justin. Novell. cxliiii. c. x. 'Απαγορεύομεν τοῖς ὁσιωτάτοις ἐπισκόποις, καὶ πρεσβυτέροις, καὶ διακόνοις, καὶ ὑποδιακόνοις καὶ ἀναγνώσταις, καὶ παντὶ ἄλλῳ οἰουδὴποτε εὐαγοῦς τάγματος ἢ σχήματος καθιστώτι, ταβλίζειν, ἢ τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα παιζόντων κοινωνοῦς ἢ θεωρητὰς γίνεσθαι, ἢ εἰς οἰανδὴποτε θείαν τοῦ θεωρῆσαι χάριν παραγίνεσθαι· εἰ δὲ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν τοῦτο ἀμάρτοι, κελεύομεν τοῦτον ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἔνιαυτοὺς ἀπὸ πάσης εὐαγοῦς ὑπηρεσίας κωλύεσθαι καὶ μοναστηρίῳ ἐμβάλλεσθαι.

^b Concil. Illiber. c. lxxix. Si quis fidelis alea, id est, tabula luserit [nummos], placuit eum abstineri. Et si emendatus cessaverit, post annum poterit communioni reconciliari. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 979. A.)

^c Digest. lib. xi. tit. v. de Aleator. Prætor ait: Si quis eum, apud quem alea lusum esse dicitur, verberaverit, damnumve ei dederit, sive quid eo tempore domo ejus subtractum fuerit, judicium non dabo.—Item: Senatusconsultum vetuit in pecuniam ludere.—It. Cod. Justin. lib. iii. tit. xliii. de Aleator. Alearum usus antiqua res est, et extra operas pugnatorias (concessa), verum pro tempore abiit in lacrimas, multa millia extranearum nationum suscipiens. Quidam enim (nec) ludentes, nec ludum scientes, sed numeratione tantum proprias substantias perdiderunt, die noctuque ludendo, argento, apparatu lapidum, et auro. Consequenter autem ex hac inordinatione blasphemare (Deum) conantur, et instrumenta conficiunt. Commodis igitur subjectorum prospicientes hac generali lege decernimus, ut nulli liceat in publicis vel privatis domibus vel locis ludere, neque in genere, neque in specie, &c.

^d Taylor, Duct. Dubit. lib. iv. c. i.

evils that commonly attend this sort of play, blasphemies, and swearing, and passion, and lying, and cursing, and covetousness, and fraud, and quarrels, and intemperance of all sorts, the consumption of time, and ruin of many families; which excesses had made it infamous and scandalous among all nations. So that what was so universally prohibited at that time by the laws of all nations, the Church could not but in decency prohibit by her own laws to the laity, and more especially to the clergy, to prevent scandal, and obviate those objections which might otherwise have justly been raised against her. Not that the thing was simply unlawful in itself, when used only as an innocent recreation; but the many evil appendages that commonly attended the use of it, had made it scandalous, and consequently inexpedient; and the spending of time upon it did much alter the nature of it, and make it so much the more unlawful.

SECT. VI.—*And Negotiating upon Usury: the Nature of this Crime inquired into.*

Another crime for which a clergyman was liable to be deposed, was the taking of usury, which, by the ancient canons, is frequently condemned as a species of covetousness and cruelty; and, upon that score, so strictly prohibited to the clergy, who were rather to study to excel in the practice of the contrary virtues, charity, mercifulness, and contempt of the world, and all filthy lucre. The laws condemning this vice are too many to be here transcribed: it will be sufficient to repeat the canon of the Council of Nice, which contains the sum and speaks the sense of all the rest. Now, the words of that canon are these:—"Forasmuch^e as many clerks, following covetousness and filthy lucre, and forgetting the Holy Scriptures (which

^e Conc. Nic. xvii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 38. A 4.) 'Επειδὴ πολλοὶ, ἐν τῷ κανόνι ἐξεταζόμενοι, τὴν πλεονεξίαν καὶ τὴν αἰσχροκέρδειαν διώκοντες, ἐπελάθοντο τοῦ θείου γράμματος λέγοντες, τὸ ἀργύριον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔδωκεν ἐπὶ τόκῳ καὶ δανείζοντες, ἑκατοστὰς ἀπαιτοῦσιν· ἰδικαίωσεν ἡ ἀγία καὶ μεγάλη σύνοδος, ὡς εἰ τις εὕρεθῇ μετὰ τὸν ὅρον τοῦτον τόκους λαμβάνων ἐκ μεταχειρίσεως, ἢ ἄλλως μετερχόμενος τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἢ ἡμιολίας ἀπαιτῶν, ἢ ὕλως ἑτερόν τι ἐπινοῶν αἰσχροῦ κέρδους ἕνεκα, καθαιρεθήσεται τοῦ κλήρου, καὶ ἀλλότριος τοῦ κανόνος ἔσται.

speak of the righteous man as one that hath not given his money upon usury), have let forth their money upon usury, and taken the usual monthly increase, it seemed good to this great and holy synod, that if any one, after this decree, shall be found to take usury, or demand the principal, with half the increase of the whole, or shall invent any other such methods for filthy lucre's sake, he shall be degraded from his order, and have his name struck out of the roll of the Church." The reader will find the same practice censured by those called the Apostolical Canons^f, the Council of Eliberis^g; the first and second of Arles^h; the first and third of Carthageⁱ; the Council of Laodicea^k, and Trullo^l; not to mention private writers, Cyprian^m, Sidonius Apollinariusⁿ, St. Jerome^o, and many

^f Can. Apost. c. xliii. (vol. i. p. 36. B.) *Ἐπίσκοπος, ἡ πρεσβύτερος, ἡ διάκονος, τόκους ἀπαιτῶν τοὺς δανειζομένους, ἡ παυσάσθω, ἡ καθαίρεισθω.*

^g Conc. Illiberit. c. xx. (tom. i. Conc. p. 973. A.) Si quis clericorum detectus fuerit usuras accipere, placuit eum degradari, et abstineri.

^h Concil. Arelat. I. c. xii. (tom. i. p. 1428.) De ministris, qui fenerant, placuit eos juxta formam, divinitus datam, a communione abstineri.—Arelat. II. c. xiv. (tom. iv. p. 1013.) Si quis clericus pecuniam dederit ad usuram, aut conductor alienæ rei voluerit esse, aut turpis lucri gratia aliquod negotiationis exercuerit, depositus a communione alienus fiat.

ⁱ Concil. Carth. I. c. xiii. (Append. tom. ii. Conc. p. 1826. D.) Abundantius episcopus Adrumetinus dixit: In nostro concilio statutum est, ut non liceat clericis fenerare.—Concil. III. Carth. c. xvi. (ibid. p. 1169.) Ut nullus clericorum amplius recipiat, quam cuiquam accommodaverit: si pecuniam accipiat, speciem eandem, quantam dederit, accipiat: et quidquid aliud, tantum, quantum dederit, accipiat.

^k Conc. Laodic. c. iv. (tom. i. p. 1496.) *Περὶ τοῦ, μὴ δεῖν ἱερατικοὺς δανείζειν, καὶ τόκους, καὶ τὰς λεγομένας ἡμολίας λαμβάνειν.*

^l Concil. Trull. c. x. (tom. vi. p. 1146.) *Ἐπίσκοπος, ἡ πρεσβύτερος, ἡ διάκονος, τόκους ἢ τὰς λεγομένας ἑκατοστὰς λαμβάνων, ἡ παυσάσθω, ἡ καθαίρεισθω.*

^m Cyprian. de Lapsis, p. 124. (p. 170, edit. Par. 1666.) . . . Usuris multiplicandis fenus augere. Vid. supra, c. i. § iii. sub not. (k).

ⁿ Sidon. lib. i. ep. viii. (Venet. 1774. vol. ii. p. 470. A 11.) In qua palude indesinenter rerum omnium lege perversa, muri cadunt, aquæ stant, turres fluunt, naves sedent, ægri deambulant, medici jacent, algent balnea, domicilia conflagent, sitiunt vivi, natant sepulti, vigilant fures, dormiunt potestates, fenerantur clerici, Syri psallunt, negotiatores militant, milites negotiantur, &c.

^o Hieron. in Ezech. c. xviii. 17. (tom. v. p. 367. C. edit. Francof. 1684.) In Hebraico cunctarum specierum censura prohibetur: in LXX. tantum pecuniæ. Juxta quod et in xiv. Psalmo scriptum est: 'Fratri tuo non fenerabis, alieno autem fenerabis.'

others. Nor need this seem strange to any one, that usury should be so generally condemned in the clergy, since it is apparent that the practice of it was no less disallowed in the laity; for, the first Council of Carthage^p condemns it in them both, but only makes it a more aggravating crime in the clergy. The Council of Eliberis, also ^q, that orders clergymen to be degraded for it, makes it an high misdemeanour in laymen, which, if they persisted in the practice of it after admonition, was to be punished with excommunication. We are here, therefore, in the next place, to enquire into the nature of this practice, and the grounds and reasons upon which it was so generally condemned, both in clergymen and laymen. As to the nature of the thing, we are to observe, that, among the ancient Romans, there were several sorts or degrees of usury. The most common was that which they called *centesimæ*. The Council of Nice calls it ^r *ἐκατοσταί*: and the Council of Trullo^s uses the same word, which signifies the hundredth part of the principal paid every month, and answers to twelve in the hundred, by the year; for the Romans received usury by the month, that is, at the kalends, or first day of every month. Whence St. Basil^t calls the months “the parents of usury.” And St. Ambrose^u says,

Sed vide profectum. In principio Legis a fratribus tantum fenus tollitur: in propheta ab omnibus usura prohibetur, dicente Ezechiele: ‘Pecuniam suam non dedit ad usuram.’ Porro in Evangelio virtutis augmentum est, præcipiente Domino: ‘Feneramini his, a quibus non speratis recipere.’ (Benedict. Paris. 1704. vol. iii. p. 823.)

^p Conc. Carth. I. c. xiii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 718.) Quod in laicis reprehenditur, id multo magis in clericis oportet prædamnari.

^q Conc. Illiber. c. xx. (vol. i. p. 973.) Si quis etiam laicus accepisse probatur usuras—si in ea iniquitate duraverit, ab ecclesia sciat se esse projiciendum. Vid. Chrysost. Hom. lvi. in Mat.

^r Concil. Nicæn. c. xvii. vid. anteced. not. (e) p. 114.

^s Conc. Trullan. c. x. vid. anteced. not. (l) p. 115.—Chrysost. Hom. lvi. in Matth. (Hom. lvii. edit. Francof. 1697, p. 620. C.) Οὗτος μόλις ἐκατοστήν ἀποδίδωσιν.

^t Basil. in Psalm. xxxiv. tom. iii. p. 137. Φοβεῖται τοὺς μῆνας ὡς τόκων πατέρα.

^u Ambr. de Tobia, c. xii. Τόκους Græci appellaverunt ‘usuras,’ eo quod dolores partus animæ debitoris excitare videantur. Veniunt kalendæ, parit sors centesimam: veniunt menses singuli, generantur usuræ. (Paris. 1836, vol. i. p. 402.)

“ The Greeks gave usury the name of *τόκος*, upon this account, because the kalends bring forth one in the hundred, and every month begets new usury.” And hence, as the poet^w acquaints us, it became a proverb among the Romans to say, “ A man trembles like a debtor, when the kalends are a coming ;” because that was the time of paying interest. Now this sort of usury is generally proscribed by the laws of the Church, because it was esteemed great oppression, though the civil law allowed the practice of it ; for Constantine, an. 325, the same year that the Council of Nice was held, published a law, stating the rules and measures of usury ; wherein^x the creditor is allowed to take this centesimal usury, or one in the hundred every month, and no more. For, it seems, the old Roman laws granted a greater liberty before this regulation of Constantine. Afterward a new regulation was made ; and it was only allowed in some certain cases, as, where the creditor seemed to run some hazard, as appears from the laws of Justinian^y, where he settles the business of interest and usury in his Code. For, in ‘trajectitious’ contracts, as the law terms them,—that is, when a creditor lent money, suppose at Rome, to receive interest for it only upon condition of the debtor’s safe arrival with it at Constantinople,—because, in that case, the creditor ran a great hazard, he was allowed to receive a centesimal interest upon that account. 2. Another sort of usury was that which the canons call *ἡμιολίαι*, or *sescupulum*, ‘the whole, and half as much more.’ St. Jerome takes notice^z of this kind of usury, and condemns it. “ For men,” he says, “ were used to exact usury for the loan of corn, wine, oil, millet, and other fruits of the ground, lending ten bushels in winter, on condition to receive fifteen in

^w Horat. lib. i. sat. iii.

^x Cod. Theod. lib. ii. tit. xxxiii. leg. i. Pro pecunia ultra singulas centesimas vetatur accipere.

^y Cod. Justin. lib. iv. tit. xxxii. de Usuris, leg. xxvi. In trajectitiis contractibus vel specierum fenori dationibus, usque ad centesimam tantummodo licere stipulari, nec eam excedere, licet veteribus legibus hoc erat concessum.

^z Hieron. Com. in Ezech. xviii. p. 537. Solent in agris frumenti et milii, vini et olei, cæterarumque specierum usuræ exigi.—Verbi gratia, ut hyemis tempore demus decem modios ; et in messe recipiamus quindecim, hoc est, amplius partem mediam.

harvest, that is, the whole, and half as much more." Which sort of usury, being a very grievous extortion and great oppression, is condemned not only in the clergy, by the Councils of Nice^a and Laodicea^b, under the name of *ἡμιολία*, but also in laymen, by the law of Justinian^c, which allows nothing above centesimal interest to be taken by any person in any case whatsoever, though Justinian intimates that formerly the laws allowed it. And it is evident, from the law of Constantine, still extant in the Theodosian Code, which determined, that if any creditor lent to the indigent any fruits^d of the earth, whether wet or dry, he might demand again the principal, and half as much more, by way of usury; as, if he lent two bushels, he might require three. 3. Another sort of usury is called by the civil law *bessis centesimæ*, which is two-thirds of centesimal interest, and the same as eight in the hundred. And this the law allowed masters^e of workhouses, and other tradesmen, to take in their negotiations with others. 4. All other persons were only allowed to receive half the centesimal interest, by the same law of Justinian^f; which is the same as six in the hundred. 5. Persons of quality were bound to take no more but a third part of the centesima^g; which is only four in the hundred. 6, and lastly. Interest upon interest was absolutely forbidden^h by the Roman laws to all persons in any

^a Concil. Nic. c. xvii. vid. supra sub not. (e) p. 114.

^b Cone. Laod. can. iv. vid. not. (k) p. 115.

^c Cod. Justin. lib. iv. tit. xxxii. leg. xxvi. vid. not. anteed. (y)—It. Novel. xxxii. xxxiii. xxxiv. tot.

^d Cod. Theod. lib. ii. tit. xxxiii. leg. i. Quicumque fruges, aridas vel humidas, indigentibus mutuas dederint, usuræ nomine tertiam partem superfluum consequantur: id est, ut si summa crediti in duobus modis fuerit, tertium modum amplius consequantur.

^e Cod. Justin. lib. iv. tit. xxxii. de Usuris, leg. xxvi. Illos, qui ergasteriis præsent, vel aliquam licitam negotiationem gerunt, usque ad bessem centesimæ, usurarum nomine, in quocumque contractu stipulationem moderari.

^f Ibid. Ceteros omnes homines dimidiam tantummodo centesimæ usurarum nomine posse stipulari.

^g Ibid. Jubemus illustribus quidem personis, sive eas præcedentibus, minime licere ultra tertiam partem centesimæ in quocumque contractu stipulari.

^h Ibid. lib. iv. tit. xxxii. leg. xxviii. p. 128. Ut nullo modo usuræ usurarum a debitoribus exigantur, et veteribus quidem legibus constitutum fuerat, sed non perfectissime cautum: si enim usuras in sortem redigere fuerat concessum, et

case whatsoever; as is evident from an edict of Justinian's, which both mentions and confirms the ancient prohibition of it by the laws of the emperors that were before him: so that several of these kinds of usury being prohibited to the laity in general by the laws of the state, it was no wonder that they should be more severely forbidden to the clergy by the laws of the Church. Then, for the other sorts of usury, which the state allowed, the Church had two reasons for discouraging the practice of them in the clergy: 1. Because usury was most commonly exacted of the poor, which the Church reckoned an oppression of them, who were rather to be relieved by the charity of lending without usury, as the Gospel requires; 2. The clergy could not take usury of the rich and trading part of the world, but that must needs engage them in secular business and worldly concerns, more than the wisdom of the Church in those times thought fit to allow. And this I take to be the true state of the case, and the sum of the reasons for prohibiting the clergy the practice of usury in the Primitive Church. Usury was generally a great oppression to the poor, as the ancient writers who speak against it¹ commonly complain; or else it was thought to argue, and proceed from, a covetous and worldly mind, which made men forsake their proper employment, and betake themselves to other business, which was beside their calling, and could not then be followed without some reproach and dishonour to it. Therefore, Cyprian, speaking of some bishops who were the reproach of his age, in enumerating their miscarriages, joins all these things together: "That they who ought to have been examples and encouragers to the rest, had cast off the care of divine service"^k

totius summæ usuras stipulari, quæ differentia erat debitoribus, a quibus revera usurarum usuræ exigebantur! hoc certe erat non rebus, sed verbis tantummodo legem ponere. Quapropter hac apertissima lege definimus, nullo modo licere cuiquam usuras præteriti temporis vel futuri in sortem redigere, et earum iterum usuras stipulari, &c.

ⁱ Chrysostom. Hom. lvi. in Matt. (lvii. edit. Francof. p. 619. D.) (Field, Homil. vol. ii. p. 146.) *Μὴ πραγματευώμεθα τὰς ἀλλοτρίας συμφοράς, μηδὲ καπηλεύμεν τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν.* — Ibid. *Ὁ τελώνης νόμον πληροὶ τὸν ἔωθεν, ἀλλ' ὅμως κολάζεται.* *Ὁ καὶ ἡμεῖς πεισώμεθα, ἐὰν μὴ ἀποστῶμεν τοὺς πίνοντας ἐπιτρίβοντες, καὶ τῇ χρεῖᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀναγκαίᾳ τροφῇ, καὶ ἀφορμῇ εἰς καπηλείαν ἀναισχυντον ἀποχρῶμενοι.*

^k Cypr. de Lapsis, p. 123. (Paris. 1726. p. 183.) *Episcopi plurimi, quos et*

to manage secular affairs; and, leaving their sees, and deserting their people, they rambled into other provinces, to catch at business that would bring them in gain: meanwhile, the poor brethren of the Church were suffered to starve without relief, whilst their minds were set upon hoarding up silver in abundance, and getting estates by fraudulent arts, and exercising usury to augment their own treasures." When usury was ordinarily attended with such concomitants as these, it was no wonder it should be utterly proscribed by the holy fathers of the Church. Besides, St. Chrysostom¹ plainly intimates, that, in his time, all senators and persons of quality were absolutely forbidden to take usury by the laws of the commonwealth. And that consideration probably so much the more inclined the fathers of the Church to forbid it to the clergy, lest they should seem to be outdone by men of a secular life; and it might be objected to them, that the laws of the Church in this respect were more remiss than the laws of the state.

SECT. VII.—*Of the Hospitality of the Clergy.*

Indeed the necessities of the poor and fatherless, and strangers and widows, in those early times, were so impor-

hortamento esse oportet cæteris et exemplo, divina procuracione contempta, procuratores rerum secularium fieri, derelicta cathedra, plebe deserta, per alienas provincias oberrantes, negotiationis quæstuosæ nundinas aucupari, esurientibus in ecclesia fratribus [non subvenire] habere argentum largiter velle, fundos insidiosis fraudibus rapere, usuris multiplicantibus fenus augere.

¹ Chrysost. Hom. lvi. in Matth. (Field, p. 148.) (Hom. lvii. edit. Francof. p. 622. B.) Εἰ δὲ βούλει καὶ τοὺς ἔξωθεν νομοθέτας ἐρίσθαι, ἀκούσῃ ὅτι κακίοις τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀναισχυντίας τὸ πρᾶγμα δεῖγμα εἶναι δοκεῖ. Τοὺς γοῦν ἐν ἀξιώμασιν ὄντας, καὶ εἰς τὴν μεγάλην τελοῦντας βουλὴν, ἣν σύγκλητον καλοῦσιν, οὐ θέμις τοιοῦτοις κέρδεσιν κατασχύνεσθαι· ἀλλὰ νόμος ἐστὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀπαγορεύων κέρδη.—Honorius, an. 397, legem publicavit, qua idem inculcat.—Cod. Theod. lib. ii. tit. xxxiii. de Usuris, leg. iii. Frustra debitores in annis minoribus constitutorum usuras se restituere non debere contendunt, quia senatoria eos dignitate præditos esse testantur. Quamquam lege sequenti, ann. 405, senatoribus semisses usuræ ad contractum creditæ pecuniæ censemus admitti. Itaque omnes intelligant, nullum florentissimo cœtui sociatum fenus exercentem, ultra medietatem centesimæ vel jure stipulari, vel poscere posse usuram.

fortunate and craving in every Church, that their revenues would seldom answer all their demands. "The Church," as St. Austin says^m, "had very rarely any thing to lay up in bank." And, then, it did not become a bishop to hoard up gold, and turn away the poor empty from him; they had, daily, so many poor petitioners, so many in distress and want, continually applying to them, that they were forced to leave some in their sorrows, because they had not wherewith to relieve them all. Now, in this case, where there was need of greater charities than they had funds or abilities to bestow, there could be no room for usury, but with great neglect and uncharitableness to the poor; and, therefore, instead of lending upon usury, they were obliged to be exemplary in the practice of the contrary virtues, hospitality and charity; which the ancients call lending upon divine usury, not to receiveⁿ one in the hundred, but an hundred for one from the hands of God. It was then one of the glories of a bishop, St. Jerome tells us^o, "to be a providore for the poor: but a disgrace to the holy function, to seek only to enrich himself:" and, therefore, he gives this direction to Nepotian, among other good rules which he prescribes to him, that "his table should be free to the poor and strangers, that with them he might have Christ for his guest." St. Chrysostom speaks nobly^p of his bishop, Flavian, upon the

^m Aug. Sermon. lxxix. de Diversis, sive de Vita Clericor. (Bened. vol. v. p. 1382. G.) (tom. x. p. 520.) *Enthecam nobis habere non licet. Non enim est episcopi servare aurum, et revocare a se mendicantis manum. Quotidie tam multi petunt, tam multi gemunt, tam multi nos inopes interpellant, ut plures tristes relinquamus, quia quod possimus dare omnibus non habemus.*

ⁿ Pet. Chrysolog. Sermon. xxv. p. 269. *Usura mundi centum ad unum accipit, Deus unum accipit ad centum.*—Chrysost. Homil. lvi. in Matth. p. 507, edit. Commelin. (Hom. lvii. p. 619. C. edit. Francof. 1697.) (Field, vol. ii. p. 147.) *Τί πτωχὸς εἶ, καὶ πίνης, καὶ μικρολόγος, ὀλίγου τὰ μέγала πωλῶν, χρημάτων ἀπολλυμένων, ἔξου βασιλείας αἰεὶ μενούσης; τί τὸν Θεὸν ἀφείς, ἀνθρώπινα κερδαίνεις κέρδη; τί τὸν πλουτοῦντα παραδραμῶν, τὸν οὐκ ἔχοντα ἐνοχλεῖς, καὶ τὸν ἀποδίδοντα καταλιπὼν, τῷ ἀγνωμονοῦντι [σுλλαλεῖς, καὶ] συμβάλλεις; ἐκείνος ἐπιθυμεῖ ἀποδοῦναι· οὗτος δὲ καὶ δυσχεραίνει ἀποδίδοις. Οὗτος ὁμολογεῖ κατὰ τὴν ἀποδίδωσιν· ἐκείνος δὲ ἑκατονταπλασίονα, καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον.*

^o Hieron. Ep. ii. ad Nepotian. *Gloria episcopi est pauperum opibus [inopie] providere. Ignominia omnium Sacerdotum est, propriis studere divitiis.* (Venet. 1766. vol. i. p. 261. C.)

^p Chrysost. Sermon. i. in Genes. tom. ii. p. 886, edit. Front. Ducei, (p. 732, B. C. edit. Francof.) (Benedict. 1721. vol. iv. p. 650. B.) *Ὅς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν*

account of this virtue; he says, "His house was always open to strangers, and such as were forced to fly for the sake of religion, where they were received and entertained with that freedom and humanity, that his house might as properly be called 'the house of strangers,' as 'the house of Flavian.' Yea, it was so much the more his own, for being common to strangers; for whatever we possess is so much the more our property for being communicated to our poor brethren, there being no place where we may so safely lay up our treasure as in the hands and bellies of the poor."

SECT. VIII.—*Of their Frugality and Contempt of the World.*

Now the better to qualify them to perform this duty, every clergyman was required to lead a frugal life; that is, to avoid profuseness, as well in their own private concerns, as in giving great entertainments to the rich, which is but a false-named hospitality, and a great usurper upon the rights and revenues of the poor. We may judge of the simplicity of those times by the character which Ammianus Marcellinus, the heathen historian^q, gives of the Italian bishops, as, it is probable, from his own observation. He says, "Their spare diet, and frugal way of living, their cheap clothing, and grave deportment, did recommend them to God, and his true worshippers, as persons of pure and modest souls." This made those country bishops more honourable, in his opinion, than if they had lived in the riches, and state, and splendour of the bishops of Rome. By a canon of the fourth Council of Carthage^r, all the African

πατρίαν, ὥσπερ εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο παρὰ τῶν προγόνων δεξιόμενος, ἵνα ταῖς τῶν ξένων αὐτὴν θεραπείας παράσχω, οὕτω διαπαντὸς τοῖς πάντοθεν ἐλαυνομένοις ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀνῆκε, καὶ ὑποδέχεται, καὶ θεραπεύει θεραπείας τρόπῳ παντοδαπῷ· ὥστε οὐκ οἶδα εἰ χρηὴ τούτου μᾶλλον, ἢ τῶν ξένων καλεῖν τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν τούτου· μᾶλλον δὲ διὰ τοῦτο τούτου νομίζειν εἶναι αὐτὴν, ἐπειδὴ τῶν ξένων ἐστί· καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἡμέτερα κτήματα τότε μάλιστα ἡμέτερα γίνεται, ὅταν μὴ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πένησιν αὐτὰ κεκτημένοι διαπαντὸς ὦμεν· καὶ πῶς, ἐγὼ λέγω· ἂν εἰς δεξιάν τοῦ πένητος ἀποθῇ τὸ ἀργύριον, κ. τ. λ.

^q Ammian. lib. xxvii. p. 458. (Ernesti, Lips. 1773. p. 393.) Antistites quodam provinciales tenuitas edendi potandique parcissime, vilitas etiam indumentorum, et supercilia humum spectantia, perpetuo numini verisque ejus cultoribus, ut puros commendant et verecundos.

^r Cone. Carth. IV. c. xv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1201.) Ut episcopus vilem supel-

bishops were obliged to live after this manner; not to affect rich furniture, or sumptuous entertainments, or a splendid way of living, but to seek to advance the dignity and authority of their order by their faith and holy living. Some, indeed, were for that other sort of hospitality, for entertaining the rich, and especially the magistrates, on pretence that they might keep an interest in them, and be able to intercede with them for poor criminals, when they were condemned. But St. Jerome particularly considers and answers this pretence in his instructions to Nepotian: "You must avoid," says he, "giving great entertainments to secular men, and especially to those that are in great offices; for it is not very reputable to have the lictors and guards of a consul stand waiting at the doors of a priest of Christ, who himself was crucified, and poor; nor that the judge of a province should dine more sumptuously with you than in the palace. If it be pretended, that you do this only to be able to intercede with him for poor criminals; there is no judge but will pay a greater deference and respect to a frugal clergyman than a rich one, and show greater reverence to your sanctity than your riches; or, if he be such a one as will not hear a clergyman's intercessions but only among his cups, I should freely be without this benefit, and rather beseech Christ for the judge himself, who can more speedily and powerfully help than any judge." St. Jerome, in the same place[†], advises his clerk not to be over free in receiving other men's entertainments neither; "for the laity," says he, "should rather find us to be comforters in their mournings, than companions in their feasts. That clerk will quickly be contemned, that never refuses any entertainments, when he is frequently invited to them." Such were the ordinary rules and directions given by the ancients for regulating the hospitality and frugality of the clergy; but many bishops, and others, far exceeded these rules in transcendent heights of abstinence and acts of self-denial, freely chosen and imposed

lectilem et mensam ac victum pauperem habeat, et dignitatis suæ auctoritatem fide et vitæ meritis quærat.

[†] Hieron. Ep. ii. ad Nepotian. (p. 10, N. edit. Francof. 1684.)

[†] Ibid. Facile contemnitur clericus, qui, sæpe vocatus ad prandium, ire non recusat.

upon themselves, that they might have greater plenty and superfluities to bestow upon others. Gregory Nazianzen^u gives us this account of St. Basil, that "his riches was to possess nothing; to live content with that little which nature requires; to despise delicacies and pleasures; and set himself above the slavery of that cruel and sordid tyrant, the belly. His most delicious and constant food was bread, and salt, and water; his clothing, but one coat and one gown; his lodging, upon the ground: not for want of better accommodations, for he was metropolitan of Cæsarea, and had considerable revenues belonging to his Church; but he submitted to this way of living in imitation of his Saviour, who became poor for our sakes, that we, through his poverty, might be made rich." And, therefore, both the same author^w, and the Church historians also^x, tell us, that when, in the time of the Arian persecution under Valens, he was threatened by one of the emperor's agents, that unless he would comply, he should have all his goods confiscated, his answer was, "that no such punishment could reach him, for he was possessed of nothing, unless the emperor wanted his threadbare clothes, or a few books, which was all the substance he was master of." St. Jerome gives the like character of Exuperius, bishop of Toulouse, who made other men's wants always his own; and, like the widow of Sarepta, pinched and denied himself to feed the poor, bestowing all his substance upon the bowels of Christ. Nay, such was his frugality, that he ministered the

^u Nazianz. Orat. xx. de Laud. Basil. (Paris. 1630. p. 357. D 6.) 'Εκείνῳ πλούτος τὸ μὴ εἶναι . . . θαυμαστὸν ἡ ἐγκράτεια καὶ ὀλιγάρεια, καὶ τὸ μὴ κρατεῖσθαι τῶν ἡδονῶν μὴδ' ὥς ὑπὸ πικρᾶς καὶ ἀνελευθέρου δεσποίνης τῆς γαστρὸς ἀγεσθαι' . . . πρὸς τὰ κρίνα βλέπειν καὶ τὰ πτηνὰ, οἷς ἀτεχνον τὸ κάλλος, καὶ σχέδιος ἡ τροφή, κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην παραινέσιν τοῦ ἑμοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ σάρκα δι' ἡμᾶς πτωχεύσαντος, ἔν' ἡμεῖς πλουτισθῶμεν θεότῃτα' ἐντεῦθεν αὐτῷ τὸ ἐν χιτῶνιον καὶ τριβῶνιον, ἡ χαμεννία, καὶ ἡ ἀγρυπνία, καὶ ἡ ἀλousia, τὰ ἐκείνου σεμνολογήματα, καὶ τὸ ἡδιστον δεῖπνον καὶ ὄψον, ὁ ἄρτος καὶ οἱ ἄλεις, ἡ καινὴ καρυκία, καὶ ποτὸν νηφάλιον τε καὶ ἀφθονον, ὃ γεωργοῦσι πηγαὶ μὴδὲν πονομένοις.

^w Nazianz. Orat. xx. de Laud. Basil. p. 349. Δημεύσει μὲν οὐκ ἄλωτος ὁ μὴδὲν ἔχων, πλὴν εἰ τούτων χρήσεις τῶν τρυχίνων μου ῥακίων καὶ βιβλίων ὀλίγων, ἐν οἷς ὁ πᾶς ἑμοὶ βίος.

^x Sozom. lib. vi. c. xvi. Οὐσίαν μὲν οὐκ ἔχω, ῥᾶκός τε καὶ βιβλία ὀλίγα· οἰκῷ δὲ τὴν γῆν, ὥς ἀεὶ παροδεύων. (Reading, p. 219. B 8.)

body of Christ in a basket of osiers, and the blood in a glass cup; "but nothing," says our author^γ, "could be more rich or glorious than such a poverty as this." It were easy to give a thousand instances of the same nature in the Cyprians, the Austins, the Nazianzens, the Paulinuses, and other suchlike generous spirits of the age they lived in, who contemned the world with greater pleasure than others could admire or enjoy it: but as such heights of heroic virtues exceeded the common rule, they are not proposed as the strict measures of every man's duty, but only to excite the zeal of the forward and the good. It may be said of this, as our Saviour said of a parallel case, "All men cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given; but he that is able to receive it, let him receive it."

SECT. IX.—*Whether the Clergy were anciently obliged, by any Law, to part with their Temporal Possessions.*

Some, indeed, would fain turn this prudential advice into a law, and attempt to prove that anciently the clergy were under an obligation to quit their temporal possessions, when they betook themselves to the service of the Church. But this is to outface the sun at noon-day; for, as there is no just ground for this assertion, so there are the plainest evidences to the contrary. Among those called the Apostolical Canons^z, there is one to this purpose: "Let the goods of the bishop, if he has any of his own, be kept distinct from those of the Church, that, when he dies, he may have power to dispose of them to whom he pleases, and as he pleases, and not receive

^γ Hieron. Ep. iv. ad Rustic. Nihil illo ditius, qui corpus Domini canistro vimineo, sanguinem portat in vitro. (Venet. 1766. vol. i. p. 947, at bottom.)

^z Can. Apostol. c. xl. (c. xxxix. Labbe, vol. i. p. 33.) Ἔστω φανερά τὰ ἴδια τοῦ ἐπισκόπου πράγματα (εἶγε καὶ ἴδια ἔχει) καὶ φανερά τὰ κυριακά, ἵνα ἔκουσίαν ἔχῃ τῶν ἰδίων τελευτῶν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, οἷς βούλεται, καὶ ὡς βούλεται, καταλείψαι· καὶ μὴ προφάσει τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων διαπίπτειν τὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἐσθ' ὅτε γυναῖκα καὶ παῖδας κεκτημένον, ἢ συγγενεῖς, ἢ οἰκέτας. Δίκαιον γὰρ τοῦτο παρὰ Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις, τὸ μῆτε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ζημίαν τινὰ ὑπομένειν ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου πραγμάτων, μῆτε τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἢ τοὺς αὐτοῦ συγγενεῖς προφάσει τῆς ἐκκλησίας πημαίνεσθαι, ἢ καὶ εἰς πράγματα ἐμπίπτειν τοὺς αὐτῷ διαφέροντας, καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον δυσφημίαις περιβάλλεσθαι.

damage in his private effects, upon pretence that they were the goods of the Church; for, perhaps, he has a wife, or children, or relations, or servants: and it is but just, both before God and man, that neither the Church should suffer for want of knowing what belonged to the bishop, nor the bishop's relations be damaged by the Church, or come into trouble upon that account; which would be to the scandal and reproach of the deceased bishop." Many other canons, both of the Greek and Latin Church^a, are to the same effect. Nor can it be pretended that this is to be understood only of such estates as they got in the service of the Church; for St. Ambrose plainly intimates that the law left the clergy in the full possession of their patrimony, or temporal estates, which they had before; for he brings in some malcontents among the clergy thus complaining: "What advantage^b is it to me to be of the clergy, to suffer injuries, and undergo hard labour, as if my own estate would not maintain me?" This implies that men of estates were then among the clergy. And, indeed, there was but one case in which any clerk could be compelled to quit his possessions; and that was, when his estate was originally tied to the service of the empire, of which I have given a full account before. In all other cases it was matter of free choice, and left to his liberty whether he would dispose of his estate to any pious use or not; only, if he did not, it was expected he should be more generous in his charities, and less burdensome to the Church, his needs being supplied another way. Though neither

^a Conc. Antioch. c. xxiv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 572. C 7.) Φανερά εἶναι, τὰ διαφέροντα τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ μετὰ γνώσεως τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν (ἐπίσκοπον) πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων· ὥστε τοὺς εἶδέναι, καὶ μὴ ἀγνοεῖν, τίνα ποτὶ ἐστὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὥστε μηδὲν αὐτοὺς λανθάνειν· ἵν' εἰ συμβαίῃ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον μεταλλάττειν τὸν βίον, φανερῶν ὄντων τῶν διαφερόντων τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πραγμάτων, μήτε αὐτὰ διαπίπτειν καὶ ἀπόλλυσθαι, μήτε τὰ ἴδια τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἐνοχλεῖσθαι προφάσει τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων· δίκαιον γάρ καὶ ἀρεστὸν παρὰ τε τῷ Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις, τὰ ἴδια τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, οἷς ἂν αὐτὸς βούλεται, καταλιμπάνεσθαι, κ. τ. λ.—Conc. Agath. c. xlviii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1391.) Ut de rebus episcopi propriis vel acquisitis, vel quidquid episcopus de suo proprio habet, hæredibus suis, si voluerit, derelinquat.—Conc. Carth. III. c. xlix. (tom. ii. p. 1178.) Si ipsi (clericis) proprie aliquid liberalitate alicujus, vel successione cognationis obvenierit, faciant inde, quod eorum proposito congruit.

^b Ambr. Ep. xvii. Quid mihi prodest in clero manere, subire injurias, labores perpeti, quasi non possit ager meus me pascere?

was this forced upon him by any law, but only urged upon reasons of charity^c, leaving him judge of his own necessities, and not forbidding him to have his dividend in the Church, if, in his own prudence, he thought fit to require it. Socrates^d commends Chrysanthus, a Novatian bishop, upon this account, that, having an estate of his own, he never took any thing of the Church, save two loaves of the *eulogiæ*, or offerings on Sunday, though he does not once intimate that there was any law to compel him to do so; as neither does Prosper, who speaks most of any other against rich men's taking their portion in the charities of the Church. He reckons it, indeed^e, a dishonourable act, and a sin in them, because it was to deprive others of the Church's charity, who stood more in need of it; and he thinks, though a rich clergyman might keep his own estate without sin, because there was no law, but the law of perfection, to oblige him to renounce it; yet it must be upon condition that he required none of the maintenance of the Church^f. But he only delivers this as his own private opinion, and does not signify that there was then any such standing law in the Church. In Afric, they had a peculiar law against covetousness in the time of St. Austin; which was, "that if any bishop, presbyter, or deacon, or any other clerk, who had no estate when they were ordained, did afterward^g purchase lands in their own name, they should be impeached as guilty of invading the Lord's revenue, unless, upon admonition, they conferred the same upon the Church."

^c Can. Apost. c. xli. (c. xl. Labbe, vol. i. p. 33.) *Μεταλαμβάνειν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν δέοντων (εἶγε δέοιτο) εἰς τὰς ἀναγκαίας αὐτῷ χρείας.*—In Concil. Antioch. c. xxv. eadem verba leguntur.

^d Socrat. lib. vii. c. xii. *Ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν οὐδὲν ἐδέξατο, πλὴν κατὰ κυριακὴν δύο ἄρτους τῶν εὐλογιῶν ἐλάμβανεν.* (Reading, p. 300. A 9.)

^e Prosper, de Vit. Contempl. lib. ii. c. xii. (Paris. 1711. vol. ii. p. 34. B 5.) Noverint esse deformius, possessores de eleemosynis pauperum pasci.

^f Ibid. Illi, qui tam infirmi sunt, ut possessionibus suis renunciare non possint; si ea quæ accepturi erant, dispensatori relinquunt, nihil habentibus conferenda, sine peccato possident sua.

^g Conc. Carthag. III. c. xlix. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1178.) Placuit, ut episcopi, presbyteri, diaconi, vel quicunque clerici, qui nihil habentes ordinantur, et tempore episcopatus vel clericatus sui, agros vel quæcunque prædia nomine suo comparant, tanquam rerum dominicarum invasionis crimine teneantur obnoxii, nisi admoniti ecclesiæ eadem ipsa contulerint.

For, in those times, the Church revenues being small, no one's dividend was more than a competent maintenance; and, therefore, it was presumed, that he who could purchase lands in such circumstances, must have been some way injurious to the public revenues of the Church. But in the same law it was provided, that if any estate was left them, by donation or inheritance, they might dispose of it as they pleased themselves; for the Church made no rules, but only gave her advice, in such cases as these, exhorting her wealthy clergy to greater degrees of liberality, but not demanding their estates, to have them at her own disposal. On the other hand, when clergymen who had no visible estates of their own, and were single men, and had no poor families to provide for, were busily intent upon growing rich out of the revenues of the Church, this was always esteemed a scandalous covetousness, and accordingly prosecuted with sharp invectives by St. Jerome^h and others of the ancient writers. So much of the laws of charity, which concerned the ancient clergy.

SECT. X.—*Of their great Care to be inoffensive with their Tongues.*

I might here give a character of their meekness, modesty, gravity, humility, and several other virtues, which Nazianzen describes in the person of his own father. But I shall but take notice of two things more which concerned the conduct of their lives, and those are the laws relating, first, to their words; and, secondly, to their fame and reputation. For their words, they who were to teach others the most difficult part of human conduct, the government of the tongue, were highly concerned to be examples to the people, as well in word as action; and, to this purpose, the laws were very severe against all manner of licentious discourse in their conversation. The fourth Council of Carthage has three canons together upon this head; one of whichⁱ forbids scurrility and buf-

^h Hieron. Ep. ad Nepotian. Nonnulli sunt ditiores Monachi, quam fuerant seculares: et clerici, qui possident opes sub Christo paupere, quas sub locuplete et fallace diabolo non habuerant: ut suspiret eos Ecclesia dives, quos mundus tenuit ante mendicos. (See Vallars. vol. i. p. 259, note a.)

ⁱ Conc. Carth. IV. c. lx. (tom. ii. p. 1204.) Clericum scurrilem et verbis turpibus jocularum ab officio retrahendum.

foenery, or that foolish talking and jesting, with obscenity, which the apostle calls *βωμολοχία*^k, under the penalty of deprivation. Another threatens^l such with excommunication, as use to swear by the name of any creature. And a third canon^m menaces the same punishment to such as sing at any public entertainment. St. Jerome particularly cautions his clerk against detraction, because of the temptation he may lie under, either to commit the sin himself, or give way to it in others, by hearkening to and reporting false suggestions after them; which is much the same thing: for no slanderer tells his story to oneⁿ that is not willing to hear him. "An arrow," says he, "never fixes upon a stone, but often recoils back, and wounds him that shoots it; therefore let the detractor learn to be less forward and busy, by your unwillingness to hear his detraction." St. Chrysostom^o takes notice of this vice, as most incident to inferiors, whom envy and emulation too often prompt to detract from the authority and virtues of their bishop, especially when they are grown popular and admired for their own eloquent preaching; then, if they be of a bold, and arrogant, and vain-glorious temper, their business is to deride him in private, and detract from his authority, and make themselves every thing, by lessening his just character and power. Upon this hint our author also takes occasion to show, what an extraordinary courage and spirit, and how

^k [Forte dicere voluit auctor noster Binghamus, *αἰσχρολογία*, quippe quod vocabulum Paulus habet Col. iii. 7, illud autem apud Aristotelem ii. Ethic. occurrit, et est ipsi altera extremitas *εὐτραπείας*. G.]

^l Conc. Carth. IV. c. lxi. Clericum per creaturas jurantem acerrime objurgandum. Si perstiterit in vitio, excommunicandum.

^m Ibid. IV. c. lxii. Clericum, inter epulas cantantem, supra dictæ sententiæ severitate coercendum.

ⁿ Hieron. Ep. ii. ad Nepot. (Venet. 1766. vol. i. p. 268.) Cave ne aut linguam aut aures habeas prurientes, id est, ne aut ipse aliis detrahas, aut alios audias detrahentes. . . . Parce a detractone linguæ, custodi sermones tuos, et acito, quia per cuncta, quæ de aliis loqueris, tua conscientia [sententia] judicaris, et in his ipse judicaris [deprehenderis], quæ in aliis arguebas. Neque vero illa justa est excusatio, 'Referentibus aliis, injuriam facere non possum.' Nemo invito auditori libenter refert. Sagitta in lapidem numquam figitur, interdum resiliens percutit dirigentem. Discat detractor, dum te videt non libenter audire, non facile detrahere.

^o Chrysostom. de Sacerdot. lib. v. c. viii. tot.

divine and even a temper a bishop ought to have, that, by such temptations, and a thousand others of the like nature, he be not overwhelmed, either with anger or envy, on the one hand, or insuperable sorrow and dejection of mind, on the other. St. Jerome recommends another virtue of the tongue to his clerk, which is of great use in conversation; and that is, the keeping of secrets, and knowing when to be silent, especially about the affairs of great men. "Your office," says he, "requires you to visit the sick, and thereby you^p become acquainted with the families of matrons, and their children, and are entrusted with the secrets of noble men. You ought, therefore, to keep not only a chaste eye, but also a chaste tongue; and, as it is not your business to be talking of the beauties of women, so neither to let one house know from you what was done in another. For, if Hippocrates adjured his disciples before he taught them, and made them take an oath of silence; if he formed them in their discourse, their gait, their meekness and modesty, their habit, and their whole morals; how much more ought we, who have the care of souls committed to us, to love the houses of all Christians as if they were our own?" He means, that the clergy should be formed to the art of silence; as carefully as Hippocrates taught his scholars, that the peace and unity of Christian families might not be disturbed or discomposed by revealing the secrets of one to another; which it is certain no one will do, that has the property which St. Jerome requires, of loving every Christian family as his own.

SECT. XI.—*Of their Care to guard against Suspicion of Evil.*

2. As they were thus taught to be inoffensive both in word and deed, and thereby secure a good name and reputation among men, which was necessary for the due exercise of their function; so, because it was possible their credit might be

^p Hieronym. Epist. II. ad Nepotian. p. 268. Officii tui est visitare languentes, nosse domos matronarum, ac liberos earum, et nobilium virorum custodire secreta. Officii tui sit, non solum oculos castos servare, sed et linguam. Numquam de formis mulierum disputes, nec quid agatur in alia, domus alia per te noverit. Hippocrates adjurat discipulos suos, antequam doceat, et in verba sua jurare compellit: extorquet sacramento silentium; sermonem, incessum, habitum, moresque prescribit. Quanto magis nos, quibus animarum cura [medicina] commissa est, omnium Christianorum domos debemus amare tamquam proprias!

impaired, not only by the commission of real evil, but by the very appearance and suspicion of it,—the laws of the Church, upon this account, were very exact in requiring them to set a guard upon their whole deportment, and avoid all suspicious actions that might give the least umbrage or handle to an adversary to reproach them. It was not enough in this case, that a man kept a good conscience in the sight of God; but he must provide or forecast for honest things in the sight of men. And this was the more difficult, because men are apt to be querulous against the clergy, as St. Chrysostom observes: some through weakness and imprudence; others through malice, easily raising complaints and accusations without any just ground, and difficultly hearkening to any reasons or apologies that they can offer in their own defence: but the more querulous and suspicious men are, the more watchful it becomes the clergy to be against unjust surmises, that they may cut off occasion from them that desire occasion to accuse or reproach them. To this end, they are to use the utmost diligence and precaution to guard against the ill opinions of men, by avoiding all actions that are of a doubtful and suspicious nature. “For,” says St. Chrysostom, “if the holy

9 Chrysost. de Sacerd. lib. vi. c. ix. Εἰ γὰρ ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος, μὴ κλοπῆς ὑπόνοιαν λάβῃ παρὰ τοῖς μαθηταῖς, ἔδεισε· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προσέλαβε καὶ ἑτέρους εἰς τὴν τῶν χρημάτων διακονίαν, ἵνα μὴ τις ἡμᾶς μωμῆσθῃται (φησιν) ἐν τῇ ἀδρότῃ ταύτῃ, τῇ διακονουμένῃ ὑφ’ ἡμῶν πῶς ἡμᾶς οὐ πάντα δεῖ ποιεῖν, ὥστε τὰς πονηρὰς ἀναιρεῖν ὑποψίας, καὶ ψευδεῖς, καὶ ἀλόγιστοι τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι, καὶ σφόδρα τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀπέχῃσι δόξης. οὐδενὸς γὰρ ἁμαρτήματος τοσοῦτον ἡμεῖς ἀφεστήκαμεν, ὅσον κλοπῆς ὁ Παῦλος· ἀλλ’ ὅμως καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀφιστηκώς τῆς πονηρᾶς ταύτης πράξεως, οὐδὲ οὕτως ἡμέλεισε τῆς τῶν πολλῶν ὑπονοίας, καίτοι λίαν οὐσης ἀλόγου καὶ μανιώδους· μανία γὰρ ἦν, τοιοῦτον ὑποπεῦσαι τι περὶ τῆς μακαρίας καὶ θαυμαστῆς ἐκείνης κεφαλῆς· ἀλλ’ ὅμως οὐδὲν ἤττον καὶ ταύτης τῆς ὑποψίας, τῆς οὕτως ἀλόγου, καὶ ἦν οὕτως ἀν μὴ παραπαῖων ὑπώπτευσε, πόρρωθεν ἀναιρεῖ τὰς αἰτίας· καὶ οὐ δέκνυσε τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ἀνοιαν, οὐδὲ εἶπε· τίτι γὰρ ἂν ἐπέλθοι ποτὲ, τοιαῦτα περὶ ἡμῶν ὑπονοεῖν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπιεικείας τῆς ἐν τῷ βίῳ, πάντων ἡμᾶς καὶ τιμώντων καὶ θαυμαζόντων; ἀλλ’ ἅπαν τοῦναντίον καὶ ὑπέδειτο, καὶ προσεδόκησε ταύτην τὴν πονηρὰν ὑπόνοιαν· καὶ πρόρριζον αὐτὴν ἀνίσπασε, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ φῦναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφῆκε. διὰ τί; προνοοῦμεν γάρ, φησι, καλὰ οὐ μόνον ἐνώπιον Κυρίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνώπιον ἀνθρώπων. τοσαύτην δεῖ, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πλείονι κεκρῆσθαι σπουδῇ ὥστε μὴ μόνον αἰρομένας κατασπᾶν καὶ κωλύειν τὰς φήμας τὰς οὐκ ἀγαθὰς· ἀλλὰ καὶ πόρρωθεν, ὅθεν ἂν γένοιτο, προορᾶν καὶ τὰς προφάσεις, ἐξ ὧν τίκτον-

apostle St. Paul was afraid lest he should have been suspected of theft by the Corinthians; and, upon that account, took others into the administration of their charity with himself, that no one might have the least pretence to blame him,—how much more careful should we be to cut off all occasions of sinister opinions and suspicions, however false or unreasonable they may be, or disagreeable to our character? for none of us can be so far removed from any sin, as St. Paul was from theft; yet he did not think fit to condemn the suspicions of the vulgar; he did not trust to the reputation which both his miracles and the integrity of his life had generally gained him: but, on the contrary, he imagined such suspicions and jealousies might arise in the hearts of some men, and therefore he took care to prevent them, not suffering them to arise at all, but timely foreseeing, and prudently forestalling them: ‘providing,’ as he says, ‘for honest things, not only in the sight of God, but also in the sight of men.’ The same care, and much greater, should we take, not only to dissipate and destroy the ill opinions men may have entertained of us, but to foresee afar off from what causes they may spring, and to cut off, beforehand, the very occasions and pretences from whence they may grow; which is much easier to be done than to extinguish them when they are risen, which will then be very difficult, perhaps impossible; besides that their being raised will give great scandal and offence, and wound the consciences of many.” Thus the holy father argues upon this point, according to his wonted manner, nervously and strenuously, to show the clergy their obligations to use their utmost prudence to foresee and prevent scandal, by avoiding all actions of a doubtful and suspicious nature. St. Jerome^r gives his clerk the same instructions, to guard against suspicions, and take care, beforehand, to minister no probable grounds for

ται, προαναριρεῖν, καὶ μὴ περιμένειν αὐτὰς συστῆναι, καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῶν πολλῶν διαθρυλληθῆναι στόμασι· τηρικαῦτα γὰρ οὔτε εὐπορον αὐτὰς ἀφανίσαι λοιπὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν δυσχερὲς, τάχα δὲ καὶ ἀδύνατον· οὔτε ἀζήμιον, τῷ μετὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν βλάβην τοῦτο γενίσθαι. (Vol. i. p. 428, line 4 from bottom.)

^r Hier. Epist. ii. ad Nepot. (Venet. 1766. vol. i. p. 260. C 4.) Caveto omnes suspiciones; et quidquid probabiliter fingi potest, ne fingatur, ante devita. Si propter officium clericatus, aut vidua a te visitatur aut virgo, numquam domum solus introeas. Tales habeto socios, quorum contubernio non infameris.

raising any feigned stories concerning him. If his office required him to visit the widows or virgins of the Church, he should never go to them alone, but always take some other person of known probity and gravity with him, from whose company he would receive no defamation.

SECT. XII.—*Laws relating to this Matter.*

Nor was this only the private direction of St. Jerome, but a public rule of the Church. For, in the third Council of Carthage, this canon was enacted, "That neither bishop^a, nor presbyter, nor any other clerk, should visit the widows and virgins alone, but in the company and presence of some other of the clergy, or some grave Christians." And in the first Council of Carthage^t, and the Council of Epome^u, there are canons to the same purpose.

SECT. XIII.—*An Account of the Agapetæ and Συνείσακτοι, and the Laws of the Church made against them.*

The great Council of Nice made another order upon the same grounds, to prevent all sinister opinions, that none of the unmarried clergy, bishop, presbyter, deacon, or any other^w,

^a Conc. Carth. III. c. xxv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1171.) Ut clerici vel continentes, ad viduas vel virgines, nisi jussu vel permissu episcoporum et presbyterorum, non accedant. Et hoc non soli faciant, sed cum clericis, vel cum his, cum quibus episcopus jusserit vel presbyter; nec ipsi episcopi aut presbyteri soli habeant accessum ad hujusmodi feminas, nisi aut clerici presentes sint, aut graves aliqui Christiani.

^t Conc. Carth. I. c. iii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1823. C.) Occasiones amputandæ sunt peccatorum, et tollendæ omnes suspiciones, quibus subtilitas diaboli, sub prætextu caritatis et dilectionis, incautas animas vel ignaras irretire consuevit. Nullus ergo et nulla, sanctimonie deserviens, propter blasphemiam ecclesiæ, si vobis placet, in una domo penitus commemorari non debent. Universi dixerunt: Qui nolunt nubere, et pudicitie meliorem eligunt partem, vitare debent, non solum habitare simul, sed nec habere ad se aliquem accessum.

^u Conc. Epaonens. c. xx. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1578.) Episcopo, presbytero, et diacono, vel cæteris clericis, horis præteritis, id est, meridianis vel vespertinis, ad feminas prohibemus accessum: quæ tamen, si causa fuerit, cum presbyterorum aut clericorum testimonio videantur.

^w Conc. Nic. c. iii. (tom. ii. p. 29.) Ἀπηγόρευσε καθόλου ἡ μεγάλη σύνοδος, μήτε ἐπισκόπων, μήτε πρεσβυτέρων, μήτε διακόνων, μήτε ὅλων τινὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ, ἐξεῖναι συνείσακτον γυναῖκα ἔχειν· πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἄρα μητέρα, ἢ ἀδελφὴν, ἢ θείαν, ἢ ἄ μόνᾳ πρόσωπα πᾶσαν ὑποψίαν διαπίφeyε.

should have any woman that was a stranger, and not one of their kindred, to dwell with them; save only a mother, a sister, or an aunt, or some such persons, with whom they might live without suspicion. They who hence conclude that the clergy were forbidden to cohabit with their wives, which they had married before ordination, are sufficiently exposed by Gothofred^x as ignorant of the true import of the original word, *συνεῖσακτος*, which never denotes a wife, but always a stranger, in opposition to those of one's kindred; and it is evident the canon was made, not upon the account of the married clergy, but the unmarried, to prevent suspicion and evil reports, that might easily arise from their familiar conversation with women that were not of their kindred, or near relations. We may be satisfied of this from a law of Honorius and Theodosius, junior, which was made in pursuance of the Nicene canon, and is still extant in both the Codes^y; where, first, having forbidden the clergy to cohabit with any strange women, who, by some, were taken in under the title and appellation of sisters; and having named what persons they might lawfully entertain in their houses, viz. mothers, daughters, and sisters, because natural consanguinity would prevent all suspicion of these: lest the not excepting of wives might seem to exclude them also, a particular clause is added concerning them, "That

^x Gothofr. Not. in Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. leg. xlv. Neque hæ (conjuges) extraneæ sunt, neque cum his commune quidquam habet superior prohibitio de extraneis mulieribus non adsciscendis: quod ut hæc lex apertissime testatur, ita Paphnutii quoque historia, collata cum dicto can. iii. Nicæno, pariter edocet. Quare falluntur, qui ad conjuges a maritis ad sacerdotium promotis divellendas auctoritatem canonis Nicæni advocant, qui non est nisi de extraneis, ut et epistolam Basilii ad Páregorium excviii.; quæ pariter non est nisi *περί συνεύσεων*. Conf. omnino, p. 87 tot. apud Gothofredum.

^y Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. leg. xlv. — It. Cod. Just. lib. i. tit. iii. leg. xix. Eum qui probabilem seculo disciplinam agit, decolorari consortio sororiæ appellationis non decet. Quicumque igitur cujuscunque gradus sacerdotio fulciuntur, vel clericatus honore censentur, extranearum sibi mulierum interdicta consortia cognoscant: hac eis tantum facultate concessa, ut matres, filias, atque germanas intra domorum suarum septa contineant. In his enim nihil sevi criminis existimari fœdus naturale permittit. Illas etiam non relinqui castitatis hortatur affectio, quæ ante sacerdotium maritorum legitimum meruere conjugium. Neque enim clericis incompetentæ adjunctæ sunt, quæ dignos sacerdotio viros sua conversatione fecerunt.

such as were married before their husbands were ordained, should not be relinquished upon pretence of chastity, but rather be retained upon that account, it being but reasonable that they should be joined to their husbands, who, by their conversation, made their husbands worthy of the priesthood." The *συνείσακτοι*, then, or 'strangers,' who, in these laws, are forbidden to cohabit with the clergy, are not their lawful wives, but others who were taken in under the name of sisters; as that law of Honorius, and other ancient writers², intimate they were called by those that entertained them. St. Jerome^a and Epiphanius^b tell us they were also known by the name of *αγαπητα*, *ἀγαπηται*, that is, 'beloved.' So that all these several names signify but that one sort of persons, most commonly called strangers, *extraneæ*, and *συνείσακτοι*, whose conversation was suspicious, and therefore so often prohibited by the laws of the Church. They were commonly some of the virgins belonging to the Church, whom they that entertained pretended only to love as sisters, with a chaste love. But their manner of conversing was sometimes so very scandalous, that it justly gave great offence to all sober and modest persons; and, had not the Church always interposed with her severest censures, it must have made her liable to as great reproach. For it appears from the complaint of St. Cyprian^c,

^a Conc. Ancyr. c. xix. (tom. i. p. 1464.) *Τὰς μὲν τοι συνερχομένας παρθένους τιςιν, ὡς ἀδελφάς, ἐκώλυσamen.*

^b Hieron. Ep. xxii. ad Eustoch. p. 138, edit. Basil. 1565. (p. 90. B. edit. Francof. 1684.) See note (d) in next page.

^c Epiphanius. Hær. lxiii. Origen. n. ii. *Κατηγοροῦσι τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὰς ἀγαπητὰς λεγομένας συνεισάκτους γυναῖκας ἐκτεμνένων, ὡς καὶ αὐτῶν τοῦτο ἐπιτελούντων κρυφῇ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων αἰδῶ· ἵνα μὲν τῇ πονηρίᾳ συνθάπτωνται, τῇ δὲ προσήματι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἕνεκα τὸ ὄνομα σεμνύνωνται.*

^c Cyprian. Ep. vi. al. xiv. (p. 15, edit. Paris. 1686.) (Bened. 1726. p. 12.) Cum summo animi nostri gemitu et dolore cognovimus non deesse, qui Dei templa et post confessionem sanctificata et illustrata membra turpi et infami concubitu suo plus maculent, cubilia sua cum feminis promiscua jungentes, &c. —Id. Ep. lxii. al. iv. (p. 98, edit. citat.) Legimus litteras tuas, frater carissime, quas per Paconium fratrem nostrum misisti, postulans et desiderans ut tibi rescriberemus quid nobis de iis virginibus videatur, quæ quum semel statum suum continenter et firmiter tenere decreverint, detectæ sint postea in eodem lecto pariter mansisse cum masculis: ex quibus unum diaconum esse dicis, plane easdem quæ se cum viris dormisse confesse sint asseverare se integras eas, &c.

St. Jerome^d, and others, that the practice of some was very intolerable; for they not only dwelt together in the same house, but lodged in the same room, and sometimes in the same bed; and yet would be thought innocent, and called others uncharitable and suspicious that entertained any hard thoughts of them. But the Church did not regard vain words, but treated them as they justly deserved, as persons that used a scandalous and indecent liberty, and who were the very pests and plagues of the Church. Cyprian^e commends Pomponius for excommunicating a deacon who had been found guilty in this kind; and the Council of Antioch^f alleged this, among other reasons, for their deposing Paulus Samosatensis from his bishopric. In the following ages, besides the Councils of Nice and Ancyra, already mentioned, we meet with many other canons made upon this account: as in the second Council of Arles^g; the first, third, and fourth Councils of Carthage^h;

^d Hieron. Ep. xxii. ad Eustoch. Unde in ecclesias Agapetarum pestis introiit! Unde sine nuptiis aliud nomen uxorum! Immo unde novum concubinarum genus! Plus inferam: unde meretrices univiræ! [Quæ] eadem domo, uno cubiculo, sæpe uno tenentur et lectulo; et suspiciosos nos vocant, si aliquid existimamus. (Venet. 1766. vol. i. p. 98.)

^e Cyprian. Ep. lxii. (Bened. p. 103.) Consulte et cum vigore fecisti, frater carissime, abstinendo diaconum, qui cum virgine sæpe mansit, sed et cæteros qui cum virginibus dormire consueverant. Quod si pœnitentiam hujus illiciti concubitus sui egerint, et a se invicem recesserint, inspiciantur interim virgines ab obstetricibus diligenter, et si virgines inventæ fuerint, accepta communicatione ad ecclesiam admittantur, hac tamen interminatione, ut si ad eisdem masculos postmodum reversæ fuerint, aut si cum eisdem in una domo et sub eodem tecto simul habitaverint, graviore censura ejiciantur, nec in ecclesiam postmodum tales facile recipiantur, &c.

^f Epistol. Synod. ap. Euseb. lib. vii. c. xxx. Τὰς δὲ συνεισάκτους αὐτοῦ γυναῖκας, ὡς Ἀντιοχείς ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων, κ. τ. λ.

^g Conc. Arelat. II. c. iii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1011.) Si quis clericus a gradu diaconatus in solatio suo mulierem, præter aviam, matrem, filiam, neptem, vel conversam secum uxorem, habere præsumserit, a communione alienus habeatur. Par quoque et mulierem, si se separare noluerit, poena percellat.

^h Conc. Carth. I. c. iii. vid. supra not. (s) p. 133.—C. iv. Juxta viduos et viduas eadem lex maneat et sententia.—Ibid. III. c. xvii. (tom. ii. p. 1170.) Cum omnibus clericis extraneæ feminae non cohabitent, sed solæ matres, aviæ, materteræ, amitæ, sorores, et filiæ fratrum aut sororum, et quæcumque ex familia, domestica necessitate, etiam antequam ordinarentur, jam cum eis habitabant, &c.—Ibid. IV. c. xlvi. (ibid. p. 1204.) Clericus cum extraneis mulieribus non habitat.

the Council of Eliberis¹ and Lerida^k; and many others, prohibiting the clergy to entertain any women who were strangers, and not of their near relations, under pain of deprivation. The intent of all which canons was to oblige the clergy not only to live innocently in the sight of God, but also unblameably, and without suspicion and censure in the sight of men; it being more especially necessary for men of their function to maintain not only a good conscience, but a good name; the one for their own sake, the other for the sake of their neighbours¹, that men might neither be tempted to blaspheme the ways of God, by suspecting the actions of holy men to be impure when they were not so; nor be induced to imitate such practices as they at least imagined to be evil; either of which would turn to the destruction of their souls. "So that it was cruelty and inhumanity," as St. Austin concludes, "for a man, in such circumstances, to neglect and disregard his own reputation."

¹ Conc. Illiberit. c. xxvii. (tom. i. p. 973.) *Episcopus vel quilibet alius clericus, aut sororem, aut filiam virginem dicatam Deo, tantum secum habeat; extraneam nequaquam habere placuit.*

^k Conc. Ilerdens. c. xv. (tom. iv. p. 1613.) *Familiaritatem extranearum mulierum, licet ex toto sancti patres antiquis monitionibus præceperint, ecclesiasticis evitandam, id nunc tamen nobis visum est, ut qui talis probabitur, si post primam et secundam commonitionem se emendare neglexerit, donec in vitio perseverat, officii sui dignitate privetur.*

¹ August. de Bono Viduit. c. xxii. (Bened. vol. vi. p. 384. G.) (tom. iv. p. 1032, edit. Basil. 1569.) *In omnibus sane spiritualibus deliciis quibus fruuntur innuptæ, sancta earum conversatio cauta etiam debet esse, ne forte, quum mala vita non sit per lasciviam, mala sit fama per negligentiam. Nec audiendi sunt, sive viri sancti sive feminae, quando reprehensa in aliquo negligentia sua, per quam fit ut in malam veniant suspensionem, unde suam vitam longe abesse sciunt, dicunt sibi coram Deo sufficere conscientiam, existimationem hominum non imprudenter solum, verum etiam crudeliter contemnentes: quum occidunt animas aliorum, sive blasphemantium viam Dei, quibus secundum suam suspensionem quasi turpis quæ casta est displicet vita sanctorum; sive etiam cum excusatione imitantium, non quod vident, sed quod putant. Proinde quisquis a criminibus flagitiorum atque facinorum vitam suam custodit, sibi bene facit: quisquis autem etiam famam, et in alios misericors est. Nobis enim necessaria est vita nostra, aliis fama nostra: et utique etiam quod aliis ministramus misericorditer ad salutem, ad nostram quoque redundat utilitatem.*

SECT. XIV.—*Malevolent and unavoidable Suspicions to be contemned.*

But it might happen that a man, after the utmost human caution and prudence that could be used, might not be able to avoid the malevolent suspicions of ill-disposed men; for our blessed Lord, whose innocence and conduct were both equally divine, could not, in his converse with men, wholly escape them. Now, in this case, the Church could prescribe no other rule, but that of patience and Christian consolation, given by our Saviour to his apostles: “Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil^m against you falsely for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven.” “When we have done,” says St. Austinⁿ, “all that in justice and prudence we could to preserve our good name; if, after that, some men, notwithstanding, will endeavour to blemish our reputation, and blacken our character, either by false suggestions or unreasonable suspicions, let conscience be our comfort, nay, plainly, our joy, that ‘great is our reward in heaven.’ For this reward is the wages of our warfare, whilst we behave ourselves as good soldiers of Christ, by the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left, by honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report.” So much of the laws of the Church relating to the life and conversation of the ancient clergy.

CHAPTER III.

OF LAWS MORE PARTICULARLY RELATING TO THE EXERCISE OF THE DUTIES AND OFFICES OF THEIR FUNCTION.

SECT. I.—*The Clergy obliged to lead a studious Life.*

I COME now to speak of such laws as more immediately related to their function, and the several offices and duties belonging to it. In speaking of which, because many of these offices will come more fully to be considered hereafter, when we treat

^m Matth. v. 11.

ⁿ Augustin. *ibid.* p. 1033.

of the liturgy and service of the Church, I shall here speak chiefly of such duties as were required of them by way of general qualification, to enable them the better to go through the particular duties of their function; such was, in the first place, their obligation to lead a studious life. For since, as Gregory Nazianzen^a observes, the meanest arts could not be obtained without much time, and labour, and toil spent therein, it were absurd to think that the art of wisdom, which comprehends the knowledge of things human and divine, and comprises every thing that is noble and excellent, was so light and vulgar a thing, as that a man needed no more but a wish or a will to obtain it. Some, indeed, he complains^b, were of this fond opinion; and therefore, before they had well passed the time of their childhood, or knew the names of the books of the Old and New Testament, or how well to read them, if they had but got two or three pious words by heart, or had read a few of the Psalms of David, and put on a grave habit, which made some outward show of piety, they had the vanity to think they were qualified for the government of the Church. They then talked nothing but of Samuel's sanctification from

^a Naz. Orat. i. de Fuga, (Paris. 1630. tom. i. p. 22. B 3.) 'Ορχήσεις μὲν καὶ αὐλήσεις ἐστὶ διδασκαλία καὶ μάθησις, καὶ χρόνου πρὸς τοῦτο δεῖ, καὶ ἰδρώτων συγχῶν καὶ πόνων, καὶ μισθοὺς καταβαλεῖν ἐστὶν ὅτε, καὶ προσ-αγωγῶν διηθῆναι, καὶ ἀποδημῆσαι μακρότερα, καὶ τ' ἄλλα τὰ μὲν ποιῆσαι πάντα, τὰ δὲ παθεῖν οἷς ἱμπερία συλλέγεται· τὴν δὲ σοφίαν, ἣ πᾶσιν ἐπιστα-τεῖ, καὶ πάντα ἐν ἑαυτῇ τὰ καλὰ συλλαβοῦσα ἔχει . . . οὕτω κοῦφόν τι καὶ πεπατημένον πρᾶγμα ὑποληψόμεθα, ὥστε θελήσαι δεῖ μόνον καὶ εἶναι σοφόν; πολλῆς τοῦτο τῆς ἀμαθίας.

^b Naz. Orat. i. de Fuga, (tom. i. p. 21. C.) Οὕτω κακῶς διακείμεθα, ὥστε οἱ πλείους ἡμῶν, ἵνα μὴ λέγω πάντες, πρὶν ἀποθίσθαι σχεδὸν τὴν πρώτην τρίχα, καὶ τὸ τὰ παιδικὰ ψελλίζεσθαι, πρὶν παρελθεῖν εἰς τὰς θείας αὐλὰς, πρὶν τῶν ἱερῶν βιβλίων γινῶναι καὶ τὰ δνόματα, πρὶν καινῆς καὶ παλαιᾶς χαρακτῆρα γνωρίσαι, καὶ τοὺς προστάτας (οὕτω γὰρ λέγω, πρὶν ἢ τὸν βόρβορον ἀποπλύναι, καὶ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς αἵσχη, ὅσα ἡ κακία ἡμῖν προσεμάξατο) ἂν δύο ἢ τρία ῥήματα τῶν εὐσεβῶν ἐξασκήσωμεν, καὶ ταῦτα ἐξ ἀκοῆς, οὐκ ἐντεύξεως, ἡ τῷ Δαβὶδ βραχέα καθομιλήσωμεν, ἡ τὸ τριβῶνιον εὐ περιστειλώμεθα, ἡ μέχρι τῆς ζώνης φιλοσοφῶμεν, εὐσεβείας τι πλάσμα κατ' ὕψιν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς περιχρῶσαντες· βαβαὶ τῆς προεδρίας καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος! ἱερὸς καὶ ἐκ σπαργάνων ὁ Σαμουὴλ· εὐθύς ἴσμεν σοφοὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι καὶ ὑψηλοὶ τὰ θεῖα, καὶ γραμμα-τίων τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ νομικῶν, καὶ χειροτονοῦμεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς οὐρανόους, καὶ καλεῖσθαι Ῥαββὶ ζητούμεν, καὶ οὐδαμοῦ τὸ γράμμα καὶ πάντα δεῖ νοηθῆναι πνευματικῶς, καὶ λῆρος πλατὺς τὰ δυνείματα, καὶ ἀγανακτοῖμεν ἂν, εἰ μὴ σφόδρα ἐπαινοῖμεθα.

his cradle; and thought themselves profound scribes, and great rabbies and teachers, sublime in the knowledge of divine things; and were for interpreting the Scripture, not by the letter, but after a spiritual way, propounding their own dreams and fancies, instead of the divine oracles, to the people. This, he complains, was for want of that study and labour, which ought to be the continual employment of persons who take upon them the offices of the sacred function. St. Chrysostom pursues this matter a little further, and shows the necessity of continual labour and study in a clergyman, from the work and business he has upon his hand; each part of which requires great sedulity and application. For, first, he ought to be qualified to minister suitable remedies to the several maladies and distempers^c of men's souls; the duty of which requires greater skill and labour than the cure of their bodily distempers; and this is only to be done by the doctrine of the Gospel, which, therefore, required that he should be intimately acquainted with every part of it. Then, again, he must be able to stop the mouths of all gainsayers^d, Jews, Gentiles, and heretics, who had different arts and different weapons to assault the truth by; and, unless he exactly understood all their fallacies and sophisms, and knew the true art of making a proper defence, he would be in danger not only of suffering each of them to make spoil and devastation of the Church, but of encouraging one error whilst he was opposing another; for nothing was more common than for ignorant and unskilful disputants to run from one extreme to another; as he shows in the controversies which the Church had with the Marcionites and Valentinians on the one hand, and the Jews on the other, about the law of Moses; and the dispute about the Trinity, between the Arians and Sabellians. Now, unless a man was well skilled and exercised in the word of God, and the true art and rules of disputation, which could not be attained without continual study and labour, he concludes it would be impossible for him to maintain his ground, and the truth, as he ought, against so many subtle and wily imposers.

^c Chrysost. de Sacerdot. lib. iv. c. iii. tot.

^d Ibid. lib. iv. c. iv. tot.

Upon this he inculcates* that direction of St. Paul to Timothy (1 Tim. iv. 13), "Give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine; meditate upon these things; give thyself wholly to them, that thy profiting may appear to all men." 3. He shows^f how difficult and laborious a work it was to make continual homilies and set discourses to the people, who were become very severe judges of the preacher's composures, and would not allow him to rehearse any part of another man's work, nor so much as to repeat his own upon a second occasion. Here his task was something the more difficult, because men had generally nice and delicate palates, and were inclined to hear sermons as they heard plays, more for pleasure than profit, which added to the preacher's study and labour; who, though he was to condemn both popular applause and censure, yet was he also to have such a regard to his auditory, as that they might hear him with pleasure, to their edification and advantage; and the more famed and eloquent the preacher was, so much the more careful^g and studious ought he to be, that he may always answer his character, and not expose himself to the censures and accusations of the people. These, and the like arguments, does that holy father urge, to show how much it concerns men of the sacred calling to devote themselves to a studious and laborious life, that they may be the better qualified thereby to answer the several indispensable duties of their functions.

SECT. II.—*No Pleas allowed as just Apologies for the contrary.*

"Some, indeed," St. Chrysostom says, "were ready to plead even the apostle's authority for their ignorance, and almost value themselves for want of learning, because the apostle says of himself, that he was rude in speech." But to this the holy father justly replies, "That this was a misrepresentation of the great apostle, and vainly urged to excuse any man's sloth and^h negligence in not attaining to those necessary parts of knowledge which the clerical life required. If the utmost heights and perfections of exotic eloquence had been rigidly

* Chrysost. de Sacerdot. lib. iv. c. viii.

^f Ibid. lib. v. c. i. tot.

^g Ibid. lib. v. c. v. tot.

^h Ibid. lib. iv. c. vi. et vii. tot.

exacted of the clergy ; if they had been to speak always with the smoothness of Isocrates, or the loftiness of Demosthenes, or the majesty of Thucydides, or the sublimity of Plato, then, indeed, it might be pertinent to allege this testimony of the apostle ; but rudeness of style, in comparison of such eloquence, may be allowed, provided men be otherwise qualified with knowledge and ability to preach and dispute accurately concerning the doctrines of faith and religion, as St. Paul was, whose talents in that kind have made him the wonder and admiration of the whole world ; and it would be unjust to accuse him of rudeness of speech, who, by his discourses, confounded both Jews and Greeks, and wrought many into the opinion that he was the Mercury of the Gentiles. Such proofs of his power and persuasion were sufficient evidence that he had spent some pains in this way ; and, therefore, his authority was fondly abused to patronize ignorance and sloth, whose example was so great a reproach to them." Others, again, there were who placed the whole of a minister in a good life ; and that was made another excuse for the want of knowledge and study, and the art of preaching and disputing. But to this St. Chrysostom¹ also replies, " That both these qualifications were required in a priest : he must not only do, but teach, the commands of Christ, and guide others by his word and doctrine, as well as his practice : each of these

¹ Chrysost. de Sacerdot. lib. iv. c. viii. tot.—Ibid. lib. iv. c. ix. (Bened. vol. i. p. 414.) "Όταν δὲ ὑπὲρ δογμάτων ἀγὼν κινῆται, καὶ πάντες ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν μάχωνται γραφῶν, ποίαν ἰσχὺν ὁ βίος ἐνταῦθα ἐπιδείξει δινησεται ; τί τῶν πολλῶν ὄφελος ἰδρῶτων, ὅτ' ἂν μετὰ τοὺς μόχθους ἐκείνους, ἀπὸ τῆς πολλῆς τις ἀπειρίας εἰς αἵρεσιν ἐκπεσῶν ἀποσχισθῇ τοῦ σώματος τῆς ἐκκλησίας ; ὅπερ οἶδα πολλοὺς παθόντας ἐγώ. ποῖον αὐτῷ κέρδος τῆς καρτερίας ; οὐδὲν ὥσπερ οὖν οὐδὲ ὑγιῶς πίστεως, τῆς πολιτείας διεφθαρμένης. Διὰ δὲ ταῦτα μάλιστα πάντων, ἔμπειρον εἶναι δεῖ τῶν τοιοῦτων ἀγώνων, τὸν διδάσκειν τοὺς ἄλλους λαχόντα. εἰ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔστηκεν ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ, μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων βλαπτόμενος, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν ἀφελεστέρων πλῆθος, τὸ ταπτόμενον ὑπ' ἐκείνῃ, ὅτ' ἂν ἰδῇ τὸν ἡγούμενον ἡττηθέντα, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχοντα πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας εἰπεῖν· οὐ τὴν ἀσθίνειαν τὴν ἐκείνου τῆς ἡττης, ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ δόγματος αἰτιῶνται σαθρότητα. καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἐνὸς ἀπειρίαν, ὃ πολλὸς λεῶς εἰς ἔσχατον ὄλεθρον καταφέρεται. κὰν γὰρ μὴ πάντῃ γίνωνται τῶν ἐναντίων· ἀλλ' ὅμως, ὑπὲρ ὧν θαρρεῖν εἶχον, ἀμφιβάλλειν ἀναγκάζονται· καὶ οἷς μετὰ πίστεως προσήεσαν ἀκλινούς, οὐκ ἔτι μετὰ τῆς αὐτῆς δύνανται προσεῖχειν στέρρότητος· ἀλλὰ τοσαύτη ζάλη τῶν ἐκείνων εἰσοικίζεται ψυχᾶς, ἀπὸ τῆς ἡττης τοῦ διδασκάλου· ὥς καὶ εἰς ναυάγιον τελευτῆσαι τὸ κακόν.

had their part in his office, and were necessary to assist one another, in order to consummate men's edification. For, otherwise, when any controversy should arise about the doctrines of religion, and Scripture was pleaded in behalf of error, what would a good life avail in this case? What would it signify to have been diligent in the practice of virtue, if, after all, a man, through gross ignorance and unskilfulness in the word of truth, fell into heresy, and cut himself off from the body of the Church, as he knew many that had done so? But admit a man should stand firm himself, and not be drawn away by the adversaries, yet when the plain and simple people, who are under his care, shall observe their leader to be baffled, and that he has nothing to say to the arguments of a subtle opposer, they will be ready to impute this, not so much to the weakness of the advocate, as the badness of his cause; and so, by one man's ignorance, a whole people shall be carried headlong to utter destruction, or at least be so shaken in their faith, that they shall not stand firm for the future." St. Jerome gives also a smart rebuke to this plea, telling^k his clerk, "That the plain and rustic brother should not value himself upon his sanctity, and despise knowledge; as neither should the artful and eloquent speaker measure his holiness by his tongue. For though, of two imperfections, it was better to have a holy ignorance than a vicious eloquence, yet, to consummate a priest, both qualifications were necessary; and he must have knowledge, as well as sanctity, to fit him for the several duties of his function." Thus did those holy instructors plead against ignorance in the clergy, and urge them with proper arguments to engage them upon a studious life; which was the only way to furnish them with sufficient abilities to discharge many weighty duties of their function.

SECT. III.—*Their chief Studies to be the Holy Scriptures, and the approved Writers and Canons of the Church.*

But it was not all sorts of studies that they equally recom-

^k Hieron. Epist. ii. ad Nepotian. Nec rusticus tamen et simplex frater ideo se sanctum putet, si nihil noverit: nec peritus et eloquens, lingua æstimet sanctitatem. Multoque melius est e duobus imperfectis, rusticitatem habere sanctam, quam eloquentiam peccatricem. (Venet. p. 264. D.)

mended, but chiefly the study of the Holy Scriptures, as being the fountains of that learning which was most proper for their calling; and which, upon all occasions, they were to make use of. For, as St. Chrysostom observes¹, in the way of administering spiritual physic to the souls of men, the word of God was instead of every thing that was used in the cure of bodily distempers. It was instrument, and diet, and air; it was instead of medicine, and fire, and knife: if caustics or incisions were necessary, they were to be done by this; and if this did not succeed, it would be in vain to try other means. This was it that was to raise and comfort the dejected soul, and take down and assuage the swelling tumours and presumptions of the confident. By this they were both to cut off what was superfluous, and supply what was wanting, and do every thing that was necessary to be done in the cure of souls. By this all heretics and aliens were to be convinced, and all the plots of Satan to be countermined; and, therefore, it was necessary that the ministers of God should be very diligent in studying the Scriptures, that the word of Christ might dwell richly in them. This was necessary to qualify them especially for preaching; since, as St. Jerome rightly notes^m, the best commendation of a sermon was to have it seasoned well with Scripture, rightly applied. Besides, the custom of expounding the Scripture occasionally, many times as it was read, required a man to be well acquainted with all the parts of it, and to

¹ Chrysost. de Sacerdot. lib. iv. c. iii. (Benedict. vol. i. p. 407, at bottom.) Τοῦτο ὄργανον, τοῦτο τροφή, τοῦτο αἰώνων κρᾶσις ἀρίστη· τοῦτο ἀντὶ φαρμάκου, τοῦτο ἀντὶ πυρός, τοῦτο ἀντὶ σιδήρου· κἂν καῦσαι δι᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ τεμῖναι, τοῦτο χρῆσθαι ἀνάγκη· κἂν τοῦτο μηδὲν ἰσχύσῃ, πάντα οἰχεται τὰ λοιπά. τοῦτο καὶ κειμένην ἐγείρομεν, καὶ φλεγμαίνουσαν καταστέλλομεν τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ τὰ περιττὰ περικόπομεν, καὶ τὰ λείποντα πληροῦμεν, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἅπαντα ἐργαζόμεθα, ὅσα εἰς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ὑγίειαν ἡμῖν συντελεῖ. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ βίου κατάστασιν ἀρίστην, βίος ἕτερος εἰς τὸν ἴσον ἂν ἐναγάγοι ζῆλον· ὅτ' ἂν δὲ περὶ δόγματα νοσῇ ἡ ψυχὴ τὰ νόθα, πολλὴ τοῦ λόγου ἐνταῦθα ἡ χρεία, οὐ πρὸς τὴν τῶν οἰκείων ἀσφάλειαν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐξωθεν πολέμους. — Ibid. c. iv. Διὸ πολλὴν χρῆναι ποιεῖσθαι τὴν σπουδὴν, ὥστε τὸν λόγον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐνοικεῖν πλουσίως.

^m Hieron. Ep. ii. ad Nepotian. (Venet. 1760. vol. i. p. 263.) Sermo presbyteri scripturarum lectione conditus sit. Nolo te declamatorem esse et tabulam garrulumque sine ratione, sed mysteriorum peritum, et sacramentorum Dei tui eruditissimum.

understand both the phrase and sense, and doctrines and mysteries of it, that he might be ready, upon all occasions, to discourse pertinently and usefully upon them. And to this purpose some canonsⁿ appointed, that their most vacant hours, the times of eating and drinking, should not pass without some portion of Scripture read to them; partly to exclude all other trifling and unnecessary discourse, and partly to afford them proper themes and subjects to exercise themselves upon to edification and advantage. St. Jerome commends his friend Nepotian for this—that at all feasts^o he was used to propound something out of the Holy Scripture, and entertain the company with some useful disquisition upon it. And, next to the Scriptures, he employed his time upon the study of the best ecclesiastical authors, whom, by continual reading, and frequent meditations, he had so treasured up in the library of his heart, that he could repeat their words upon any proper occasion, saying, Thus spake Tertullian, thus Cyprian, so Lactantius, after this manner Hilary, so Minucius Felix, so Victorinus, these were the words of Arnobius, and the like. But, among ecclesiastical writings, the canons of the Church were always reckoned of greatest use, as containing a summary account not only of the Church's discipline, and doctrine, and government, but also rules of life and moral virtues; upon which account, as some laws directed that the canons should be read over at every man's ordination, so others required the^p clergy afterward to make them part of their constant study, together with the Holy Scripture. For the canons were then a sort

ⁿ Conc. Tolet. III. c. vii. (Labbe, vol. v. Concil. p. 1011.) Pro reverentia Dei sacerdotum, id universa sancta constituit synodus; ut quia solent crebro mensis otiosæ fabulæ interponi, in omni sacerdotali convivio lectio scripturarum divinarum misceatur. Per hoc enim et animæ ædificantur ad bonum, et fabulæ non necessarie prohibentur.

^o Hieron. Epitaph. Nepot. Ep. iii. ad Heliodor. (Vallarsius, vol. i. p. 338. D 9.) Sermo ejus per omne convivium de Scripturis aliquid proponere, libenter audire, respondere verecunde, recta suscipere, prava non acriter confutare, disputantem contra se magis docere, quam vincere.

^p Conc. Tolet. IV. c. xxv. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1713.) Sciant sacerdotes Scripturas sanctas, et canones [meditentur], ut omne opus eorum prædicatione et doctrina consistat, atque ædificent cunctos tam fidei scientia quam operum disciplina.

of directions for the pastoral care; and they had this advantage of any private directions, that they were the public voice and rubrics of the Church, and so much the more carefully to be read upon that account. In after ages, in the time of Charles the Great, we find some laws obliging the clergy^a to read, together with the canons, Gregory's Book, *De Cura Pastoralis*.

SECT. IV.—*How far the Study of Heathen or Heretical Books was allowed.*

As to other books and writings, they were more cautious and sparing in the use of them. Some canons^r forbade a bishop to read heathen authors; nor would they allow him to read heretical books, but only upon necessity; that is, when there was occasion to confute them, or to caution others against the poison of them. But the prohibition of heathen learning, though it seems to be more peremptory, was to be understood likewise with a little qualification; for men might have very different views and designs in reading heathen authors. Some might read them only for pleasure, and make a business of that pleasure, to the neglect of Scripture and more useful learning; and all such were highly to be condemned. St. Jerome^s says of these, "That when the priests of God read plays instead of the Gospels, and wanton bucolics instead of the Prophets, and loved to have Virgil in their hands rather than the Bible, they made a crime of pleasure, and turned the necessity of youthful exercise into a voluntary sin." Others

^a Conc. Turon. III. c. iii. (tom. vii. p. 1261.) Nulli episcopo liceat canones, aut librum pastorem a beato Gregorio papa editum, si fieri potest, ignorare; in quibus se debet unusquisque, quasi in quodam speculo, assidue considerare. Conc. Cabillon. II. c. i. (ibid. p. 1272.) Illas scripturas notissimas habeant, quæ canonicæ appellantur, et earum sensum per patrum tractatus inquirent. Canones quoque intelligant, et librum beati Gregorii papæ de Cura Pastoralis: et secundum formam ibidem constitutam et vivant et prædicent.

^r Conc. Carth. IV. c. xvi. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 1201.) Ut episcopus gentilium libros non legat; hæreticorum autem pro necessitate et tempore.

^s Hieron. Ep. cxlvi. ad Damasum de Filio Prodigio. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 76. C.) (tom. iii. p. 129, ed. Basil.) Sacerdotes Dei, omissis Evangelis et Prophetis, videmus comœdias legere, amatoria bucolicorum versuum verba canere, Virgilium tenere; et id quod in pueris necessitatis est, crimen in se facere voluptatis. (P. 87. C. edit. Francof. 1684.)

could not relish the plain and unaffected style of Scripture, but conversed with heathen orators, to bring their language to a more polite or Attic dialect; and these also came under the censures of the Church. It is remarkable that Sozomen^t tells us of Triphyllius, a Cyprian bishop (who was one of those nice and delicate men who thought the style of Scripture not so elegant as it might be made), that having occasion, in a discourse before Spyridion, and some other Cyprian bishops, to cite those words of our Saviour, ἄρὸν σου τὸν κράββατον καὶ περιπάτει, 'Take up thy bed and walk;' he would not use the word κράββατον, but, instead of it, put σκίμποδα, as being a more elegant word, in his opinion. To whom Spyridion, with an holy indignation and zeal, replied, "Art thou better than Him that said κράββατον, that thou shouldest be ashamed to use his words?" thereby admonishing him to be a little more modest, and not give human eloquence the preference before the Holy Scriptures. Another sort of men conversed with heathen authors rather than the Scriptures, because they thought them more for their turn, to arm them with sophistry, to impose their errors upon the simplicity of others. As the anonymous author in Eusebius^u, who writes against the Theodosian heretics, observes of the leading men of that party, "that, leaving the Holy Scriptures, they generally spent their time in Euclid and Aristotle, Theophrastus and Galen; using the quirks and sophisms of infidel writers to palliate their heresy, and corrupt the simplicity of the Christian faith."

^t Sozom. lib. i. c. xi. (Reading, p. 22. C 5.) Συνάξεως ἐπιτελουμένης, ἐπιτραπείας Τριφύλλιος διδάξει τὸ πλῆθος, ἐπεὶ τὸ ῥητὸν ἐκεῖνο παράγειν εἰς μέσον ἔδειξε, τὸ ἄρὸν σου τὸν κράββατον καὶ περιπάτει, σκίμποδα ἀντὶ τοῦ κραββάτου μεταβαλὼν τὸ ὄνομα εἶπε· καὶ ὁ Σπυριδίων ἀγανακτήσας, οὐ σύγε, ξφη, ἁμείνων τοῦ κράββατον εἰρηκότος, ὅτι ταῖς αὐτοῦ λέξεσιν ἔπαισχύνῃ κεκρήσθαι; καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν, ἀπεπήδησε τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ θρόνου, τοῦ δήμου δρώντος· ταύτῃ γὰρ μετριάζειν παιδεύων τὸν τοῖς λόγοις ὠφρυνόμενον.

^u Euseb. lib. v. c. xxviii. (Reading, p. 220, line 6 from the bottom.) Καταλιπόντες τὰς ἀγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ γραφάς, γεωμετρίαν ἐπιτηδεύουσιν, ὡς ἂν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὄντες, καὶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς λαλοῦντες, καὶ τὸν ἀνωθεν ἐρχόμενον ἀγνοοῦντες· Εὐκλείδης γοῦν παρά τισιν αὐτῶν φιλοπόνως γεωμετρεῖται· Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ καὶ Θεόφραστος θαυμάζονται· Γαληνὸς γὰρ ἴσως ὑπὸ τινων καὶ προσκυνεῖται· οἱ δὲ ταῖς τῶν ἀπίστων τέχναις εἰς τὴν τῆς αἰρέσεως αὐτῶν γνώμην ἀποχρώμενοι, καὶ τῇ τῶν ἀθίων πανουργίᾳ τὴν ἀπλὴν τῶν θείων γραφῶν πίστιν καπηλεύοντες· ὅτι μὴ δὲ ἐγγὺς πίστεως ὑπάρχουσι, τί διὸ καὶ λέγειν;

Now, in all these cases, the reading of heathen authors for such unworthy ends was very disallowable, because it was always done with a manifest neglect and contempt of the Holy Scriptures; and, therefore, upon such grounds, deservedly forbidden by the canons of the Church. But then, on the other hand, there were some cases in which it was very allowable to read Gentile authors, and the Church's prohibition did not extend to these; for sometimes it was necessary to read them, in order to confute and expose their errors, that others might not be infected thereby. Thus St. Jerome observes of Daniel ^v, that he was taught in the knowledge of the Chaldeans, and Moses in all the wisdom of the Egyptians; which was no sin to learn, so long as they did not learn to follow it, but to censure and refute it. St. Ambrose ^x says, he read some books, that others might not read them: he read them to know their errors, and caution others against them. This was one reason why sometimes heathen writers might be read by men of learning, in order to set a mark upon them. Another reason was, that many of them were useful and subservient to the cause of religion, either for confirming the truth of the Scriptures and the doctrines of Christianity, or for exposing and refuting the errors and vanities of the heathen themselves. Thus, St. Jerome ^y observes, that both the Greek

^w Hieron. Com. in Daniel. c. i. (Vallars. Venet. 1768. vol. v. p. 625. C.) Qui de mensa regis et de vino potus ejus non vult comedere ne polluat; utique si sciret ipsam sapientiam atque doctrinam Babyloniorum esse peccatum, numquam acquiesceret dicere, quod non licebat. Discunt autem non ut sequantur, sed ut judicent atque convincant. Quomodo si quispiam adversus mathematicos velit scribere, imperitus *μαθηματός*, risui pateat, et adversum philosophos disputans, si ignoret dogmata philosophorum. Discunt ergo ea mente doctrinam Chaldaeorum, qua et Moyses omnem sapientiam Ægyptiorum didicerat.

^x Ambros. Proœm. in Loc. Evang. Legimus aliqua, ne legantur; legimus, ne ignoremus; legimus, non ut teneamus, sed ut repudiemus.

^y Hieron. Prol. in Dan. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 1074.) Ad intelligendas extremas partes Danielis, multiplex Græcorum historia necessaria est: Suctorii videlicet, Callinici, Diodori, Hieronymi, Polybii, Posidonii, Claudii, Theonis, et Andronici cognomento Alipii, quos et Porphyrius esse sequutum se dicit: Josephi quoque et eorum quos ponit Josephus, præcipueque nostri Livii, et Pompeii Trogi, atque Justinii, qui omnem extremæ visionis narrant historiam: et post Alexandrum usque ad Cæsarem Augustum, Syriæ et Ægypti, id est, Seleuci et Antiochi, et Ptolemæorum bella describunt. Et ^z quando cogimur litterarum

and Latin historians, such as Diodorus Siculus, Polybius, Trogius Pompeius, and Livy, are of great use, as well to explain as confirm the truth of Daniel's prophecies. And St. Austin* says the same of the writings of Orpheus, and the Sibyls, and Hermes, and other heathen philosophers, that, as they said many things that were true, both concerning God, and the Son of God, they were, in that respect, very serviceable in refuting the vanities of the Gentiles. Upon which account, not only St. Austin and St. Jerome, but most of the ancient writers of the Church, were usually well versed in the learning of the Gentiles, as every one knows that knows any thing of them. St. Jerome, in one short Epistle^a, mentions the greatest part of those that lived before his own time, both Greeks and Latins; and says of them all in general, "That their books are so filled with the sentences and opinions of philosophers, that it is hard to say which is most to be admired, their secular learning, or their knowledge of the Scriptures." And herein is comprised the plain state of the matter: the clergy were obliged, in the first place, to be very diligent in studying the Scriptures, and after them the canons and approved writers of the Church, according to men's abilities, capacities, and opportunities, for the same measures could not be exacted of all. Beyond this, as there was no obligation on them to read human learning, so there was no absolute prohibition of it; but where it could be made to minister, as a handmaid, to divinity, and not to usurp or encroach upon it, there it was not only allowed, but commended and encouraged. And it must be owned, that though the abuse of secular learning does sometimes great harm, yet the study of it, rightly applied,

sæcularium recordari, et aliqua ex his dicere quæ olim omisimus, non nostræ est voluntatis, sed (ut ita dicam) necessitatis: ut probemus ea, quæ a sanctis prophetis ante sæcula multa prædicta sunt, tam Græcorum quam Latinorum et aliarum gentium litteris contineri.

* August. con. Faust. lib. xiii. c. xv. (Bened. vol. viii. p. 260. A 6.) (tom. v. p. 288, edit. Basil. 1569.) Sibyllæ, et Orpheus, et nescio quis Hermes, et si qui alii vates, vel theologi, vel sapientes, vel philosophi gentium, de Filio Dei aut de Patre Deo vera prædixisse seu dixisse perhibentur; valet quidem aliquid ad paganorum vanitatem revincendam.

^a Hieron. Ep. lxxxiv. ad Magnum. In tantum philosophorum doctrinis atque sententiis suos refarciunt libros, ut nescias quid in illis primum admirari debeas, eruditionem sæculi, an scientiam Scripturarum. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 429. C 5.)

did very great service to religion in the primitive ages of the Church.

SECT. V.—*Of their Piety and Devotion in their public Addresses to God.*

From their private studies, pass we on next to view them in their more public capacities, as the people's orators to God, and God's ambassadors to the people; in regard to which offices and character, I have showed before^b, they were esteemed a sort of mediators, in a qualified sense, between God and men. In all their addresses to God, as the people's orators, their great care was to offer all their sacrifices, and oblations of prayer and thanksgiving, in such a rational, decent, and becoming way, as best suited the nature of the action; that is, with all that gravity and seriousness, that humility and reverence, that application of mind, and intenseness and fervency of devotion, as both became the greatness of that Majesty to whom they addressed, and was proper for raising suitable affections in the people. This is the true meaning of that famous controverted passage in Justin Martyr's Second Apology, where, describing the service of the Church, and the manner of celebrating the Eucharist, he says, "The bishop sent up prayers and praises, *ὅση δύναμις*^c, with the utmost of his abilities, to God." Some misconstrue this passage, and interpret the abilities of the minister officiating, so as they meant no more but his invention, expression, or the like; making it, by such a gloss, to become an argument against the antiquity of public liturgies or set forms of prayer; whereas, indeed, it signifies here a quite different thing, viz. that spiritual vigour, or intenseness and ardency of devotion, with which the minister offered up the sacrifices of the Church to God, being such qualifications as are necessary to make our prayers and praises acceptable unto Him, who requires them to be presented with all our soul and might, which may be done in set forms, as well as any other way. And so Gregory Nazianzen, and Justin Martyr himself, use the phrase *ὅση*

^b Lib. ii. c. xix. § xvi.

^c Justin. Apol. ii. p. 98. Ὁ προϊεστὼς εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας, ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ, ἀναπέμπει.

δύναμις, where they speak of set forms of praising and serving God : of which more hereafter in its proper place. St. Chrysostom is very earnest^d in recommending this same duty to the priests of God, under the name of σπουδὴ and εὐλάβεια, ‘care’ and ‘reverence.’ “With what exact care,” says he, “ought he to behave himself, who goes in the name of a whole city, nay, in the name of the whole world, as their orator and ambassador, to intercede with God for the sins of all. But especially when he invokes the Holy Ghost, and offers up τὴν φρικωδεστάτην θυσίαν, the tremendous sacrifice of the altar, with what purity, with what reverence and piety, should his tongue utter forth those words ; whilst the angels stand by him, and the whole order of the heavenly powers cries aloud, and fills the sanctuary, in honour of Him who is represented as dead, and lying upon the altar !” Thus that holy father argues, with a warmth and zeal suitable to the subject, and such as is proper to raise our devotion, and kindle our affections into a holy flame, whenever we present the supplications of the Church on earth to the sacred Majesty of heaven.

SECT. VI.—*The Censure of such as neglected the daily Service of the Church.*

And this ardency of devotion was continually to be cherished and preserved ; to which purpose, the Church had her daily sacrifices, wherever it was possible to have them, and on these every clergyman was indispensably obliged to attend, and that under pain of suspension and deprivation, whether it was his duty to officiate or not. For so the first Council of Toledo

^d Chrysost. de Sacerd. lib. vi. c. iv. (Bened. vol. i. p. 424. A 4.) Τὸν ὑπὲρ ὅλης τῆς πόλεως· καὶ τί λέγω πόλεως ; πάσης μὲν οὖν τῆς οἰκουμένης προσβύοντα, καὶ δέοντα ταῖς ἀπάντων ἁμαρτίαις ἵλεων γενέσθαι τὸν Θεὸν . . . ὁποῖόν τινα εἶναι χρή ; .. (B 6.) ὅτ’ ἂν δὲ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καλῇ, καὶ τὴν φρικωδεστάτην ἐπιτελῇ θυσίαν, καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ πάντων συνεχῶς ἐφάπτηται δεσπότου, ποῦ τάξομεν αὐτὸν, εἰπέ μοι ; πόσῃν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπαιτήσομεν καθαρότητι, καὶ πόσῃν εὐλάβειαν ; ἐννόησον γάρ, ὅποίας τὰς ταῦτα διακονοῦντας χεῖρας εἶναι χρή, ὅποίαν τὴν γλῶτταν τὴν ἐκεῖνα προχέουσαν τὰ ῥήματα· τίνος δὲ οὐ καθαρωτίραν καὶ ἁγιωτίραν, τὴν τοσοῦτο Πνεῦμα ὑποδιξαμένην ψυχὴν ; τότε καὶ ἄγγελοι παρεστήκασιν τῷ ἱερεῖ, καὶ οὐρανίων δυνάμεων ἅπαν τάγμα βοᾷ· καὶ ὁ περὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον πληροῦται τόπος εἰς τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ κειμένου.

determined for the Spanish Churches, “that if any presbyter, or deacon, or other clerk, should be in any city or country where there was a church, and did not come to church, to the daily sacrifice or service^e, he should no longer be reputed one of the sacred function.” The Council of Agde orders “such to be reduced to the communion of strangers^f,” which, at least, implies suspension from their office. And the law of Justinian punishes them with degradation^g, because of the scandal they give to the laity by such neglects or contempts of divine service. So careful were the ancient lawgivers of the Church to cut off all indecencies and abuses of this nature, and make the clergy provoking examples of piety to the people !

SECT. VII.—*Rules about Preaching to Edification.*

Next to their office in addressing God as the people’s orators, we are to view them as God’s ambassadors, addressing themselves in his name to the people, which they did by public preaching and private application ; in both which, their great care was to perform the duty of watchmen over God’s flock, and of good stewards over his household. In their preaching, their only aim was to be the edification of the people ; to which purpose, the great masters of rules in this kind, Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, and St. Jerome, lay down these few directions. 1. That the preacher be careful to make choice of a useful subject. Gregory Nazianzen^h specifies the rule in

^e Conc. Tolet. I. c. v. Presbyter, diaconus, &c. qui intra civitatem fuerit, vel in loco in quo ecclesia est, si in ecclesiam ad sacrificium quotidianum non venerit, clericus non habeatur.

^f Conc. Agath. c. ii. (tom. iv. p. 1383.) Contumaces clerici, prout dignitatis ordo permiserit, ab episcopis corrigantur : et si qui prioris gradus elati superbia communionem fortasse contemserint, aut ecclesiam frequentare, vel officium suum implere neglexerint, peregrina eis communicatio tribuatur : ita ut, quum eos pœnitentia correxerit, rescripti in matricula gradum suum dignitatemque recipiant.

^g Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. iii. de Episc. leg. xlii. § x. Τοῦς μὴ εὐρίσκομένους ἀμέμπτως ταῖς λειτουργίαις προσκαρτεροῦντας ἔξω τοῦ κλήρου καθίστασθαι (κελεύομεν).

^h Nazian. Orat. i. de Fuga. (Paris. 1630. p. 15. D 6.) ‘Ἐμοὶ δ’ οὖν πρᾶγμα φαίνεται, οὐ τῶν φαντοτάτων, οὐδὲ ὀλίγου τοῦ πνεύματος, διδόναι κατὰ καιρὸν ἐκάστῳ τοῦ λόγου τὸ σιτομέτριον, καὶ οἰκονομεῖν ἐν κρίσει τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν ἡμετέρων δογμάτων, ὅσα περὶ κόσμων ἢ κόσμου πεφλοσόφηται, περὶ ὕλης, περὶ ψυχῆς, περὶ νοῦ καὶ τῶν νοεῶν φύσεων, βελτιόνων τε καὶ χειρόνων, περὶ τῆς

some particular instances: such as the doctrine of the world's creation, and the soul of man; the doctrine of Providence, and the restoration of man; the two covenants; the first and second coming of Christ; his incarnation, sufferings, and death; the resurrection, and end of the world, and future judgment, and different rewards of heaven and hell; together with the doctrine of the blessed Trinity, which is the principal article of the Christian faith. Such subjects as these are proper for edification, to build up men in faith and holiness, and the practice of all piety and virtue. But then, secondly, they must be treated on in a suitable way, not with too much art or loftiness of style, but with great condescension to men's capacities, who must be fed with the word as they are able to bear it. This is what Gregory Nazianzen so much commends¹ in Athanasius, when he says, "He condescended and stooped himself to the mean capacities, whilst to the acute his notions and words were more sublime." St. Jerome also observes², upon this head, "That a preacher's discourse should always be plain, intelligible, and affecting, and rather adapted to excite men's groans and tears, by a sense of their sins, than their admiration and applause, by speaking to them what neither they, nor he himself, perhaps, do truly understand; for it is ignorant and unlearned men, chiefly, that affect to be admired for their speaking above the capacities of the vulgar. A bold forehead often interprets what he himself does not understand; and yet he has no sooner persuaded others to they know not what, but he assumes to himself the title of learning upon it;

τὰ πάντα συνδεύσης τε καὶ διεξαγούσης προνοίας, ὅσα τε κατὰ λόγον ἀπαντῇν δοκεῖ, καὶ ὅσα παρὰ λόγον τὸν κάτω καὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον ἔστι τε ὅσα περὶ τῆς πρώτης ἡμῶν συστάσεως καὶ τῆς τελευταίας ἀναπλάσεως, τύπων τε καὶ ἀληθείας καὶ διαθηκῶν, καὶ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας πρώτης τε καὶ δευτέρας, σαρκώσεώς τε καὶ παθημάτων, καὶ ἀναλύσεως, ὅσα τε περὶ ἀναστάσεως, περὶ τέλους, περὶ κρίσεως καὶ ἀνταποδόσεως σκυθρωποτέρας τε καὶ ἐνδοξοτέρας· τὸ κεφάλαιον, ὅσα περὶ τῆς ἀρχικῆς καὶ βασιλικῆς καὶ μακαρίας τριάδος ὑποληπτίον, κ. τ. λ.

¹ Ibid. Orat. xxi. de Laud. Athan. (tom. i. p. 396.) Πιεζὺς τοῖς ταπεινοτέροις, ὑψηλότερος τοῖς μετεωροτέροις.

² Hieron. Ep. ii. ad Nepotian. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 263. B 1.) Docente te in Ecclesia, non clamor populi, sed gemitus suscitetur. Lachrymæ auditorum, laudes tuæ sint. . . . Celeritate dicendi apud imperitum vulgus admirationem sui facere, indoctorum hominum est. Attrita frons interpretatur sæpe quod nescit: et quum aliis persuaserit, sibi quoque usurpat scientiam.

when yet there is nothing so easy as to deceive the ignorant multitude, who are always most prone to admire what they do not understand." Upon this account, St. Chrysostom spends almost a whole book in cautioning the Christian orator against this failing; that he should not be intent on popular applause, but, with a generous mind¹, raise himself above it, seeking chiefly to advantage his hearers, and not barely to delight and please them. To this purpose, he concludes it would be necessary for him to despise both the applauses and censures of men, and all other things that might tempt him rather to flatter his hearers than edify them. In a word, his chief end^m, in all his composures, should be to please God; and then, if he also gained the praise of men, he might receive it; if not, he needed not to court it, nor torment himself that it was denied him; for it would be consolation enough for all his labours, that, in adapting his doctrine and eloquence, he had always sought to please his God. Thirdly, a third rule given in this case was, that men should apply their doctrine and spiritual medicines, according to the emergent and most urgent necessities of their hearers, which was the most proper duty of a watchman, to perceive with a quick eye where the greatest danger lay, which was men's weakest and most unguarded side, and then apply suitable remedies to their maladies and distempers. St. Chrysostom, in speaking of this part of a minister's duty, says, "He should be *νηφάλιος καὶ διορατικός*, watchfulⁿ and perspicacious, and have a thousand eyes about

¹ Chrysost. de Sacerd. lib. v. c. i. (Bened. vol. i. p. 415. D.) *Γενναίος δεῖ κανταῦθα ψυχῆς, καὶ πολλὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ὑπερβαινούσης σμικρότητα· ἵνα τὴν ἀτακτον καὶ ἀνωφελὴ τοῦ πλήθους ἡδονὴν κολάζῃ, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὠφελιμώτερον μετὰ γινεῖ δύνῃται τὴν ἀκρόασιν· ὥς αὐτῷ τὸν λαὸν ἔπεσθαι καὶ εἶκιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ αὐτὸν τῶν ἐκείνων ἀγεσθαι ἐπιθυμίαις. Τοῦτον δὲ οὐδαμῶς ἔστιν ἐπιτυχεῖν, ἀλλ' ἢ διὰ τούτων τοῖν δυοῖν, τῆς τε τῶν ἐπαίνων ὑπεροφίας, καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ λέγειν δυνάμεως.*

^m Ibid. c. vii. p. 419. B 8. *Ἐργαζόμενος τοὺς λόγους, ὥς ἂν ἀρίσειε τῷ Θεῷ (οὗτος γὰρ αὐτῷ κανὼν καὶ ὅρος ἔστω μόνος τῆς ἀρίστης δημιουργίας ἐκείνων· μὴ κρότοι, μὴ δὲ εὐφημίας) εἰ μὲν ἐπαινεῖται καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, μὴ διακρουέσθω τὰ ἐγκώμια· μὴ παρεχόντων δὲ αὐτὰ τῶν ἀκροατῶν, μὴ ζητείτω, μὴ δὲ ἀλγείτω· ἱκανὴ γὰρ αὐτῷ παραμυθία τῶν πόνων, καὶ πάντων μειζων, ὅτ' ἂν αὐτῷ συνειδέναι δύνῃται, πρὸς ἀρίσκειαν τοῦ Θεοῦ συντιθεῖς καὶ ῥυθμίζων τὴν διδασκαλίαν.*

ⁿ Chrysost. de Sacerd. lib. iii. c. xii. p. 389. *Νηφάλιον εἶναι δεῖ τὸν ἱερέα,*

him, as living not for himself alone, but for a multitude of people." To live retired in a cell is the business of a monk ; but the duty of a watchman is to converse among men of all degrees and callings, to take care of the body of Christ, the Church, and have regard both to its health and beauty ; curiously observing, lest any spot or wrinkle, or other defilement, should sully the grace and comeliness of it. Now this obliged spiritual physicians to apply their medicines, that is, their doctrines, as the maladies of their patients chiefly required ; to be most earnest and frequent in encountering those errors and vices which were most reigning, or which men were most in danger of being infected by. And this is the reason why, in the homilies of the ancients, we so often meet with discourses against such heresies as the world now knows nothing of ; such as those of the Marcionites and Manichees, and many others, which it would be absurd to combat now in popular discourses ; but then it was necessary to be done, because they were the prevailing heresies of the age, and men were in danger of being subverted by them. And it is further observable, that the most formidable heresies and prevailing factions, such as that of the Arians, when armed with secular power, could never either force or court the Catholic preachers into silence, to let the wolves devour the sheep, by such a tame and base compliance. In this case, no worldly motives could prevail with them, when they saw the danger, not to give warning of it. They thought they could not otherwise answer the character of watchmen, and stewards of the mysteries of God, since " it was required in stewards that a man be found faithful."

SECT. VIII.—*Of Fidelity, Diligence, and Prudence, in Private Addresses and Applications.*

But their fidelity was not only expressed in their public discourses, but also in their private addresses and applications to men, who had either cut themselves off from the body of Christ by heresies and schisms, or by their sins made them-

καὶ διορατικῶν, καὶ μυρίους πανταχόθεν κεκτῆσθαι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὡς οὐχ ἑαυτῷ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλήθει ζῶντα τοσοῦτψ, κ. τ. λ.—Ibid. lib. iv. c. ii. et iii.

selves unsound members of the body, while they seemed to continue of it. With what fidelity, and meekness, and diligence, they addressed themselves to the former sort, we may learn from the good effects which their applications often had upon them. Theodoret tells us^o of himself in one place, that he had converted a thousand souls from the heresy of the Marcionites, and many others from the heresies of Arius and Eunomius, in his own diocese. And, in another place^p, he augments the number of converted Marcionites to ten thousand, whom, with indefatigable industry, in a diocese of forty miles in length and breadth, containing eight hundred churches in it, he had reduced from their strayings to the unity of the Catholic Church. What wonders, also, St. Austin wrought in Afric upon the Donatists and others the same way, by private letters, and conferences, and collations with them, the reader may learn from Possidius^q, the author of his Life, who frequently mentions his labours in this kind, and the great

^o Theod. Ep. cxiii. ad Leon. p. 986. D. (Schulze, vol. iv. p. 1190. Halæ, 1772.) *Τῆς θείας μοι χάριτος συνεργησάσης πλείους μὲν ἢ χιλίας ψυχὰς ἡλευθέρωσα τῆς Μαρκίωνος νόσου, πολλοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκ τῆς Ἀρείου καὶ Εὐνομίου συμμορίας προσήγαγον τῷ δεσπότῃ Χριστῷ.*

^p Ibid. Ep. cxlv. (Schulze, p. 1252, at top.) (p. 1026, C.) *Ἐγὼ θρηνῶ καὶ ὀδύρομαι, ὅτι ὃς πρῶην τοῖς τοῦ Μαρκίωνος τὴν λύμην δεξαμένοις προσέφερον ἀποδείξεις, καὶ πλείους ἢ μυρίους διὰ τῆς θείας χάριτος πείσας προσήγαγον τῷ παναγίῳ βαπτίσματι, ταύτας νῦν τοῖς νομισθεῖσιν ὁμοπίστοις ἢ ἐπισκεψασα νόσος προσφέρειν καταναγκάζει.*

^q Possid. Vit. Augustin. c. ix. (Benedict. vol. x. p. 263. C 4, in Append.) *Epistolas privatas ad quosque ejusdem erroris episcopos, et eminentes scilicet laicos dedit, ratione reddita admonens atque exhortans, ut vel ab illa se pravitate corrigerent, vel certe ad disputationem venirent.*—Cap. xiii. *Qua diligentia et sancto studio multum crevit sancta ecclesia, et his omnibus pro pace ecclesiæ gestis, Augustino Dominus et heic palmam dedit, et apud se justitiæ coronam reservavit: ac magis magisque juvante Christo de die in diem augebatur et multiplicabatur pacis unitas et ecclesiæ Dei confraternitas.*—Cap. xviii. *Erat ille memorabilis vir (Augustinus) præcipuum Domini corporis membrum, circa universalis ecclesiæ utilitatem sollicitus semper ac pervigil. Et illi divinitus donatum est, ut de suorum laborum fructu, etiam in hac vita, gaudere provenisset, prius quidem in Hipponensi ecclesia et regione, cui maxime præsidebat, unitate ac pace perfecta; deinde in aliis Africæ partibus, sive per seipsum, sive per alios, et quos ipse dederat sacerdotes, pullulasse, et multiplicatam fuisse Domini ecclesiam pervidens, illosque Manichæos, Donatistas, Pelagianistas, et Paganos ex magna parte defecisse, et ecclesiæ Dei sociatos esse congaudens.*

advantage that accrued to the Church by this means ; for he lived to see the greatest part of the Manichees, Donatists, Pelagians, and Pagans, converted to the Catholic Church. They were no less careful to apply themselves, in private, to persons within the Church, as occasion required. And here great art and prudence, as well as fidelity and diligence, was necessary to give success to their endeavours. " For mankind," as Nazianzen^r observes, " is so various and uncertain a

^r Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. i. de Fuga. (Paris. 1630. p. 13. D 7.) Τούτων ἕκαστοι πλείον ἀλλήλων ἔστιν ὅτε ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ ταῖς ὁρμαῖς, ἢ κατὰ τὰς τῶν σωμάτων ιδέας διαφέροντες· εἰ δὲ βούλει, τὰς τῶν στοιχείων μίξεις καὶ ἐράσεις, ἐξ ὧν συνεστήκαμεν, οὐ ῥάστην ἔχουσι τὴν οἰκονομίαν· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τοῖς σώμασιν οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν φαρμακίαν τε καὶ τροφὴν προσφέρονται, ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλην, ἢ εὐεκτοῦντες, ἢ ἀμύνοντες, οὕτω καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς διαφόρῳ λόγῳ καὶ ἀγωγῇ θεραπεύονται· μάρτυρες δὲ τῆς θεραπείας, ὧν καὶ τὰ πάθη· τοὺς μὲν αἶγι λόγος, οἱ δὲ ῥυθμίζονται παραδείγματι· οἱ μὲν δέονται κέντρων, οἱ δὲ χαλινῶν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰσι νωθεῖς, καὶ δυσκίνητοι πρὸς τὸ καλὸν, οὓς τῇ πληγῇ τοῦ λόγου διεγερτίον· οἱ δὲ θερμότεροι τοῦ μετρίου τῷ πνεύματι, καὶ δυσκάθεκτοι ταῖς ὁρμαῖς, καθάπερ πῶλοι γενναῖοι πόρρω τῆς νύσσης θιόντες, οὓς βελγίους ἀν ποιήσκειν ἀγῶν καὶ ἀνακόπτων ὁ λόγος· τοὺς μὲν ἱπανοὺς ὠνησιν, τοὺς δὲ ψόγος, ἀμφοτέρω μετὰ τοῦ καιροῦ· ἢ τούναντίον, ἐβλαψεν ἔξω τοῦ καιροῦ, καὶ τοῦ λόγου· τοὺς μὲν παράκλησις κατορθοῖ, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιτίμησις· καὶ αὕτη, τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ διελεγχόμενους, τοὺς δὲ κρύβδην νοουθετομένους· φιλοῦσι γὰρ οἱ μὲν καταφρονεῖν τῶν ἰδίων νουθετημάτων, πλήθους καταγνώσει σφρονιζόμενοι· οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῶν ἐλέγχων ἀναισχυντεῖν, τῷ τῆς ἐπιτιμήσεως μυστηρίῳ παιδαγωγούμενοι, καὶ ἀντιδιδόντες τῆς συμπαθείας, τὴν εὐπειθειαν· τῶν μὲν πάντα τηρεῖν ἐπιμελῶς ἀναγκαῖον μέχρι καὶ τῶν μικροτάτων, ὅσους τὸ οἰεσθαι λανθάνειν, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο τεχνάζουσιν, ὥς σφωτέρους ἐφύσησεν· τῶν δὲ ἔστιν ἃ καὶ παρορᾶν ἄμεινον, ὥστε ὀρῶντας μὴ ὀρᾶν, καὶ ἀκούοντας μὴ ἀκοῦειν, κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν· ἵνα μὴ πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν αὐτοὺς ἱρεθίζωμεν, τῷ φιλοπόνῳ τῶν ἐλέγχων καταβαπτίζοντας, καὶ τέλος, πρὸς πάντα ποιήσωμεν τολμηροὺς, τὸ τῆς πειθοῦς φάρμακον τὴν αἰδῶ διαλύσαντες· καὶ μὲν τοι καὶ ὀργιστίον τισὶν οὐκ ὀργιζομένους, καὶ ὑπεροπτίον οὐχ ὑπερορῶντας, καὶ ἀπογνωστίον οὐκ ἀπογινώσκοντας, ὅσων τοῦτο ἡ φύσις ἐπιζητεῖ, καὶ ἄλλους ἐπεικέειν θεραπευτίον καὶ ταπεινότητι, καὶ τῷ συμπροθυμεῖσθαι δὴ περὶ τὰς χρηστοτέρας ἐλπιδας· καὶ τοὺς μὲν νικᾶν, τῶν δὲ ἡττάσθαι πολλάκις λυσιτελέστερον, καὶ τῶν μὲν εὐπορίαν καὶ δυναστείαν, τῶν δὲ πένιν ἢ δυσπραγίαν, ἢ ἱπαινεῖν ἢ ἀπεύχεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔχει καὶ τῆς κακίας, τὴν μὲν καλίστην εἶναι καὶ ὠφελιμωτάτην αἰ καὶ πᾶσι, τὴν δὲ χειρίστην τε καὶ βλαβερωτάτην· οὕτω καὶ τῆς φαρμακείας τῆς ἡμετέρας, ἐν τι καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὑγιαίνοντατον, ἢ ἐπισφαλίστατον αἰ καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀποδίδεσθαι· οἶον τὸ αὐστηρὸν ἢ τὸ πρῶν, ἢ τῶν ἄλλων, ὧν ἀπρηριθμησάμην ἕκαστον· ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν τοῦτο καλὸν καὶ χρήσιμον, τοῖς δὲ τὸ ἐναντίον πάλιν, ὅπως ἀν, οἶμαι, συμπίπτωσιν οἱ τε καιροὶ καὶ τὰ πράγματα, καὶ ὁ τῶν θεραπευομένων ἐπιδέχεται τρόπος· ἃ πάντα μὲν διελεσθαι λόγῳ καὶ συνιδεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀκριβέστατον, ὥστε καὶ κεφαλαίῳ τὴν θεραπείαν περιλαβεῖν, ἀμήχανον, κὰν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐξικηταὶ τις ἐπιμελείας τε

sort of creature, that it requires the greatest art and skill to manage him. For the tempers of men's minds differ more than the features and lineaments of their bodies; and, as all meats and medicines are not proper for all bodies, so neither is the same treatment and discipline proper for all souls. Some are best moved by words; others, by examples: some are of a dull and heavy temper, and so have need of the spur to extimulate them; others, that are brisk and fiery, have more need of the curb to restrain them. Praise works best upon some, and reproof upon others, provided each of them be ministered in a suitable and seasonable way: otherwise they do more harm than good. Some men are drawn by gentle exhortations to their duty; others, by rebukes and hard words, must be driven to it. And, even in the business of reproof, some are affected most with open rebuke; others, with private; for some men never regard a secret reproof, who yet are easily corrected, if chastised in public. Others, again, cannot bear a public disgrace; but grow either morose, or impudent and implacable upon it, who, perhaps, would have hearkened to a secret admonition, and repaid their monitor with their conversion, as presuming him to have accosted them out of mere pity and love. Some men are to be so nicely watched and observed, that not the least of their faults are to be dissembled; because they seek to hide their sins from men, and arrogate to themselves thereupon the praise of being politic and crafty: in others, it is better to wink at some faults, so that, seeing, we will not see, and hearing, we will not hear; lest, by too frequent chiding, we bring them to despair, and so make them cast off modesty, and grow bolder in their sins. To some men we must put on an angry countenance, and seem to condemn them, and despair of them as lost and deplorable wretches, when their nature so requires it: others, again, must be treated with meekness and humility, and be recovered to a better hope by more promising and encouraging prospects.

καὶ συνέσιως ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς πείρας αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, τῷ θεραπευτῇ λόγῳ καὶ ἀνδρὶ καταφαίνεται . . . οὕτω μὲν δὴ τὰ τῶν παθῶν ἔχει τῶν ἡμετέρων, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἔργον τῷ ἀγαθῷ ποιμένι, τῷ γνωστῶς γνωσμένῳ ψυχᾶς ποιμνίου, καὶ ἀφηγησομένῳ κατὰ λόγον ποιμαντικῆς, τῆς γε ὀρθῆς καὶ δίκαιας, καὶ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ ποιμένος ἡμῶν ἀξίας.

Some men must be always conquered, and never yielded to ; whilst to others it will be better sometimes to concede a little. For all men's distempers are not to be cured the same way ; but proper medicines are to be applied, as the matter itself or occasion, or the temper of the patient, will admit of. And this is the most difficult part of the pastoral office,—to know how to distinguish these things nicely, with an exact judgment, and with as exact a hand to minister suitable remedies to every distemper. It is a masterpiece of art, which is not to be perfectly attained but by good observation, joined with experience and practice." What our author thus here at large discourses, by way of rule and theory, he, in another place, sums up more briefly, in the example of the great Athanasius, whose pattern he proposes to men's imitation, as a living image of this admirable prudence and dexterity in dealing with men according to this great variety of tempers ; telling us*, that his design was always one and the same, but his methods various ; praising some, moderately correcting others ; using the spur to some dull tempers, and the reins to others of a more hot and zealous spirit ; in his conversation, master of the greatest simplicity, but in his government master of the greatest artifice and variety of skill ; wise in his discourses, but much wiser in his understanding, to adapt himself according to the different capacities and tempers of men. Now, the design of all this was not to give any latitude or license to sin, but, by all prudent and honest arts, to discourage and destroy it. It was not to teach the clergy the base and servile arts of flattery and compliance, to become time-servers and men-pleasers, and sooth the powerful or the rich in their errors and vices ; but only to instruct them in the different methods of opposing sin ; and how, by joining prudence to their zeal, they might make

* Naz. Orat. xxi. de Laud. Athan. (Paris. 1630. p. 396. C 8.) Τοὺς μὲν ἱπαινωῶν, τοὺς δὲ πλήττων μετρίως· καὶ τῶν μὲν τὸ νωθρὸν διεγείρων, τῶν δὲ τὸ θερμὸν κατείρων· καὶ τῶν μὲν ὅπως μὴ πταίσωσι προμηθεύμενος, τοὺς δὲ ὅπως διορθωθεῖεν πταίσαντες, μηχανώμενος· ἀπλοῦς τὸν τρόπον, πολυειδὴς τὴν κυβέρνησιν, σοφὸς τὸν λόγον, σοφώτερος τὴν διάνοιαν, πεζὸς τοῖς ταπεινοτέροις, ὑψηλότερος τοῖς μετεωροτέροις, φιλόξενος, ἱκίσιος, ἀποτροπῆαι· πάντα εἰς ἀληθῶς, ὅσα μεμερισμένως τοῖς ἑαυτῶν θεοῖς, Ἑλλήνων παῖδες ἐπιφημίζουσιν· προσθήσω δὲ καὶ ζῳγιον, καὶ εἰρηναῖον, καὶ διαλλακτικόν, καὶ πομπαῖον τοῖς ἐντεῦθεν ἐπειγομένοις.

their own authority most venerable, and most effectually promote the true ends of religion. St. Chrysostom puts in this caution, in describing this part of a bishop's character, "He ought to be wise, as well as holy; a man of great experience, and one that understands the world; and, because his business is with all sorts of men, he should be *ποικίλος*, one that can appear with different aspects, and act with great variety of skill. But when I say this, I do not mean," says he^t, "that he should be a man of craft, or servile flattery, or a dissembling hypocrite, but a man of great freedom and boldness, who knows, notwithstanding, how to condescend and stoop himself for men's advantage, when occasion requires, and can be as well mild as austere: for all men are not to be treated in the same way; no physician uses the same method with all his patients." The true mean and decorum, he thinks, which a bishop should observe in his converse and applications to men, is to keep between too much stiffness and abjectness. "He must be grave without pride"; awful, but courteous; majestic, as a man of authority and power, yet affable and communicative to all; of an integrity that cannot be corrupted, yet

^t Chrysost. de Sacerd. lib. vi. c. iv. (Benedict. vol. i. p. 425, at top.) (p. 84. D, edit. Francof.) Οὐ μόνον καθαρὸν οὕτως, ὡς τηλικαύτης ἡξιωμένον διακονίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν συνετὸν, καὶ πολλῶν ἐμπειρον εἶναι δεῖ· καὶ πάντα μὲν εἰδέναι τὰ βιωτικά, τῶν ἐν μέσῳ στρεφόμενων οὐχ ἥττον· πάντων δὲ ἀπηλλάχθαι μᾶλλον τῶν τὰ ὄρη κατεληφότων μοναχῶν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀνδράσιν αὐτὸν ὁμιλεῖν ἀνάγκη, καὶ γυναῖκας ἔχουσι, καὶ παῖδας τρέφουσι, καὶ θεράποντας ἐκτεταμένοις, καὶ πλοῦτον περιβεβλημένοις πολὺν, καὶ δημόσια πράττουσι, καὶ ἐν δυναστείαις οὔσι· ποικίλον αὐτὸν εἶναι δεῖ· ποικίλον δὲ λέγω, οὐχ ὕπουλον, οὐ κόλακα, οὐχ ὑποκριτὴν· ἀλλὰ πολλῆς μὲν ἐλευθερίας καὶ παρῆρησίας ἀνάμεστον, εἰδότα δὲ καὶ συγκατείναι χρησίμως, ὅτ' ἂν ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων ὑπόθεσις τοῦτο ἀπαιτῇ· καὶ χρηστὸν εἶναι ὁμοῦ καὶ αὐστηρὸν· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐνὶ τρόπῳ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἅπασιν· ἐπειδὴ μὴδὲ λατρῶν παισιν, ἐνὶ νόμῳ τοῖς κάμνουσι προσφέρεισθαι, καλὸν· μὴδὲ κυβερνήτῃ, μίαν ὁδὸν εἰδέναι τῆς πρὸς τὰ πνεύματα μάχης.

^u Ibid. lib. iii. c. xvi. (Bened. vol. i. p. 395. C 9.) (tom. iv. p. 46. C. edit. Francof.) Καὶ γὰρ καὶ σεμνὸν, καὶ ἄνυφον, καὶ φοβερὸν, καὶ προσηνῆ, καὶ ἀρχικόν, καὶ κοινωνικόν, καὶ ἀδέκαστον, καὶ θεραπευτικόν, καὶ ταπεινόν, καὶ ἀδοῦλῳτον, καὶ σφοδρὸν, καὶ ἡμερον εἶναι δεῖ· ἵνα πρὸς ἅπαντα ταῦτα εὐκόλως μάχασθαι δύνηται· καὶ τὸν ἐπιτήδειον μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ἐξουσίας, καὶ ἅπαντες ἀντιπίπτωσι, παράγειν· καὶ τὸν οὐ τοιοῦτον μετὰ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐξουσίας, κἂν ἅπαντες συμπνέωσι, μὴ προσίεσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰς ἓν μόνον ὁρᾶν τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν οἰκοδομήν· καὶ μὴδὲν πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν ἢ χάριν ποιεῖν.

officious and ready to serve every man; humble, but not servile; sharp and resolute, but yet gentle and mild. By such prudence he will maintain his authority, and carry any point with men, whilst he studies to do every thing without hatred or favour, only for the benefit and edification of the Church." We must reduce to this head of prudence, in making proper address and application to offenders, that direction given by St. Paul, and repeated in several ancient canons, that a bishop be 'no smiter,' *μὴ πλήκην*, which the twenty-seventh of those called the Apostolical Canons thus paraphrases^v, "If any bishop, presbyter, or deacon, smite either an offending Christian or an injurious heathen, we order him to be deposed; for our Lord did not teach us this discipline, but the contrary; for He was smitten, but did not smite any; when He was reviled, He reviled not again; when He suffered, He threatened not." Justinian forbids^w the same in one of his Novels, as a thing unbecoming the priests of God, to smite any man with their own hands. The word *πλήσσειν* signifies also "smiting with the tongue," by reproachful, bitter, and contumelious language; as St. Chrysostom, St. Jerome, and others, understand it. In which sense, also, it was forbidden as a thing indecent, and unbecoming the gravity and prudence of the Christian clergy.

SECT. IX.—*Of Prudence and Candour in composing unnecessary Controversies in the Church.*

St. Chrysostom enlarges upon several other parts of prudence, which I need not here insist upon, because they have either already been mentioned, or will hereafter be considered in other places; such as prudence^x in opposing heresies; prudence^y in managing the virgins and widows, and the reve-

^v Can. Apostol. c. xxvii. (c. xxvi. tom. i. Conc. p. 29.) 'Επίσκοπον, ἢ πρεσβύτερον, ἢ διάκονον, τύπτοντα πιστοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας, ἢ ἀπίστους ἀδικήσαντας, καὶ διὰ τοιούτων φοβεῖν θέλοντα, καθαιρεῖσθαι προστάττομεν· οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ ὁ Κύριος τοῦτο ἡμᾶς ἐδίδαξε· τούναντίον δὲ, αὐτὸς τυπτόμενος, οὐκ ἀντίτυπτε· λοιδορούμενος, οὐκ ἀντελοιδορεῖ· πάσχων, οὐκ ἠπειλεῖ.

^w Justin. Novel. cxliii. c. xi. 'Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ οἰκείαις χερσὶν ἐξεστὶν ἐπισκόφῳ τινὰ πλήττειν· τοῦτο γὰρ ἀλλότριόν ἐστιν ἱερίων.

^x Chrysost. de Sacerdot. lib. iv. c. iv. tot.

^y Ibid. lib. iii. c. xvi. (p. 46, fin. seq. edit. Francof.)

nues of the Church; prudence^z in hearing and determining secular causes; and prudence^a in the exercise of discipline and Church censures; which last will be spoken to under another head. I shall here, therefore, only add one instance more of their prudence, in allaying unnecessary disputes, which rose among Catholics and men of the same opinion in the Church. Which, indeed, was rather a complication of many noble virtues—prudence, candour, ingenuity, moderation, peaceableness, and charity, joined together; which, like a constellation of the brightest qualities, always shined with the greatest lustre. This is what Gregory Nazianzen chiefly admired in the conduct of Athanasius; and, therefore, he gives it the highest commendation and preference before all his other virtues; as thinking there was no one thing whereby he did greater service to the Church of God. It happened, in the time of Athanasius, that the Catholics were like to be divided about mere words; a warm dispute arising about what names the three Divine Persons were to be called by: some were for calling them only *τρία πρόσωπα*, “three Persons,” to avoid Arianism; others called them *τρεις ὑποστάσεις*, “three hypostases,” to avoid Sabellianism. Now they all meant the same thing; but, not understanding each other’s terms, they mutually charged one another with the heresies of Arius and Sabellius. The one party, in the heat of disputation, could understand nothing by three hypostases but three substances or essences in the Arian sense; for they made no distinction between hypostasis and essence, and therefore charged their opposites with Arianism. The other party were afraid that *τρία πρόσωπα* signified no more than nominal persons, in the sense of Sabellius, who himself had used those very terms in an equivocal sense to impose upon the vulgar; and, therefore, they inveighed against their adversaries, as designing to promote Sabellianism. “And so,” said Nazianzen^b, “this little

^z Chrysost. de Sacerdot. lib. iii. c. xviii.

^a Ibid. lib. iii. c. xviii.

^b Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. xxi. de Laud. Athan. (tom. i. p. 395, last line.) Πίστειος ἔδοξε διαφορὰ, ἡ περὶ τὸν ἦχον μικρολογία. Εἶτα Σαβελλισμός ἐνταῦθα ἐπενοήθη τοῖς τρισὶ προσώποις, καὶ Ἀρειανισμὸς ταῖς τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσι τὰ τῆς φιλονεικίας ἀναπλάσματα. Εἶτα τί; προστιθεμένων μικροῦ τινὸς αἰ τοῦ λυποῦντος, ὃ λυπηρὸν ἢ φιλονεικία ποιεῖ, κινδυνεύει συναπορῶα-

difference in words, making a noise as if there had been difference in opinion, the love of quarrelling and contention fomenting the dispute, the ends of the earth were in danger of being divided by a few syllables. Which when Athanasius, the true man of God, and great guide of souls, both saw and heard, he could not endure to think of so absurd and unreasonable a division among the professors of the same faith, but immediately applied a remedy to the distemper. And how did he make his application? Having convened both parties with all meekness and humility, and accurately weighed the intention and meaning of the words on both sides, after he found them agreeing in the things themselves, and not in the least differing in point of doctrine, he ended their dispute, allowing the use of both names, and tying them to unity of opinion." "This," says our author, "was a more advantageous act of charity to the Church than all his other daily labours and discourses: it was more honourable than all his watchings and humicubations, and not inferior to his applauded flights and exiles." And, therefore, he tells his readers^c, in ushering in the discourse, that he could not omit the relation without injuring them, especially at a time when contentions and divisions were in the Church; for this action of his would be an instruction to them that were then alive, and of great advan-

γῆναι ταῖς συλλαβαῖς τὰ πέρατα. Ταῦτα οὖν ὁρῶν καὶ ἀκούων ὁ μακάριος ἐκείνος, καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄνθρωπος τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ μέγας τῶν ψυχῶν οἰκονόμος, οὐκ ᾤηθη δεῖν παριδεῖν τὴν ἄτοπον οὕτω καὶ ἄλογον τοῦ λόγου κατατομὴν, τὸ δὲ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ φάρμακον ἐπάγει τῷ ἀρρώστῳ· πῶς οὖν τοῦτο ποιεῖ; προσκαλεσάμενος ἀμφοτέρα τὰ μέρη οὕτωςι πρῶτος καὶ φιλανθρώπως, καὶ τὸν νοῦν τῶν λεγομένων ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάσας, ἐπιιδὴ συμφρονούντας εὗρε καὶ οὐδὲν διεστῶτας κατὰ τὸν λόγον, τὰ ὀνόματα συγχωρήσας, συνδεῖ τοῖς πράγμασι· τοῦτο τῶν μακρῶν πόνων καὶ λόγων λυσιτελέστερον . . . τοῦτο τῶν πολλῶν ἀγρυπνιῶν καὶ χαμεννιῶν προτιμότερον . . . τοῦτο τῶν αἰοιδίμων ἐξοριῶν καὶ φυγῶν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπάξιον.

^c Naz. *ibid.* p. 395. B 10. "Ὁ δὲ μοι μάλιστα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς θαυμάζειν ἔπεισε, καὶ ζημίη τὸ σιωπᾶν διὰ τὸν καιρὸν μάλιστα, πολλὰς ποιούντα τὰς διαστάσεις, τοῦτο ἔτι προσθήσω τοῖς εἰρημένοις· γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν τι παιδεύμα καὶ τοῖς νῦν ἡ πρᾶξις, εἰ πρὸς ἐκείνον βλέπομεν· ὥς γὰρ ὕδατος ἐνὸς τίμνεται, οὐ τοῦτο μόνον ὅσον ἡ χεὶρ ἀφήκεν ἀρυομένη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσον τῇ χειρὶ περιεσχίθη τῶν δατύλων ἐκρίον, οὕτω καὶ ἡμῶν οὐχ ὅσον ἀσεβεῖς σχίζεται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσον εὐσεβέστερον, οὐ περὶ δογματῶν μόνον μικρῶν, καὶ παρορᾶσθαι ἀξίων ἦττον γὰρ ἂν ἦν τοῦτο δεινόν, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ περὶ ῥημάτων εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν φερόντων διάνοιαν.

tage, if they would propound it to their own imitation ; since men were prone to divide, not only from the impious, but from the orthodox and pious ; and that not only about little and contemptible opinions, which ought to make no difference, but about words that tended to one and the same sense. The caution is of use in all ages ; and, had it always been strictly observed, it would have prevented many wild disputes and fierce contentions about words, in the Christian Church.

SECT. X.—*Of their Zeal and Courage in defending the Truth.*

But, now, we are to observe, on the other hand, that as they were eminent for their candour and prudence in composing unnecessary and verbal disputes ; so, where the cause was weighty, and any material point of religion concerned, they were no less famous for their zeal and courage, in standing up in the defence of truth against all opposers. It was neither the artifice and subtlety, nor the power and malice, of their enemies could make them yield, where they thought the faith was in danger to be destroyed. “In other cases,” says Nazianzen^d, “there is nothing so peaceable, so moderate, as Christian bishops : but, in this case, they cannot bear the name of moderation, to betray their God by silence and sitting still ; but here they are exceeding eager warriors, and fighting champions, that are not to be overcome.” He does not mean that the weapons of their warfare were carnal ; that they used any pious frauds, or plotted treasons or rebellions, or took up arms in defence of religion ; but that, with an undaunted courage and brave resolution, they stood up firm in defence of truth, and mattered not what names they were called by—contentious, unpeaceable, immoderate, factious, turbulent, incendiaries, or any thing of the like nature : nor yet what they suffered in any kind, whilst they contended for that faith which was once delivered to the saints. Church history abounds with instances of this nature ; but it will be sufficient to exemplify the practice of this virtue in a single instance, which

^d Naz. Orat. xxi. de Laud. Athanas. p. 388. D. Οἱ κἀν τὰλλα ὥσιν εἰρηνικοὶ τε καὶ μέτριοι, τοῦτό γε οὐ φέρουσιν ἐπιεικεῖς εἶναι, Θεὸν προδιδόναι διὰ τῆς ἡσυχίας· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἅλιαν εἶσιν ἐνταῦθα, πολεμικοὶ τε καὶ δύσμαχοι.

Gregory Nazianzen* gives us in the life of St. Basil; where he relates a famous dialogue that passed between Modestus, the Arian governor under Valens, and that holy man. Modestus tried all arts to bring him over to the party; but, finding all in vain, he at last threatened him with severity. "What," said he, "dost thou not fear this power which I am armed with?" "Why should I fear?" said Basil, "What canst thou do, or what can I suffer?" "What canst thou suffer?" said the other; "many things that are in my power,—confiscation of thy goods, banishment, torment, and death." "But thou must threaten me with something else," said Basil, "if thou canst; for none of these things can touch me. As for confiscation of goods, I am not liable to it; for I have nothing to lose, unless thou wantest these tattered and threadbare garments, and a few books, which is all the estate that I am possessed of. For banishment, I know not what it means, for

* Naz. Orat. xx. de Laud. Basil. (Paris. 1630. p. 349. D.) Τί δαί, οὐ φοβῶ τὴν ἰξουσίαν; φησί· μὴ τί γένηται, μηδὲ τί πάθω, μὴ τί τῶν πολλῶν ἔν, ἀ τῆς ἡμῶν δυναστείας ἰστί; τίνα ταῦτα; γνωρίζεσθω γὰρ ἡμῖν, δήμευσιν, ἑξορίαν, βασάνους, θάνατον, εἰ τί ἄλλο, φησὶν, ἀπειλεῖ τούτων γὰρ οὐδὲν ἡμῶν ἄπτεται· καὶ τὸν εἰπεῖν· πῶς καὶ τίνα τρόπον, ὅτι τοι, ἔφη, δημεύσει μὲν οὐχ ἁλωτὸς ὁ μηδὲν ἔχων, πλὴν εἰ τούτων χρήσεις τῶν τρυχίνων μου ῥακίων καὶ βιβλίων ὀλίγων, ἐν οἷς ὁ πᾶς ἡμῶν βίος· ἑξορίαν δὲ οὐ γινώσκω, ὁ μηδενὶ τόπῳ περιγραπτός, καὶ μηδὲ ταύτην ἔχων ἔμην, ἣν οἰκῶ νῦν, καὶ πᾶσαν ἔμην, εἰς ἣν ἂν ῥίψῃ· μᾶλλον δὲ Θεοῦ πᾶσαν, οὐ πάροικος ἐγὼ καὶ παρεπιδημος· αἱ βάσανοι δὲ, τί ἂν λάβοιεν, οὐκ ὄντος σώματος· πλὴν εἰ τὴν πρώτην λέγοις πληγὴν· ταύτης γὰρ σὺ μόνος κύριος· ὁ δὲ θάνατος εὐεργέτης· καὶ γὰρ θᾶττον πέμψει με πρὸς Θεόν, ὃ ζῶ καὶ πολιτεύομαι, καὶ τῷ πλείστῳ τίθηκα, καὶ πρὸς δὲν ἐκείγομαι πόρρωθεν. τούτοις καταπλαγίντα τὸν ὑπαρχον, οὐδεὶς φάναι μέχρι τοῦ νῦν οὕτως ἡμῶν διελκεται, καὶ μετὰ τσαύτης τῆς παρρησίας, τὸ ἑαυτοῦ προσθεὶς ὄνομα· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπισκόπῳ, φησὶν, ἴσως ἐνέτυχες, ἢ πάντως ἂν τοῦτον διελίχθη τὸν τρόπον, ὑπὲρ τοιούτων ἀγωνιζόμενος· τᾶλλα μὲν γὰρ ἐπιεικέες ἡμεῖς, ὑπαρχε, καὶ παντὶ ἄλλου ταπεινότεροι, τοῦτο τῆς ἐντολῆς ἐκτελούσης, καὶ μὴ ὅτι τοσοῦτον κράτει, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τῶν τυχόντων ἐνὶ τὴν ὁρῶν αἰρούντες. οὐ δὲ Θεὸς τὸ κινδυνεύομενον, καὶ προκείμενον, τᾶλλα περιφρονοῦντες, πρὸς ἑαυτὸν μόνον βλέπομεν· πῦρ δὲ καὶ ξίφος, καὶ θῆρες, καὶ οἱ τὰς σάρκας τέμνοντες ὄνυχες, τροφή μᾶλλον ἡμῖν εἰσιν ἢ κατάπληξις. πρὸς ταῦτα ὑβρίζει, ἀπειλεῖ, ποιεῖ πᾶν ὃ, τί ἂν ᾗ βουλομένη σοι, τῆς ἰξουσίας ἀπόλαυε· ἀκουέτω ταῦτα καὶ βασιλεὺς, ὡς ἡμᾶς γε οὐχ αἰρήσεις· οὐδὲ πείσεις συνθέσθαι τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ, κὰν ἀπειλῆς χαλεπώτερα· ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀκούσαι τὸν ὑπαρχον, καὶ τὴν ἐνστασιν μαθεῖν τοῦ ἀνδρός, οὕτως ἀκατάπληκτον καὶ ἀήτητον, τὸν μὲν ἔξω πέμψαι καὶ μεταστήσασθαι, οὐκ ἔτι μετὰ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀπειλῆς, ἀλλὰ τινος αἰδοῦς καὶ ὑποχωρήσεως· αὐτὸν δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ προσελθόντα, ὡς εἶχε τάχους, ἡγήθηθα, βασιλεῦ, εἰπεῖν τοῦ τῆσδε προβιβλημένου τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

I am tied to no place ; I shall esteem every country as much my own, as that where I now dwell ; for the whole earth is the Lord's, and I am only a pilgrim and a stranger in it. As for torments, what can they do to him, who has not a body that can hold out beyond the first stroke ? And for death, it will be a kindness to me ; for it will but so much the sooner send me unto God, to whom I live and do the duty of my station ; being in a great measure already dead, and now of a long time hastening unto him." The governor was strangely surprised at this discourse, and said, " No man ever talked at this free and bold rate to Modestus before." " Perhaps," said Basil, " thou didst never meet with a bishop before : for if thou hadst, he would have talked just as I do, when he was put to contend about such matters as these. In other things, we are mild and yielding, and the humblest men on earth, as our laws oblige us to be. We are so far from showing ourselves supercilious or haughty to magistrates in power, that we do not do it to persons of the meanest rank and condition. But when the cause of God is concerned or in danger, then, indeed, we esteem all other things as nothing, and fix our eyes only upon him : then fire and sword, wild beasts and instruments of torture to tear off our flesh, are so far from being a terror, that they are rather a pleasure and recreation to us. Therefore, reproach and threaten us, do your pleasure, use your power to the utmost, and let the emperor know all this : yet you shall never conquer us, or bring us to assent to your impious doctrine, though you threaten us ten thousand times more than all this." The governor hearing this, and finding him to be a man of invincible and inflexible courage, dismissed him not with threatenings, but with a sort of reverence and submission ; and went and told the emperor, that the bishop of that Church was too hard for them all ; for his courage was so great, his resolution so firm, that neither promises nor threatenings could move him from his purpose.—Nor was it only open violence they thus bravely resisted, but also the more crafty attempts of the enemies of the truth, who many times went artificially to work against it ; partly, by blackening the characters of its champions and defenders, and representing them as base and intolerable ; and partly, by smoothing

their own character, and pretending unity in faith with the orthodox, and that their designs were only designs of peace, to remove unscriptural words and novel terms out of the way, that all men might be of the same opinion. These were the two grand artifices of the Arian party, whereby the leading and politic men among them—Eusebius of Nicomedia, Valens, Ursacius, and others—always laboured to overthrow the truth. Upon this account, Athanasius was forced to undergo a thousand calumnies and slanderous reproaches. He was accused to Constantine as one that assumed to himself imperial authority to impose a tax upon Egypt; as one guilty of murder in cutting off the hand of Arsenius, a Meletian bishop; as guilty of treason in siding with Philumenus, the rebel, and furnishing him with money; as an enemy to the public, for attempting to hinder the transportation of corn from Egypt to Constantinople, which accusation so far prevailed upon the emperor that he banished him to Triers upon it. In the next reign, he was accused again of repeated murders; and of sacrilege, in diverting Constantine's liberality to the widows of Egypt and Libya to other uses; of treason, in joining interest with Magnentius, the tyrant; and many other such charges were spitefully and diabolically levelled against him. St. Basil was, likewise, variously accused, both by professed enemies and pretended friends; who, as is usual in such cases, brought charges against him directly contrary to one another. Some accused him of tritheism, for defending the doctrine of three hypostases against the Sabellians; others, of Semiarianism, or heterodoxy in the article about the divinity of the Holy Ghost, because, in his church, he sometimes used a different form of doxology from what was used in other churches. Some, again, accused him of Arianism, because he had received Eustathius of Sebastia into communion, upon his professing the Catholic faith; others said he communicated with Apollinaris the heretic, because, upon some occasions, he wrote letters to him. Thus were two of the greatest and best of men maliciously traduced and wounded in their reputation; both, indeed, for the same cause, but with this difference, that the one was prosecuted by open enemies without the Church; the other, chiefly by secret enemies within, of whom, therefore, he had

reason to take up the prophet's complaint, and say, "These are the wounds with which I was wounded in the house of my friends." And these were such temptations as might have unsettled any weak and wavering minds, and made them turn their backs upon religion: but true zeal is above temptation, and can equally despise the wounds of the sword and the wounds of the tongue, having always the consolation, which Christ gives in his Gospel, ready at hand to support it, "Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you, falsely, for my sake: rejoice, and be exceeding glad; for great is your reward in heaven." Such examples show us, that innocence itself cannot always exempt men from calumny, but sometimes is accidentally the occasion of it; but, then, it has this advantage, that, being joined with a suitable zeal, it never sinks under the weight and pressure of its burden, but always comes off conqueror at the last, as we see in the instances now before us.

The other artifice which, I said, the Arians used to destroy the faith, was the specious pretence of peace and unity. The politic and crafty men among them, in the time of Constantius, pretended that they had no quarrel with the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity itself, but only were aggrieved at the novel and unscriptural words, such as the *ὁμοούσιον*, 'consubstantial,' &c. which the Council of Nice had used to express it by. "These," they said, "were dividing terms, and the cause of all the quarrel and combustion; and, therefore, they still urged the removing these terms, as the great stumbling-block, out of the way, that the peace and unity of the Church might follow upon it." But Athanasius, and other wise Catholics, easily perceived whither this sly stratagem tended, being very sensible that their design was not against the bare terms, but the faith itself; and, therefore, they always stoutly and zealously opposed it. Nor could the Arians ever gain this point upon the Catholics, till, at last, in the Council of Ariminum, an. 359, by great importunity, and clamours for unity and peace, they were prevailed upon to sink the word 'consubstantial,' and draw up a new creed without it, yet, as they thought, containing the very same doctrine, and in as full

terms as could be expressed, save that the word ‘*consubstantial*’ was not in it. But here, it must be owned, these Catholic bishops were wanting in their zeal, as they themselves were quickly after convinced; for no sooner was this concession made, but the Arians immediately gave out, and boasted over all the world, that the Nicene faith was condemned, and Arianism established in a general council; though nothing was less intended by the Catholic bishops that were present at it. But, now, they were sensible they had made a false step, by suffering themselves thus to be imposed upon by designing men. They now saw that they ought to have stuck to the Nicene terms, as well as the faith, since the faith itself so much depended on them. They now began to complain of the fraud, and asked pardon of their brethren for their want of foresight and caution, in a case so tender and material. St. Jerome, who gives us this account of the whole transaction, from the Acts of the Synod, and other records extant in his time, brings them in making this apology for themselves. “The bishops,” says he, “who had been imposed upon, by fraud, at Ariminum, and who were reputed heretics, without being conscious to themselves of any heresy, went about every where, protesting, by the body of Christ, and all that is sacred in the Church, that they suspected no evil in the creed; they thought the sense had agreed with the words, and that men had not meant one thing in their hearts, and uttered another thing with their lips; they were deceived, by entertaining too good an opinion of base and evil men; they did not suppose the priests of Christ could so treacherously have fought against Christ: in short, they lamented their mistake now with tears, and offered to condemn, as well their own subscription, as all

^f Hieron. Dial. cont. Lucif. tom. ii. p. 143. (p. 99. A, edit. Francof.) (Vallars. vol. ii. p. 191. D 7.) *Concurrebant episcopi, qui Ariminensibus doli irretiti, sine conscientia heretici ferebantur, contestantes Corpus Domini, et quicquid in Ecclesia sanctum est, se nihil mali in sua fide suspicatos. Putavimus, aiebant, sensum congruere cum verbis; nec in Ecclesia Dei, ubi simplicitas, ubi pura confessio est, aliud in corde clausum esse, aliud in labiis proferri timuimus. Decepit nos bona de malis existimatio. Non sumus arbitrati sacerdotes Christi adversus Christum pugnare.—Multaque alia quæ brevitatis studio prætereo, fientes asserebant; parati et subscriptionem pristinam et omnes Arianorum blasphemias condemnare,*

the Arian blasphemies." Any one that reads St. Jerome carefully, will easily perceive that these bishops were no Arians, nor ever intended to subscribe an Arian creed; but their fault was want of zeal in parting with the Nicene creed, to take another instead of it, without the word 'consubstantial;' which, though they subscribed, in the simplicity of their hearts, as an orthodox creed (and, indeed, the words, as Jerome describes them, in their plain sense, are sound and orthodox, as St. Jerome says, in their excuse), yet the Arians put an equivocal and poisonous sense upon them, giving out, after the council was ended, that they had not only abolished the word 'consubstantial,' but with it condemned the Nicene faith also; which was strange, surprising news to the bishops that had been at Ariminum. "Then," says St. Jerome, "*ingemuit totus orbis, et Arianum se esse miratus est*, the whole world groaned, and was amazed to think she should be reputed Arian;" that is, the Catholic bishops of the whole world (for there were three hundred of them present at that council) were amazed to find themselves so abused, and represented as Arians, when they never intended in the least to confirm the Arian doctrine. But now, by this, the reader will be able to judge what kind of zeal the Catholic Church required then in her clergy, viz. that they should not only contend for the faith itself, but also for those Catholic forms, and ways of expressing it, which had been prudently composed and settled in general councils, as a barrier against heretics; the giving up of which to subtle and dangerous adversaries, would always give them advantage to make fiercer attacks upon the faith itself, and prove destructive to the Catholic cause, as those bishops found by woeful experience, who were concerned in the concession made at Ariminum. It is candour, indeed, when good Catholics are divided only about words, to bring them to a right understanding of one another, which will set them at peace and unity again: but it is tameness to give up the main bulwarks of the faith to fallacious adversaries and designing men, whose arts and aims, however disguised, are always known to strike at the foundation of religion: and, therefore, though no man was ever more candid than Athanasius toward mistaken Catholics, yet neither was any more zealous in

opposing the arts and stratagems of the Arian party; always sticking close to the definition of the Nicene Council, and never yielding that any tittle or syllable of that creed should be erased or altered.

SECT. XI.—*Of their Obligations to maintain the Unity of the Church; and of the Censure of such as fell into Heresy or Schism.*

Whilst I am upon this head, I cannot but take notice of the obligations the clergy lay under, to maintain the unity of the Church, both in faith and discipline; and what penalties were inflicted on such as made a breach therein, whether by falling into heresy or schism themselves, or giving encouragement to them in others. I shall not need to state the nature of Church unity and communion in this place, any further than by saying, that, to maintain the purity of the Catholic faith, and live under the discipline and government of a Catholic bishop, who himself lived in communion with the Catholic Church, were then, as it were, the two characteristic notes of any man's being in the communion of the Church; and, therefore, as every member was obliged to maintain the unity of the Church in both these parts, so much more the clergy, who were to be the chief guardians of it. And if they failed in either kind, that is, if they lapsed either into heresy or schism, by the laws of the Church they were to be deposed from their office; and, though they repented, and returned to the unity of the Church again, yet they were not to act in their former station, but to be admitted to communicate only in the quality of laymen. This was the rule of the African Church in the time of Cyprian, as appears from the Synodical Epistle^s of the

^s Cyprian. Epist. lxii. (Oxon. 1682. p. 197.) (p. 121, edit. Paris. 1666.) *Addimus plane et adjungimus, frater carissime, consensu et auctoritate communi, ut etiam si qui presbyteri aut diaconi, qui vel in ecclesia catholica prius ordinati fuerint, et postmodum perfidi ac rebelles contra ecclesiam steterint, vel apud hæreticos a pseudoepiscopis et antichristis contra Christi dispositionem profana ordinatione promoti sint, et contra altare unum atque divinum, sacrificia foris falsa ac sacrilega offerre conati sint; eos quoque hac conditione suscipi cum revertuntur, ut communicent laici; et satis habeant, quod admittuntur ad pacem, qui hostes pacis exstiterint, nec debere eos revertentes ea apud nos ordinationis et honoris arma retinere, quibus contra nos rebellaverint.*

Council of Carthage, to which his name is prefixed. For, writing to Pope Stephen, they tell him, their custom was to treat such of the clergy as were ordained in the Catholic Church, and afterward stood up perfidiously and rebelliously against the Church, in the same manner as they did those that were first ordained by heretics; that is, they admitted them to the peace of the Church, and allowed them the communion of laymen, but did not permit them to officiate again in any order of the clergy. And this^b, he says, they did, to put a mark of distinction between those that always stood true to the Church, and those that deserted it. Yet, if any considerable advantage accrued to the Church, by the return of such a heretic or schismatic,—as, if he brought over any considerable part of the deluded people with him; or, if he was generally chosen by the Church, or the like; in such cases the rule was so far dispensed with, that the deserter might be admitted to his pristine dignity, and be allowed to officiate in his own order again. Upon this account, Cornelius, bishop of Rome, received Maximus, the presbyter, to his former honour, upon his returnⁱ from the Novatian schism. And, in after ages, both the Novatians and Meletians were particularly favoured with this privilege by the Council of Nice, and the Donatists by the African fathers, in the time of St. Austin, as I have had occasion to note^k more than once before; but, if they continued obstinate in their heresy or schism, then

^b Satis est talibus revertentibus veniam dari: non tamen debet in domo fidei perfidia promoveri. Nam quid bonis et innocentibus atque ab ecclesia non recedentibus reservamus; si eos, qui a nobis recesserint et contra ecclesiam steterint, honoramus?

ⁱ Cornel. Epist. xlii. al. xlix. ad Cypr. p. 93. (p. 61, apud Cypr. It. tom. i. Concil. p. 684.) Maximum presbyterum locum suum agnoscere jussimus: cæteros cum ingenti populi suffragio recepimus. Aliud exemplum Socrates, lib. vii. c. iii. exhibet. 'Ο Ἀγαπητός, ὃν προεστάναι τῆς Μακεδονίου θρησκείας ἔφη, ἐπὶ ἀγαθὴν ἤλθεν ἐπίνοιαν· βουλευσάμενος γὰρ ἅμα τῷ αὐτοῦ κλήρῳ παντὶ, καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λαὸν, πείθει τὴν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου πίστιν προσδίδεσθαι· καὶ τοῦτο καταστήσας, εὐθὺς ὡς εἶχε σὺν πλήθει πολλῶ, μᾶλλον δὲ σὺν παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὥρμησεν· εὐχὴν τε ἐπιτελέσας, καταλαμβάνει τὸν θρόνον, ἐν ᾧ εἰώθει ὁ Θεοδόσιος προκαθίστασθαι· ἐνώσας δὲ τὸν λαὸν, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ τὴν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου πίστιν διδάσκων, τῶν ὑπὸ Σύνταδα ἐκκλησιῶν ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο. (Reading, p. 293. C.)

^k Book iv. chap. vii. sect. vii. viii.

many times an anathema was pronounced against them, as in the second Council of Carthage. "If a presbyter," says the canon¹, "that is reprov'd or excommunicated by his bishop, being puffed up with pride, shall presume to offer the oblation in a separate assembly, or set up another altar against him, let him be anathema." The Council of Antioch^m, and those called the Apostolical Canonsⁿ, have several decrees of the like nature; yea, so careful were the clergy to be of the unity of the Church, that they were not to give any encouragement to heretics or schismatics, or excommunicated persons, by communicating with them in prayer, or other holy offices of the Church, or so much as frequenting their society, feasting with them, or the like. But I do not enlarge upon these things here, because, being matters of discipline, they will come again to be considered under that head, in another place.

I have now gone through some of the chief general duties, which more immediately concerned the office and function of the clergy; and, by mixing public rules with private directions and great examples, have made such an essay towards the

¹ Conc. Carth. IV. c. viii. (vol. ii. p. 1830.) Si quis forte presbyter, ab episcopo suo correptus vel excommunicatus, tumore vel superbia inflatus, putaverit separatim Deo sacrificia offerenda, vel aliud erigendum altare—non exeat impunitus.

^m Conc. Antioch. c. iv. (vol. ii. p. 564.) Εἰ τις ἐπίσκοπος ὑπὸ συνόδου καθαιρεθεῖς, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου, τολμήσειεν τι πρᾶξει τῆς λειτουργίας, εἴ τε ὁ ἐπίσκοπος κατὰ τὴν προάγουσαν συνθήειαν, εἴτε ὁ διάκονος, μηκέτι ἐξὸν εἶναι αὐτῷ, μηδ' ἐν ἑτέρᾳ συνόδῳ ἐλπίδα ἀποκατάσταως, μήτε ἀπολογίας χώραν ἔχουσιν· ἀλλὰ δὲ τοὺς κοινωνοῦντας αὐτῷ πάντας ἀποβάλλεσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ μάλιστα, εἰ μαθόντες τὴν ἀπόφασιν τὴν κατὰ τῶν προειρημένων ἐξενεχθεῖσαν τολμήσειαν αὐτοῖς κοινωνεῖν.—Ibid. can. v. Εἰ τις πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, καταφρονήσας τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τοῦ ἰδίου, ἀφώρσειεν ἑαυτὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἢ ἰδίᾳ συνήγαγεν, καὶ θυσιαστήριον ἔστησεν, καὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου προσκαλεσαμένου ἀπειθοῖη, καὶ μὴ βούλοιο αὐτῷ πείθεσθαι μηδὲ ὑπακούειν καὶ πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον καλοῦντι· τοῦτον καθαιρεῖσθαι παντελῶς, καὶ μηκέτι θεραπειᾶς τυγχάνειν, μηδὲ δύνασθαι λαμβάνειν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τιμὴν· εἰ δὲ παραμένει θορυβῶν καὶ ἀναστατῶν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, διὰ τῆς ἐξωθεν ἐξουσίας ὡς στασιώδῃ αὐτὸν ἐπιστρέφεισθαι.

ⁿ Can. Apost. c. xxxii. (al. xxxi.) Εἰ τις πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος ἀπὸ ἐπισκόπου γίνηται ἀφωρισμένος, τοῦτον μὴ ἐξεῖναι παρ' ἑτέρου δέχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἢ παρὰ τοῦ ἀφορίσαντος αὐτὸν, εἰ μὴ ἂν κατὰ συγκυρίαν τελευτήσῃ ὁ ἀφορίσας αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπος.

idea and character of a primitive clerk, as may, I hope, in some things, excite both the emulation and curiosity of many of my readers, who may be concerned to imitate the pattern I have been describing. If here it be not drawn so full, or so exactly to the life, in all its beauties, as they could wish, they will find their account in satisfying their curiosity, by having recourse to the fountains themselves from whence these materials were taken. For many things, that might here have been added, were purposely omitted, for fear of drawing out this part of the discourse to a greater length than would consist with the design and measures of the present undertaking; and I had rather be thought to have said too little than too much upon this head, that I might not cloy, but leave an edge upon the appetite of the inquisitive reader.

CHAPTER IV.

AN ACCOUNT OF SOME OTHER LAWS AND RULES WHICH WERE
A SORT OF OUT-GUARDS AND FENCES TO THE FORMER.

SECT. I.—*No Clergyman allowed to desert or relinquish his Station without just Grounds and Leave.*

HAVING thus far discoursed both of such laws as related to the life and conversation of the primitive clergy, and of those that more immediately concerned the duties and offices of their function, I come now to speak of a third sort of laws, which were, like the Jews, *sepimenta legis*, a sort of by-laws and rules, made for the defence and guard of the two former. Among these we may reckon such laws as were made to fix the clergy to their proper business and calling: such as that which forbade any clergyman to desert or relinquish his station, without just grounds or leave, granted by his superiors. In the African Church, as has been showed before^a, from the time that any man was made a reader, or entered in any of the lower orders of the Church, he was presumed to be dedi-

^a Book iii. chap. i. sect. v.

cated to the service of God, so as thenceforth not to be at liberty to turn secular again at his own pleasure : and much more did this rule hold for bishops, presbyters, and deacons. Therefore, Cyril of Alexandria, as he is cited by Harmenopolus^b, says, in one of his canons, that “ it was contrary to the laws of the Church for any priest to give in a libel of resignation ; for, if he be worthy, he ought to continue in his ministry ; if he be unworthy, he should not have the privilege of resigning, but be condemned, and ejected.” The Council of Chalcedon orders^c all such to be anathematized as forsook their orders to take upon them any military office or secular dignity, unless they repented and returned to the employment which, for God’s sake, they had first chosen. The Council of Tours^d, in like manner, decrees that whoever of the clergy desert their order and office to follow a secular life and calling again, shall be punished with excommunication. The civil law was also very severe upon such deserters. By an order of Arcadius and Honorius^e, they are condemned to serve *in curia* all their lives, that they might never have the privilege of resuming the clerical life again. And, by a law of Justinian’s^f, both monks and clerks, so deserting, were to forfeit whatever estate they were possessed of, to the church or monastery to which they belonged.

^b Harmenopol. Epitom. Can. ap. Leunclav. Jur. Græc. Rom. tom. i. p. 11. Παρὰ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικούς ἐστι θεσμός, τὸ λιβέλλους παραιτήσεων προσάγειν τινὰς τῶν ἱερουργῶν· εἰ γὰρ ἄξιοι, λειτουργεῖτωσαν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, μὴ παραιτεῖσθωσαν, ἀλλ’ ὡς κατεγνωσμένοι ἐξίτωσαν.

^c Conc. Chalced. c. vii. (tom. iv. p. 759.) Τοὺς ἅπαξ ἐν κλήρῳ κατελεγμένους, ἧ καὶ μονάσαντας, ὠρίσαμεν, μήτε ἐπὶ στρατείαν, μήτε ἐπὶ ἀξίαν κοσμικὴν ἔρχεσθαι· ἢ τοῦτο τολμῶντας, καὶ μὴ μεταμελομένους, ὥστε ἐπιστρέφαι ἐπὶ τοῦτο, ὃ διὰ Θεὸν πρότερον εἴλοντο, ἀναθεματίζεσθαι.

^d Concil. Turon. c. v. (ibid. p. 1051.)

^e Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. leg. xxxix. Si quis professum sacræ religionis sponte dereliquerit, continuo sibi eum curia vindicet : ut liber illi ultra ad ecclesiam recursus esse non possit.

^f Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. iii. de Episc. leg. lv. Quod si illi monasteria aut ecclesias relinquunt, atque mundani fiant, omne ipsorum jus ad monasterium aut ecclesiam pertinet.

SECT. II.—*Yet in some Cases a Resignation was allowed of.*

But this rule, as it was intended for the benefit of the Church, to keep the clergy to their duty, so, when the benefit of the Church, or any other reasonable cause, required the contrary, might be dispensed with. And we find many such resignations or renunciations practised; and some allowed by general councils. For, not to mention the case of disability, by reason of old age, sickness, or other infirmity, in which it was usual for bishops to turn over their business to a coadjutor (of which I have given a full account in a former Book^s), there were two other cases which come nearer to the matter in hand: one was, when a bishop, through the obstinacy, hatred, or disgust of any people, found himself incapable of doing them any service, and that the burden was an intolerable oppression to him; in that case, if he desired to renounce, his resignation was accepted. Thus Gregory Nazianzen renounced the see of Constantinople, and betook himself to a private life, because the people grew factious, and murmured at him, as being a stranger; and this he did with the consent and approbation of the general Council of Constantinople; as not only the historians, Theodoret^h and Socratesⁱ, but he himself testifies^k, in many places of his writ-

^s Book ii. chap. xiii. § iv.

^h Theod. lib. v. c. viii. 'Ο δὲ θεῖος παρεκάλει Γρηγόριος, περὶ συμφωνίας συνθηροισμένων, τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμόνοιαν προτιμῆσαι τῆς ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀδικίας· ἐγώ τε γάρ, ἔφη, τῶν πλειόνων φροντίδων ἀπαλλαγείς, τὴν ἐμοὶ φίλην ἀπολήψομαι ἡσυχίαν, καὶ ὑμεῖς τὴν τριπόθητον εἰρήνην μετὰ τὸν μακρὸν ἐκείνον [καὶ] χαλεπὸν ἀπολήψεσθε πόλεμον· τῶν γὰρ λίαν ἀτοκωτάτων, ἄρτι τῶν πολεμικῶν ἀπαλλαγέντας βελῶν, ἀλλήλους βάλλειν, καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀναλίσκειν ἰσχύν· ἐπίχαρτοι γὰρ οὕτω τοῖς δυσμενέσι ἐσόμεθα· ἀνδρὰ δὲ οὖν ἐπιζητήσαντες ἀξέπαινον καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντα, τῶν φροντίδων τὸ πληθός καὶ δεῖξασθαι καὶ εὖ διαθεῖναι δυνάμενον, ἀρχιερέα προβάλλεσθε ταύταις οἱ ἄριστοι ποιμένες ταῖς ὑποθήκαις πεισθέντες, Νεκτάριον εὐπατρίδην ἀνδρὰ, καὶ περιφανέα γένους κοσμούμενον, καὶ τοῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς εἰδεσι λαμπρυνόμενον, ἐπίσκοπον τῆς μεγίστης ἐκείνης χειροτόνησαν πόλεως. (Reading, p. 179. B 8.)

ⁱ Socrat. lib. v. c. vii. Τότε δὲ Γρηγόριος ὁ Ναζιανζοῦ μετατεθείς, ἔνδον τῆς πόλεως ἐν μικρῷ εὐκτηρίῳ τὰς συναγωγὰς ἐποιεῖτο· ὧτινι ὕστερον οἱ βασιλεῖς, μέγιστον οἶκον εὐκτήριον προσσυνάψαντες, Ἀναστασίαν ὠνόμασαν· Γρηγόριος μὴ οὖν ἀνὴρ ἑλλόγιμος, καὶ εὐλαβεία τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑπερβάλλων, γνοὺς διαγογγύζοντας τινὰς, ὥς εἴη ὑπερόριος, ἀσμένως τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως παρουσίαν δεξιόμενος, τὴν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει διαγωγὴν παρητήσατο. (Reading's ed. p. 226.)

^k Nazianz. Orat. xxxii. passim, præcipue p. 527. A. Δότε μοι τὴν χάριν

ings. After the same manner, Theodoret says¹, “Meletius, the famous bishop of Antioch, when he was bishop of Sebastia, in Armenia, was so offended with the rebellious temper and contumacy of a perverse and froward people, that he abandoned them, and retired likewise to a private life.” So Theodorus Lector tells us^m how Martyrius, bishop of Antioch, being offended at the factiousness of his people and clergy, upon the intrusion of Peter Fullo, renounced his church, with these words: “A contumacious clergy, a rebellious people, a profane church,—I bid adieu to them all, reserving to myself the dignity of priesthood.” Another case was, when, in charity, a bishop resigned, or showed himself willing to resign, to cure some inveterated schism. Thus Chrysostomⁿ told his people, that “if they had any suspicion of him, as if he were an usurper, he was ready to quit his government when they pleased, if that was necessary to preserve the unity of the

ταύτην, μετὰ εὐχῶν ἡμᾶς ἀποπέμψατε· . . . δότε μοι τὸ γράμμα τῆς ἀφέσεως, ὥσπερ τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς, κ. τ. λ.—It. Carm. de Vita sua, p. 26.

Ἑμῖν δὲ συγχωρήσατ' ἄθρονον βίον,
 Τὸν ἀκλεῆ μὲν, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀκίνδυνον·
 Καθῆσομ' ἐλθὼν οἱ κακῶν ἐρημία.
 Κρείσσον γάρ, ἢ τοῖς πλησίον μεμιγμένον,
 Μήτ' ἄλλον ἔλκειν πρὸς τὸ βούλημ' ἰσχύειν,
 Μήτ' αὐτὸν ἄλλοις συμφέρεσθ', οὐ μὴ λόγος.
 Δεῦρ' ὅστις οἶδε τὸν θρόνον, προσβαινέτω.
 At mihi carentem vos throno concedite
 Vitam, periclo liberam, etsi ingloriam.
 Illic sedebo, nulla ubi sedes malis.
 Hoc namque præstat, cæteris quam ut miscear,
 Meamque nec eos flectere in sententiam
 Possim, nec illos rebus in pravis sequi.
 Huc, huc thronum qui novit, accedat citus.

¹ Theod. lib. ii. c. cxxi. Κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν Μελέτιος ὁ θεσπέσιος πόλιν τινὰ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἰθύνων, εἰτα τῶν ἀρχομένων τὸ δυσήνιον δυσχεράνας, ἡσυχίαν ἤγειν, ἐτίρωθι διατρίβων. (Reading's ed. p. 105. C 10.)

^m Theodor. Lect. lib. i. (Cambr. 1720. p. 567. 28.) Πρὸς βασιλεία ἐλθὼν Μαρτύριος σὺν πολλῇ τιμῇ ἀπελύθη, σπουδῇ καὶ παραινέσει Γενναδίου ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, καὶ βλέπων Ἀντιοχεῖς ταραχαῖς καὶ στάσει χαίροντας, καὶ Ζήνωνα τούτοις συμπράττοντα, ἀπετάξατο τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας, ἐκίων, κλήρω ἀνυποτάκτω, καὶ λαφ' ἀπειθεῖ, καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐρρηπωμένῃ ἀποστάττοι, φολάττων ἐμυτῶ τὸ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀξίωμα.

ⁿ Chrysostom. Hom. xi. in Ephes. (p. 1110.) (p. 961, edit. Francof.) (Bened. vol. xi. p. 89. C.) Εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ ἡμῶν ταῦτα ὑποκτείνετε, ἔτοιμοι παραχωρῆσαι τῆς ἀρχῆς ὅτι περ ἂν βούλοισθε· μόνον ἐκκλησία ἔστω μία.

Church." And so Theodoret^o tells us, that "in the dispute between Flavian and Evagrius, the two bishops of Antioch, when Theodosius, the emperor, sent for Flavian, and ordered him to go and have his cause decided at Rome; he bravely answered, 'Great Sir, if any accuse my faith as erroneous, or my life as unqualifying me for a bishopric, I will freely let my accusers be my judges, and stand to their sentence, whatever it might be; but if the dispute be only about the throne and government of the Church, I shall not stay for judgment, nor contend with any that has a mind to it, but freely recede, and abdicate the throne of my own accord; and you, sir, may commit the see of Antioch to whom you please.'" The emperor looked upon this as a noble and generous answer, and was so affected with it, that, instead of obliging him to go to Rome, he sent him home again, and bade him go feed the Church committed to his care; nor would he, ever after, hearken to the bishops of Rome, though they often solicited him to expel him. There is one instance more of this nature, which I cannot omit, because it is such an example of self-denial, and despising of private interest, for the public good, and peace and unity of the Church, as deserves to be transmitted to posterity, and to be spoken of with the highest commendations. It was the proposal which Aurelius, bishop of Carthage, and St. Austin, with the rest of the African bishops, made to the Donatists at the opening of the conference of Carthage, that, to put an end to the schism, wherever there was a Catholic and a Donatist bishop in the same city, they should both of them^p resign, and suffer a new one to be

^o Theod. lib. v. c. xxiii. (Reading's ed. p. 199. D 7.) *Εἰ μὲν τῆς πίστεως, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τῆς ἐμῆς ὡς οὐκ ὁρθῆς κατηγοροῦσίν τινες, ἢ τὸν βίον φασὶν ἱερῶ-
σύνης ἀνάξιον, καὶ αὐτοῖς χρήσθαι τοῖς κατηγοροῖς κριταῖς, καὶ τὴν παρ'
ἐκείνων ἐκφερομένην ψῆφον δέξομαι· εἰ δὲ περὶ θρόνου καὶ προεδρίας ζυγομα-
χοῦσιν, οὔτε δικάσεται, οὔτε τοῖς λαβεῖν βουλομένοις ἀντιμαχεῖσθαι· ἀλλ'
ἐκστήσομαι καὶ τῆς προεδρίας ἀφίξομαι· τοιγάρτοι ὁδὸς ᾧ βούλει τὸν Ἀντιο-
χείων θρόνον, ὦ βασιλεῦ.*

^p Collat. Carthag. die i. c. xvi. (tom. ii. Concil. p. 1352. E.) *Quid enim dubitemus Redemptori nostro sacrificium istius humilitatis offerre? An vero ille de coelis in membra humana descendit, ut membra ejus essemus, et nos, ne ipsa ejus membra crudeli divisione lanientur, de cathedris descendere formidamus? propter nos nihil sufficientius, quam Christiani fideles et obediētes*

chosen. "For why," say they, "should we scruple to offer the sacrifice of such a humility to our Redeemer? Did He descend from heaven to assume our nature, and make us his members?—and shall we make any doubt to descend from our chairs, to prevent his members being torn to pieces by a cruel schism? We bishops are ordained for the people of Christ; what, therefore, is most conducive to the peace of Christian people, we ought to do in reference to our episcopacy. If we be profitable servants, why should we envy the eternal gain of our Lord, for our own temporal honours? Our episcopal dignity will be so much the more advantageous to us, if, by laying it aside, we gather together the flock of Christ, than if we disperse his flock by retaining it: and with what face can we hope for the honour which Christ has promised us in the world to come, if our honours in this world hinder the unity of His Church?" By this, we see there were some cases in which it was lawful for men to renounce even the episcopal office, and betake themselves to a private life; the grand rule being, in these and all other cases, to do what was most for the benefit and edification of the Church, and sacrifice private interest to the advantage of the public.

SECT. III.—*And Canonical Pensions sometimes granted in such Cases.*

In these cases, a bishop, after he had renounced, was not to intermeddle with the affairs of the Church, to ordain or perform any offices of the like nature, unless he was called to assist by some other bishop, or was commissioned by him as his delegate; yet he was allowed the title, and honour, and communion of a bishop, as the general Council of Ephesus^a

simus: hoc ergo semper simus. Episcopi autem propter Christianos populos ordinamur. Quod ergo Christianis populis ad Christianam pacem prodest, hoc de nostro episcopatu faciamus. Si servi utiles sumus, cur Domini æternis lucris, pro nostris temporalibus sublimitatibus, invidemus? Episcopalis dignitas fructuosior nobis erit, si gregem Christi magis deposita collegerit quam retenta disperserit. Nam qua fronte in futuro sæculo promissum a Christo sperabimus honorem, si Christianam in hoc sæculo noster honos impedit unitatem.

^a Conc. Ephes. act. vii. in Epist. ad Synod. Pamphylie. (tom. iii. Conc. p. 807. D.) 'Εδικαιώσαμεν καὶ ὤρισamen διχα πάσης ἀντιλογίας ἔχειν αὐτὸν τὸ τε τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ὄνομα, καὶ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν, οὕτω μέντοι,

determined it should be, in the case of Eustathius, bishop of Perga, and metropolitan of Pamphylia, who had renounced his bishopric, being an aged man, and thinking himself unable to discharge the duties of it. In such cases, likewise, when any one receded with the approbation of a council, he was sometimes allowed to receive a moderate pension out of the bishopric, for his maintenance; as it was in the case of Domnus, bishop of Antioch, who having been ejected, though unjustly, by Dioscorus, in the second Synod of Ephesus, yet quietly resigned the bishopric to Maximus; upon which account Maximus desired leave of the Council of Chalcedon, that he might allow him an annual pension out of the revenues of the Church, which the Council of Chalcedon^r readily complied with. And this, as Richerius^s ingeniously owns, was the ancient design and meaning of canonical pensions, which were not used to be granted but by the authority or approbation of a synod, and only to such as, having spent the greatest part of their life in the service of the Church, desired to be disburdened of their office, by reason of their age. For the reserving a pension out of a bishopric, which a man only resigns to take another, was a practice wholly unknown to former ages.

ὥστε μὴ χειροτονεῖν αὐτὸν, μήτε μὴν ἐκκλησίαν καταλαβόντα ἱεουργεῖν ἐξ ἰδίας αὐθεντείας· ἀλλ' ἡ ἄρα συμπαλαμβανόμενον, εἶπουν ἐπιτρεπόμενον, εἰ τύχοι, παρὰ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ συνεπισκόπου κατὰ διάθεσιν καὶ ἀγάπην τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ.

^r Conc. Chalced. act. vii. al. act. x. (Labbe, tom. iv. p. 681.) Residentibus universis ante cancellos sancti altaris, Maximus reverendissimus episcopus Antiochiæ dixit: Deprecor magnificentissimos et gloriosissimos iudices, et sanctam hanc et universalem synodum, ut humanitatem exercere in Domnum, qui fuit Antiochiæ episcopus, dignemini, et statuere ei certos sumtus de ecclesiâ, quæ sub me est. . . . Universa synodus vociferata est: Laudabiles merito sunt benevolentie archiepiscopi . . . Omnes cogitatum ejus laudamus . . . Magnificentissimi iudices dixerunt: Amplectente sancta synodo arbitrium Maximi, viri religiosi, episcopi Antiochiensium, quod de Domno probavit, et nos eidem consentimus, ejus arbitrio derelinquentes, quæ sunt de Domni honorificentia.

^s Richer. Hist. Concil. par. i. c. viii. n. xxx. p. 218. Nihil antiquitus consuetum fieri nisi synodice comprobatur; hincque jus pensionum canonicarum potest confirmari; quæ iis tantum tribui consueverant, qui magnam vitæ partem in ministerio consumserant, et propter ætatem se exonerabant episcopatu.

SECT. IV.—*No Clergyman to remove from one Diocese to another, without the Consent and Letters Dimissory of his own Bishop.*

Secondly, Another rule, designed to keep all clergymen strictly to their duty, was, That no one should remove from his own church or diocese, without the consent of the bishop to whose diocese he belonged. For as no one, at first, could be ordained ἀπολελυσμένος, but must be fixed to some church at his first ordination; so neither, by the rules and discipline of the Church then prevailing, might he exchange his station at pleasure; but must have his own bishop's license, or letters dimissory, to qualify him to remove from one diocese to another. For this was the ancient right, which every bishop had in the clergy of his own church, that he could not be deprived of them without his own consent; but as well the party that deserted him, as the bishop that received him, were liable to be censured upon such a transgression. "If any presbyter, deacon, or other clerk," say the Apostolical Canons^t, "forsake his own diocese to go to another, and there continue, without the consent of his own bishop, we decree that such an one shall no longer minister as a clerk (especially if after admonition he refuse to return), but only be admitted to communicate as a layman; and if the bishop, to whom they repair, still entertain them in the quality of clergymen, he shall be excommunicated as a master of disorder." The same rule is frequently repeated in the ancient councils, as that of Antioch^v; the

^t Can. Apost. c. xv. et xvi. (xiv. xv. tom. i. Conc. Labbe, p. 28.) Εἰ τις πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, ἢ ὅλως τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν κληρικῶν, ἀπολείψας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παροικίαν, εἰς ἑτέραν ἀπέλθῃ, καὶ παντελῶς μεταστὰς διατρίβῃ ἐν ἄλλῃ παροικίᾳ παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου, τοῦτον κειλεύομεν μηκέτι λειτουργεῖν, μάλιστα εἰ προσκαλουμένου αὐτὸν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου αὐτοῦ, ἐπαγγελθεῖν οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, ἐπιμένων τῇ ἀταξίᾳ· ὡς λαϊκὸς μὲν τοι ἐκέισε κοινωνεῖτω· Εἰ δὲ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, παρ' ᾧ τυγχάνουσι, παρ' οὐδὲν λογισάμενος τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν ὁρισθεῖσαν ἀργίαν, δέξεται αὐτοὺς ὡς κληρικοὺς, ἀφορίζεσθω ὡς διδάσκαλος ἀταξίας.—Conc. Chalced. c. xx. (tom. iv. p. 766.) Εἰ τις ἐπίσκοπος μετὰ τὸν ὅρον τοῦτον ἄλλῃ ἐπισκόπῳ προσήκοντα δέξεται κληρικόν, ἔδοξεν ἀκοινῶντον εἶναι τὸν δεχθέντα καὶ τὸν δεξάμενον, ἕως ἂν ὁ μεταστὰς κληρικὸς εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπανέλθῃ ἐκκλησίαν.

^v Conc. Antioch. c. iii. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 561.) Εἰ τις πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, ἢ ὅλως τῶν τοῦ ἱερατείου τις καταλιπὼν τὴν τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ παροικίαν, εἰς ἑτέραν ἀπέλθῃ· ἔπειτα παντελῶς μεταστὰς, διατρίβειν ἐν ἄλλῃ παροικίᾳ

first and second of Arles^w; the first and fourth of Carthage^x; the first of Toledo^y; and the Councils of Tours^z and Turin^a; and the great Council of Nice^b, to whose canons it may be sufficient to refer the reader. I only observe, that this was the ancient use of letters dimissory, or, as they were then called, ἀπολυτικάι, εἰρηνικάι, συστατικάι and ‘Concessoriæ,’ which were letters of license granted by a bishop, for a clergyman to remove from his diocese to another; though we now take letters dimissory in another sense. But the old canons call those ‘dimissory’ letters, which were given upon the occasion that I have mentioned. The Council of Carthage gives

πειρᾶται ἐπὶ πολλῷ χρόνῳ, μηκέτι λειτουργεῖν, εἰ μάλιστα καλοῦντι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τῷ ἰδίῳ, καὶ ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς παροικίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ παραινοῦντι, μὴ ὑπακούει· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐπιμένοι τῇ ἀταξίᾳ, παντελῶς αὐτὸν καθαιρεῖσθαι τῆς λειτουργίας, ὡς μηκέτι χώραν ἔχειν ἀποκαταστάσεως· εἰ δὲ καθαιρεθὲν διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν δέχοιτο ἕτερος ἐπίσκοπος, κἀκείνον ἐπιτιμίας τυγχάνειν ὑπὸ κοινῆς συνόδου, ὡς παραλύοντα τοὺς θεσμοὺς τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικούς.

^w Conc. Arlet. I. can. xxi. (tom. i. Conc. p. 1429.) De presbyteris aut diaconis, qui solent dimittere loca sua in quibus ordinati sunt, et ad alia loca se transferunt, placuit ut eis locis ministrent, quibus præfecti sunt. Quod si relictis locis suis, ad alium se locum transferre voluerint, deponantur.—Ibid. II. can. xiii. (tom. iv. p. 1012.) Nullus eujuscumque ordinis clericus, non diaconus, non presbyter, non episcopus, quacumque occasione faciente, propriam relinquat ecclesiam, sed omnimodis aut excommunicetur aut redire cogatur.

^x Conc. Carth. I. c. v. (tom. ii. p. 1824, in Append.) Non debere clericum alienum ab aliquo suscipi sine litteris episcopi sui, neque apud se detinere.—Ibid. IV. c. xxvii. (ibid. p. 1202.) Inferioris gradus sacerdotes, ut alii clerici, concessione suorum episcoporum possunt ad alias ecclesias transmigrare.

^y Concil. Tolet. I. c. xii. (tom. ii. p. 1225.) Ut liberum ulli clerici non sit discedere de episcopo suo, et alteri episcopo communicare.

^z Conc. Turon. I. c. xi. (tom. iv. Conc. 1052.) Si quis clericus, absque episcopi sui permissu, derelicta ecclesia sua, ad alium se transferre voluerit locum, alienus a communione habeatur.

^a Conc. Taurin. c. vii. (tom. ii. p. 1157.) Synodi sententia definitum est, ut clericum alterius secundum statuta canonum nemo suscipiat, neque suæ ecclesię, licet in alio gradu, audeat ordinare, neque abjectum recipiat in communionem.

^b Conc. Nic. c. xvi. (ibid. p. 36.) "Οσοι ῥιψοκινδύνως, μήτε τὸν φόβον τοῦ Θεοῦ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχοντες, μήτε τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κανόνα εἰδότες, ἀναχωρήσουσι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, πρεσβύτεροι ἢ διάκονοι, ἢ ὅλως ἐν τῷ κανόνι ἰξεταζόμενοι· οὗτοι οὐδαμῶς δεκτοὶ θρῆσκουσιν εἶναι ἐν ἐτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν αὐτοῖς ἀνάγκην ἐπάγεσθαι χρῆ, ἀναστρέφειν εἰς τὰς αὐτῶν παροικίας, ἢ ἐπιμένοντας, ἀκοινωνήτους εἶναι προσήκει· εἰ δὲ καὶ τολμήσῃ τις ὑφαρπάσαι τὸν τῷ ἐτέρῳ διαφέροντα, καὶ χειροτονῆσαι ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ, μὴ συγκατατιθεμένου τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου, οὐ ἀνεχώρησεν ὁ ἐν τῷ κανόνι ἰξεταζόμενος· ἄκυρος ἔστω ἢ χειροτονία.

them only the name of the 'bishop's^c letters;' but the Council of Trullo^d styles them expressly 'dimissory;' when, reinforcing all the ancient canons, it says, "no clergyman, of what degree soever, shall be entertained in another church, ἐκτὸς τῆς τοῦ οἰκείου ἐπισκόπου ἐγγράφου ἀπολυτικῆς, without the dimissory letters of his own bishop;" which he might grant or refuse, as he saw proper occasion for it. For there was no law to compel him to grant it, whatever arts any clerk might use to gain a dismissal any other way. St. Austin mentions a pretty strange case of this nature, that happened in his own diocese. One Timotheus, a subdeacon of his church, being desirous to leave his post under St. Austin, and go to Severus, a neighbouring bishop, protests upon oath to Severus, that he would be no longer of St. Austin's Church. Upon this, Severus, pretending a reverence for his oath, writes to St. Austin, and tells him, he could not return him his clerk, for fear of making him guilty of perjury. To which St. Austin replied, that "this opened a way to licentiousness; and there was an end^e of all ecclesiastical order and discipline, if a bishop would pretend to keep another man's clerk upon such a scruple, for fear of being accessory to his perjury." This evidently implies, that there was no law then to compel a bishop to grant letters dimissory to his clerk; for if there had been any such, Timotheus needed not to have used the stratagem of an oath, but might have compelled St. Austin to have granted them. But the Church then did not think fit to put it in every man's power to remove from one diocese to another at his own pleasure, but left every bishop sole judge in this case, as best knowing the necessities and circumstances of his own Church; and whether it were expedient to part with the clergy which were ordained for her service.

^c Conc. Carth. I. c. v. Non licere clericum alienum ab aliquo suscipi sine literis episcopi sui, neque apud se retinere.

^d Conc. Trull. c. xvii. (tom. vi. p. 1152.) 'Ὁρίζομεν, ὥστε . . . μηδένα τῶν ἀπάντων κληρικῶν κὰν ἐν οἰσδήποτε τυγχάνῃ βαθμῇ ἄδειαν ἔχειν ἐκτὸς τῆς τοῦ οἰκείου ἐπισκόπου ἐγγράφου ἀπολυτικῆς ἐν ἐτέρᾳ κατατάττεσθαι ἐκκλησίᾳ.

^e Aug. Ep. cxi. ad Severum. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 152. B.) Aditus aperitur ad dissolvendum ordinem ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ, si alterius ecclesiæ clericus cuicumque juraverit, quod ab ipso non sit recessurus, cum secum esse permittat; ideo se facere affirmans, ne auctor sit ejus perjurii, &c.

SECT. V.—*Laws against the Βακαντίβοι, or Wandering Clergy.*

The laws were no less severe against all wandering clergymen, whom some of the ancients call Βακαντίβοι^f, or ‘Vacantivi,’ by way of reproach. They were a sort of idle persons, who, having deserted the service of their own church, would fix in no other, but went roving from place to place, as their fancy and their humour led them. Now, by the laws of the Church, no bishop was to permit any such to officiate in his diocese, nor, indeed, so much as to communicate in his church; because, having neither letters dimissory, nor letters commendatory, from their own bishop (which every one ought to have that travelled), they were to be suspected either as deserters, or as persons guilty of some misdemeanour, who fled from ecclesiastical censure. Therefore, the laws forbade the admitting of such either to ecclesiastical or lay communion. “A presbyter or deacon,” says the Council of Agde^g, “that rambles about, without the letters of his bishop, shall not be admitted to communion by any other.” The Council of Epone^h repeats the decree in the same words. And the Council of Valentiaⁱ, in Spain, orders such wandering and roving clerks, as will not settle to the constant performance and attendance of divine offices in the Church, whereto they were deputed by the bishop that ordained them, to be deprived both of the communion and the honour of their order, if they persisted in their obstinacy and rebellion. So strict

^f Syn. Epist. lxvii. (p. 216. A 10. Paris. 1640.) Περινοστοῦσί τινες βακαντίβοι παρ’ ἡμῖν (ἀνίξῃ γάρ μου μικρὸν ὑποβαρβαρίσαντος, ἵνα διὰ τῆς συνηθεστέρας τῇ πολιτείᾳ φωνῆς τὴν ἐνίῳν κακίαν ἐμφατικώτερον παραστήσαιμι) οὗτοι καθέδραν μὲν ἀποδεδειγμένην ἔχειν οὐ βούλονται· οἷγε τὴν οὖσαν ἀπολειόπασσι, οὐ κατὰ συμφορὰν, ἀλλ’ ἀσθαίρετοι μετανάσται γινόμενοι· καρποῦνται δὲ τὰς τιμὰς, ἐκὲι περινοστοῦντες, ὅπου κερδαλέωτερον.

^g Conc. Agathen. c. lii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1392.) Presbytero, aut diacono, sine antistitis sui epistolis ambulanti communionem nullus impendat.

^h Conc. Epaonens. c. vi.

ⁱ Conc. Valentin. c. v. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1619.) Vagus atque instabilis clericus, si episcopi, a quo ordinatus est, præceptis non obedierit, ut in delegata sibi ecclesia officium dependat assiduum, quousque in vitio permanserit, et communione et honore privetur.

were the laws of the ancient Church in tying the inferior clergy to the service of that church, to which they were first appointed, that they might not, upon any account, move thence, but at the discretion of the bishop that ordained them.

SECT. VI.—*Laws against the Translations of Bishops from one See to another, how to be limited and understood.*

Nor were the bishops so arbitrary in this matter, but that they themselves were under a like regulation, and liable to laws of the same nature; for, as no clerk could remove from his own church without the license of his bishop, so neither might any bishop pretend to translate or move himself to another see, without the consent and approbation of a provincial council. Some few there were, who thought it absolutely unlawful for a bishop to forsake his first see, and betake himself to any other; because they looked upon his consecration to be a sort of marriage to his church, from which he could not divorce himself, nor take another, without incurring the crime of spiritual adultery. To this purpose they wrested that passage of St. Paul, "A bishop must be the husband of one wife;" taking it in a mystical and figurative sense, as St. Jerome¹ informs us. But this was but the private opinion of one or two authors, which never prevailed in the Catholic Church; whose prohibition of the translation of bishops was not founded upon any such reasons, but was only intended as a cautionary provision, to prevent the ambition of aspiring men, that they might not run from lesser bishoprics to greater, without the authority of a provincial synod, which was the proper judge in such cases. Some canons, indeed, seem to forbid it, absolutely and universally, as a thing not to be allowed in any case. The Council of Nice^k and Sardica^l, and

¹ Hieron. Ep. lxxxiii. ad Oceanum. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 417. A 8.) Quidam coacte interpretantur uxores pro ecclesiis, viros pro episcopis debere accipi, &c.

^k Conc. Nic. c. xv. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 36.) Διὰ τὸν πολλὸν τάραχον καὶ τὰς στάσεις τὰς γινομένας, ἔδοξε παντάπασι περιαιρεθῆναι τὴν συνήθειαν τὴν παρὰ τὴν κανόνα εὐρεθῆσαν ἐν τισι μέρεσιν ὥστε ἀπὸ πόλεως εἰς πόλιν μὴ μεταβαίνειν, μήτε ἐπίσκοπον, μήτε πρεσβύτερον, μήτε διάκονον· εἰ δὲ τις μετὰ τὸν τῆς ἁγίας καὶ μεγάλης συνόδου ὅρον, τοιοῦτον τινὶ ἐπιχειρήσειεν, ἢ ἐπιδοίῃ αὐτὸν πράγματι τοιοῦτον, ἀκυρωθήσεται ἐξ ἅπαντος τὸ

some others, prohibit it without any exception or limitation ; but other canons restrain it to the case of a bishop's intruding himself into another see by some sinister arts, without any legal authority from a provincial synod. So these, called the Apostolical Canons^m, distinguish upon the matter : " It shall not be lawful for a bishop to leave his diocese, and invade another, though many of the people would compel him to it : unless there be a reasonable cause, as that he may the more advantage the Church by his preaching ; and then he shall not do it of his own head, but by the judgment and entreaty of many bishops, that is, a provincial synod." The fourth Council of Carthage distinguishesⁿ much after the same manner : " A bishop shall not remove himself from an obscure to a more honourable place, out of ambition ; but, if the advantage of the Church require it, he may be translated, by the order and decree of a provincial synod." Schelstrate^o, and some other learned persons, think, that these canons were a correction of the former, the one allowing what the other had positively forbidden. But this is not at all probable : it is more reasonable to think, that though, in the Nicene and Sardican canons, these exceptions are not expressed, yet they are to be understood ; because the Council of Nice itself translated Eustathius, bishop of Berea, to Antioch, as Mr.

κατασκευάσμα, καὶ ἀποκατασταθήσεται τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἣ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἢ ὁ πρεσβύτερος χειροτονήθη.

^l Conc. Sardic. c. i. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 628.) "Ἵνα μηδενὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐξῆ ἀπὸ πόλεως μικρᾶς εἰς ἑτέραν πόλιν μεθίστασθαι.—Conc. Antioch. c. xxi. (ibid. p. 571.) 'Επίσκοπον ἀπὸ παροικίας ἑτέρας εἰς ἑτέραν μὴ μεθίστασθαι, μήτε αὐθαίρετως ἐπιθρίπτοντα ἑαυτὸν, μήτε ἀπὸ λαῶν ἐκβιαζόμενον, μήτε ὑπὸ ἐπισκόπων ἀναγκαζόμενον, κ. τ. λ. — Concil. Carth. III. c. xxxviii. (ibid. p. 1172.) Non liceat fieri rebaptizationes et reordinationes vel translationes episcoporum.

^m Can. Apost. c. xiv. (xiii.) 'Επίσκοπον μὴ ἐξείναι καταλείψαντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παροικίαν ἑτέρα ἐπιπηδᾶν, κὰν ὑπὸ πλειόνων ἀναγκάζηται· εἰ μὴ τις εὐλογος αἰτία ἢ ἡ τοῦτο βιαζομένη αὐτὸν ποιεῖν, ὥς πλέον τι κέρδος, δυναμένου αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐκείσε λόγῳ εὐσεβείας συμβάλλεσθαι· καὶ τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλὰ κρίσει πολλῶν ἐπισκόπων καὶ παρακλήσει μεγίστη.

ⁿ Conc. Carth. IV. c. xxvii. (tom. ii. p. 1202.) Ut episcopus de loco ignobili ad nobilem per ambitionem non transeat.—Sane si id utilitas ecclesiæ fiendum poposcerit, decreto pro eo clericorum et laicorum episcopis porrecto, per sententiam synodi transferatur.

^o Schelstr. de Concil. Antioch. c. xxi. p. 614.

Pagi^p rightly observes, out of Sozomen^q, and other historians of the Church; which had been to break and affront their own rule, at the very first, had it meant that it should not be lawful, in any case, to translate a bishop from one see to another. We must conclude, then, that the design of all these canons was the same, to prevent covetousness, ambition, and love of pre-eminence, in aspiring men, who thrust themselves into other sees by irregular means, by a faction, or the mere favour of the people, without staying for the choice or consent of a synod: which was the common practice of the Arian party in the time of Constantine and Constantius, and occasioned so many laws to be made against it. But, when a synod of bishops, in their judgment and discretion, thought it necessary to translate a bishop from a lesser to a greater see, for the benefit and advantage of the Church, there was no law to prohibit this, but there are a thousand instances of such promotions to be met with in ancient history; as Socrates^r has observed long ago, who has collected a great many instances to this purpose. Those that please, may see more in Cotelierius^s and Bishop Beveridge^t; for, in so plain a case, I do not think it necessary to be more particular in my account of them, but proceed with other laws of the Church, which concerned the clergy.

SECT. VII.—*Laws concerning the Residence of the Clergy.*

The next laws of this nature were such as concerned the residence of the clergy: the design of which was the same as

^p Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 324, n. xxii. Paris. 1689. (n. xxvi. p. 403, edit. Antuerp. 1705.) Eustathius, anno sequenti episcopus Antiochenus dictus, cum Theophanes de synodo Nicæna loquens dicat: Vidua pontifice Antiochensium ecclesia synodus Eustathium confirmavit Berœæ in Syria episcopum, quod ante Theophanem Sozomenus, lib. i. c. ii. in litteras miserat.

^q Sozom. lib. i. c. ii. Τῆς δὲ (ἐκκλησίας) Ἀντιοχείων τῶν πρὸς τῷ Ὁρόντῃ, μετὰ Ῥωμανὸν οὕτω τις ἐπετέτραπτο τῶν διωγμῶν, ὥς εἰκὸς, μὴ συγχωρησάντων γενέσθαι τὴν χειροτονίαν· οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν δὲ οἱ εἰς Νίκαιαν συνελθὺντες, θαυμάσαντες τοῦ βίου καὶ τῶν λόγων Εὐστάθιον, ἄξιον ἰδοκίμασαν τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου ἡγεῖσθαι· καὶ ἐπίσκοπον ὄντα τῆς γείτονος Βερόοιας, εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν μετέστησαν. (Reading, p. 11. C.)

^r Socrat. lib. vii. c. xxxvi.

^s Cotelier. not. in Can. Apost. c. xiv. p. 438, n. 6.

^t Beverig. not. in cumd. Canon. pp. 22, 23.

all the former,—to bind them to constant attendance upon their duty; and these laws equally concerned bishops, and all the inferior clergy. The Council of Sardica^v has several canons relating to this matter. The seventh decrees, that no bishop should go, εἰς στρατόπεδον, to the emperor's court, unless the emperor, by letter, called him thither. The next canon^u provides, that “whereas there might be several cases which might require a bishop to make some application to the emperor in behalf of the poor, or widows, or such as fled for sanctuary to the Church, and condemned criminals, and the like; in such cases the deacons, or subdeacons of the Church, were to be employed, to go in his name, that the bishop might fall under no censure at court, as neglecting the business of his Church.” Justinian^w has a law of the same import with these canons, that “no bishop should appear at court, upon any business of his Church, without the command of the prince; but, if any petition was to be preferred to the emperor, relating to any civil contest, the bishop should depute his *apocrisarius*, or ‘resident at court,’ to act for him; or send his *œconomus*, or some other of his clergy, to solicit the cause in his name, that the Church might neither receive damage by his absence, nor be put to unnecessary expenses.” Another canon^x of the Council of Sardica limits the absence of a bishop

^v Conc. Sardic. c. vii. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 633.) Μηδένα ἐπίσκοπον χρῆναι εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον παραγίνεσθαι, παρεκτός τούτων, οὗς ἂν ὁ εὐλαβέστατος βασιλεὺς τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ γράμμασι μετακαλοῖτο.

^u Can. viii. (in edit. Labbei ex parte, adhuc can. vii.) Ἐπειδὴν πολλάκις συμβαίνει τινὰς οἴκτου δεομένους καταφυγεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, διὰ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀμαρτήματα εἰς περιορισμὸν ἢ νῆσον καταδικασθέντας, ἢ δ' αὖ πάλιν οἰαζέσθαι ἀποφάσει ἐκδεδομένους· τοῖς τοιούτοις μὴ ἀρνητέαν εἶναι τὴν βοήθειαν, ἀλλὰ χωρὶς μελησμοῦ καὶ ἀνευ τοῦ διστάσαι τοῖς τοιούτοις αἰτεῖσθαι συγχώρησιν· . . . καὶ τοῦτο ἢ ἀγχίνοια ὑμῶν κρινάτω, ἢ ἐπειδὴ ἔδοξε, διὰ τὸ μὴ πίπτειν ὑπὸ καταγνώσιν τινα τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἀφικνούμεγον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, εἰ τινες αὐτῶν τοιαύτας ἔχοιεν δεήσεις, οἷων ἐπάνω ἐπεμνήσθημεν, διὰ ἰδίου διακόνου ἀποστέλλοιεν· τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπῆρξεν τὸ πρόσωπον οὐκ ἐπίφθονον τυγχάνει, καὶ τὰ παρασχεθσόμενα θᾶττον διακομισθῆναι δυνήσεται.

^w Justin. Novel. vi. c. ii. tot.

^x Conc. Sardic. c. xi. Μέννησθε καὶ ἐν τῷ προάγοντι χρόνῳ τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν κεκριέναι, ἵνα εἰ τις λαϊκὸς ἐν πόλει διάγων, τρεῖς κυριακάς ἡμέρας ἐν τρισὶν ἑβδομάσι μὴ συνέρχοιτο, ἀποκινῶτο τῆς κοινωνίας· εἰ τοίνυν περὶ τῶν λαϊκῶν τοῦτο τεθίσκισται, οὐ χρὴ οὐδὲ πρέπει, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ συμφέρι ἐπίσκοπον,

from his church to three weeks, unless it were upon some very weighty and urgent occasion; and another canon⁷ allows the same time for a bishop, who is possessed of an estate in another diocese, to go and collect his revenues, provided he celebrate divine service, every Lord's day, in the country church where his estate lies. And by two other canons⁸ of that council, presbyters and deacons are limited to the same term of absence, and tied to the forementioned rules, in the same manner as bishops were. The Council of Agde⁹ made the like order for the French Churches; decreeing, "that a presbyter or deacon, who was absent from his church for three weeks, should be three years suspended from the communion." In the African churches, upon the account of this residence, every bishop's house was to be near the church^b, by a rule of the fourth Council of Carthage. And, in the fifth Council, there is another rule^c, that "every bishop shall have

εἰ μηδεμίαν βαρυντέραν ἀνάγκην ἔχει, ἢ πράγμα δυσχερές, ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀπολείπεσθαι τῆς ἐαυτοῦ ἐκκλησίας, καὶ λυπεῖν τὸν ἐμπεπιστευμένον αὐτῷ λαόν.

⁷ Conc. Sardic. c. xii. Τινὲς τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ συνεπισκόπων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἐν αἷς ἐπίσκοποι καθίστανται, δοκοῦσι κεκτῆσθαι σφόδρα ὀλίγα ὑπάρχοντα ἴδια· ἐν ἐτέροις δὲ τόποις κτήσεις μεγάλας, ἐξ ὧν καὶ ἐπικουρεῖν δυνατόι εἰσι τοῖς πένησιν· οὕτως οὖν αὐτοῖς συγχωρητέον εἶναι κρίνω, ἵνα εἰ μέλλουεν εἰς τὰς ἐαυτῶν παραγίνεσθαι κτήσεις, καὶ τὴν συγκομιδὴν τῶν καρπῶν ποιῆσθαι, τρεῖς κυριακάς ἡμέρας, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ, τρεῖς ἑβδομάδας ἐν τοῖς ἐαυτῶν κτήμασιν αὐτοὺς διάγειν, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀχχιστενούσῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐν ᾗ πρεσβύτερος συνάγοι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ χωρὶς συνελεύσεως αὐτὸν δοκεῖ εἶναι, συνέρχεσθαι καὶ λειτουργεῖν, καὶ μὴ συνεχίστερον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ ἐστὶν ἐπίσκοπος, παραγίγναιτο. Τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὰ οἰκεία αὐτοῦ πράγματα παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπουσίαν οὐδεμίαν ὑπομενεῖ ζημίαν, καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀλαζονείας καὶ τοῦ τύφου ἐκλείνειν δόξει ἐγκλημα.

⁸ Conc. Sard. c. xvi. 'Αίτιος ἐπίσκοπος εἶπεν· οὐκ ἄγνοεῖτε ὅποια καὶ πηλίκη τυγχάνει ἡ τῶν Θεσσαλονικίων μητρόπολις· πολλάκις τοιγαροῦν εἰς αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ἐτέρων ἐπαρχῶν πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι παραγίνονται, καὶ οὐκ ἀρκοῦμενοι βραχέος διαγωγῇ χρόνου, ἐναπομένονσι, καὶ ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον αὐτόθι ποιοῦντες διατελοῦσιν· ἡ μὲν οὖν μετὰ πλείστον χρόνον εἰς τὰς ἐαυτῶν ἐπανεῖναι ἐκκλησίας ἀναγκάζονται· περὶ τούτων οὖν ὀριστίον. 'Οσῖος ἐπίσκοπος εἶπεν· οὗτοι οἱ ὅροι, οἱ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων ὠρισμένοι, φυλαττέσθωσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν προσώπων.—Can. xvii., quem auctor simul adlegat, nihil in rem presentem habet.

^a Conc. Agathen. c. lxiv. Diaconus vel presbyter, si per tres hebdomadas ab ecclesia sua defuerit, triennio a communione suspendatur.

^b Conc. Carth. IV. c. xiv. (tom. ii. p. 1201.) Ut episcopus non longe ab ecclesia hospitium habeat.

^c Ibid. V. c. v. Placuit ut nemini sit facultas, relicta principali cathedra, ad ali-

his principal or cathedral church, which he shall not leave, to betake himself to any other church in his diocese; nor continue upon his private concerns, to the neglect of his cure, and hindrance of his frequenting the cathedral church." From this it appears, that the city church was to be the chief place of the bishop's residence and cure; and Cabassutius^d, in his remarks upon this canon, reflects upon the French bishops, as transgressing the ancient rule, in spending the greatest part of the year upon their pleasure in the country. Yet there is one thing that seems a difficulty in this matter; for, Justinian^e says, "No bishop shall be absent from his church above a whole year, unless he has the emperor's command for it;" which implies, that a bishop might be absent from his bishopric a year in ordinary cases, and more, in extraordinary. But, I conceive, the meaning of this is, that he might be absent a year during his whole life; not year after year; for that would amount to a perpetual absence, which it was not the intent of the law to grant, but to tie them up to the direct contrary; except the prince, upon some extraordinary affair, thought fit to grant them a particular dispensation.

SECT. VIII.—*Of Pluralities, and the Laws made about them.*

Another rule, grounded upon the same reasons with the former, was the inhibition of pluralities, which concerned both bishops and the inferior clergy. As to bishops, it appears plainly, from St. Ambrose, that it was not thought lawful for a bishop to have two churches. For, speaking of those words of the Apostle, "A bishop must be the husband of one wife," he says, "If we look only^f to the superficies of the letter, it forbids a bigamist to be ordained bishop; but, if we penetrate

quam ecclesiam in diœcesi constitutam se conferre: vel in re propria diutius quam oportet constitutum, curam vel frequentationem propriæ cathedræ negligere.

^d Cabassut. Notit. Conc. c. xlv. (p. 194, edit. Venet. 1703.)

^e Justin. Novel. vi. c. ii. Κακείνó γε μήν προσδιορίζομεν, ὥστε μηδένα τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων ἔξω τῆς καθ' αὐτὸν ἐκκλησίας, πλείον ἢ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὅλον ἀπολιμπάνεσθαι, πλὴν εἰ τοῦτο κατὰ βασιλικὴν γένοιτο κέλευσιν.

^f Ambros. de Dignit. Sacerd. c. iv. Si ad superficiem tantam litteræ respiciamus, prohibet bigamum episcopum ordinari: si vero ad altiorem sensum conscendimus, inhihet episcopum duas usurpare ecclesias.

a little deeper, to the profounder sense, it prohibits a bishop to have two churches." That is, wherever there were two dioceses before, it was not lawful for one bishop to usurp them both, except where the wisdom of the Church and state thought it more convenient to join them into one. And it is remarkable, that though there be many instances of bishops removing from lesser sees to greater, yet there is no example in all ancient history, that I remember, of any such bishops holding both together, no, not among the Arians themselves, who were the least concerned in observing rules of any other. As to the case of the inferior clergy, we must distinguish betwixt diocesan and parochial churches, and between the office and the benefit in parochial churches. The circumstances and necessities of the Church might sometimes require a presbyter or deacon to officiate in more than one parochial church, when there was a scarcity of ministers; but the revenues of such churches did not thereupon belong to him, because they were paid into the common stock of the city or cathedral church; from whence he had his monthly or yearly portion, in the division of the whole, as has been noted before. And this makes it further evident, that in those early ages, there could be no such thing as plurality of benefices, but only a plurality of offices in the same diocese, within such a district as that a man might personally attend and officiate in two parochial churches. But then, as to different dioceses, it being ordinarily impossible that a man should attend a cure in two dioceses, the canons are very express in prohibiting any one from having a name in two churches, or partaking of the revenues of both. The Council of Chalcedon^s has a peremptory canon to this purpose: "It shall not be lawful for any clergyman to have his name in the church-roll or cata-

^s Conc. Chalced. c. x. (tom. iv. p. 759.) Μὴ ἐξείναι κληρικῶ ἐν δύο πόλεων καταλέγεσθαι ἐκκλησίαις κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ, ἐν ᾧ τε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐχειροτονήθη καὶ ἐν ᾧ προσέφυγεν, ὡς μίζονι δῆθεν, διὰ δόξης κενῆς ἐπιθυμίαν· τοὺς δὲ γε τοῦτο ποιοῦντας ἀποκαθίστασθαι τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐν ᾧ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐχειροτονήθησαν, καὶ ἐκεῖ μόνον λειτουργεῖν· εἰ μέντοι ἤδη τις μετετίθη ἐξ ἄλλης εἰς ἄλλην ἐκκλησίαν, μηδὲν τοῖς τῆς προτέρας ἐκκλησίας ἦτοι τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὴν μαρτυρίων, ἢ πτωχείων, ἢ ξενοδοχείων, ἐπικοινωνεῖν πράγμασι· τοὺς δὲ γε τολμῶντας μετὰ τὸν ὅρον τῆς μεγάλης καὶ οἰκουμένης ταύτης συνόδου πράττειν τι τῶν νῦν ἀπηγορευομένων, ὥρισεν ἡ ἀγία σύνοδος, ἐκπίπτειν τοῦ οἰκείου βαθμοῦ.

logue of two cities at the same time, that is, in the church where he was first ordained, and any other to which he flies, out of ambition, as to a greater church; but all such shall be returned to their own church, where they were first ordained, and only minister there. But if any one is regularly removed from one church to another, he shall not partake of the revenues of the former church, or of any oratory, hospital, or alms-house belonging to it. And such as shall presume, after this definition of this great and oecumenical council, to transgress in this matter, are condemned to be degraded by the holy synod." And that none might pretend, under any other notion, to evade this law, the same rule was made for monasteries, that one abbot should not preside over two monasteries at the same time. Which provision is made by the Council of Agde^h and Epone, and confirmed by the imperial laws of Justinianⁱ, who inserted it into his Code. Now, the design of all these laws was to oblige the clergy to constant attendance upon their duty in the church where they were first ordained; from which, if they once removed, whether with license, or without, to any other diocese, they were no longer to enjoy any dividend in the church or diocese to which they first belonged. And this rule continued for several ages after the Council of Chalcedon, being renewed in the second Council of Nice^j, and other later Councils.

^h Conc. Agath. c. lvii. Unum abbatem duobus monasteriis interdicimus præsidere. Vid. eamdem legem in Conc. Epæonensi, c. ix. (ibid. p. 1577.)

ⁱ Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. iii. de Episc. leg. xl. Non sit vero abbas duorum monasteriorum.

^j Conc. Nicæn. II. c. xv. (tom. xv. p. 609.) Κληρικός ἀπὸ τοῦ παρόντος μὴ κατατασέσθω ἐν δυσὶν ἐκκλησίαις· ἐμπορίας γὰρ καὶ αἰσχροκερδείας ἴδιον τοῦτο, καὶ ἀλλότριον ἐκκλησιαστικῆς συνηθείας· ἡκούσαμεν γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς κυριακῆς φωνῆς, ὅτι οὐ δύναται τις δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεῦν· ἢ γὰρ τὸν ἑνα μισήσει, καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀγαπήσει· ἢ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἀντιτίθεται, καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου καταφρονήσει· ἕκαστος οὖν κατὰ τὴν ἀποστολικὴν φωνὴν, ἐν ᾗ ἐκλήθη, ἐν τούτῳ ὀφείλει μένειν, καὶ προσεδρεύειν ἐν μιᾷ ἐκκλησίᾳ· τὰ γὰρ δι' αἰσχροκερδεῖαν γινόμενα ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλότρια τοῦ Θεοῦ καθιστή· κασι· πρὸς δὲ τὴν τοῦ βίου τούτου χρεῖαν ἐπιτηδεύματα εἰσι διάφορα· ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰ τις βούλοιο, τὰ χειρώδῃ τοῦ σώματος ποριζέσθω· ἔφη γὰρ ὁ ἀπόστολος, ταῖς χρεῖαις μου καὶ τοῖς οὐσι μετ' ἐμοῦ ὑπηρέτησαν αἱ χεῖρες αὐταὶ· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ θεοφυλάκτῳ πόλει· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔξω χωρίοις, διὰ τὴν ἔλλειψιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, παραχωρεῖσθω.

SECT. IX.—*Laws prohibiting the Clergy to take upon them Secular Business and Offices.*

In pursuance of the same design, to keep the clergy strict and constant to their duty, laws were also made to prohibit them from following any secular employment, which might divert them too much from their proper business and calling. Among those called the Apostolical Canons, there are three to this purpose: one of which^k says, “No bishop, presbyter, or deacon, shall take upon him any worldly cares, under pain of degradation.” Another says^l, “No bishop or presbyter shall concern himself in any secular offices or administrations, that he may have more time to attend the needs and business of the Church; and this under the same penalty of degradation.” The last^m says, “A bishop, presbyter, or deacon, that busies himself in any secular office, and is minded to hold both a place in the Roman government and an office in the Church, shall be deposed; for the things of Cæsar belong to Cæsar, and the things of God to God.” Balsamon and Zonaras take this canon to mean only the prohibition of holding military offices, because it uses the word *στρατεία*: but I have showed before, out of Gothofred, and others, that the word *στρατεία*, and ‘militia,’ are used by the Romans, in a larger signification, to denote all kinds of secular offices, as well civil as military; and, therefore, they more rightly interpret this canonⁿ, who understand it as a prohibition of holding any secular office,

^k Can. Apost. c. vii. (can. vi. edit. Labb.) ‘Επίσκοπος, ἡ πρεσβύτερος, ἡ διάκονος κοσμικὰς φροντίδας μὴ ἀναλαμβάνειτω· εἰ δὲ μὴ, καθαιρείσθω.

^l Ibid. c. lxxxi. (lxxx.) Εἴπομεν, ὅτι οὐ χρή ἐπίσκοπον, ἡ πρεσβύτερον καθίεναι λατὸν εἰς δημοσίας διοικήσεις, ἀλλὰ προσευκαίρειν ταῖς ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς χρείαις· ἡ πεπιθέσθω οὖν τοῦτο μὴ ποιεῖν, ἡ καθαιρείσθω· οὐδεὶς γὰρ δύναται δισὶ κυρίοις δουλεῦν, κατὰ τὴν κυριακὴν παρακίλευσιν.

^m Ibid. c. lxxxiii. (lxxxii.) ‘Επίσκοπος, ἡ πρεσβύτερος, ἡ διάκονος στρατεία σχολάζων, καὶ βουλόμενος ἀμφότερα κατέχειν, Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀρχὴν, καὶ ἱερατικὴν διοίκησιν, καθαιρείσθω· τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Καίσαρος Καίσαρι· καὶ τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, Θεῷ.

ⁿ Bevereg. not. in Can. Apost. c. lxxxiii. p. 39. Nobis civilem quamlibet administrationem, magistratum, aut dignitatem heic indigitare videtur; propterea quod per Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀρχὴν proximis verbis explicatur, et τῇ ἱερατικῇ διοίκησει opponitur: unde et in epitome tam Logothetæ quam Aristeni, pro στρατεία σχολάζων, nihil substituitur præter ἀρχων, vis enim canonis in ea his solis verbis exhibetur, ἱερεὺς ἀρχων ἀνίερος.

civil as well as military, with an ecclesiastical one, as things incompatible and inconsistent with one another. Eusebius^o informs us, from the epistle of the Council of Antioch, that deposed Paulus Samosatensis, that, among other crimes alleged against him, this was one, that he took upon him secular places, and preferred the title of *ducenarius* before that of bishop. The *ducenarii*, among the Romans, were a sort of civil officers, so called, from their receiving a salary of 'two hundred' *sestertia* from the emperor, as Valesius observes^p, out of Dio. And this makes it plain, that the intent of the canons was, to prohibit the clergy from meddling with civil offices as well as military. Only in some extraordinary cases, where the matter was a business of great necessity, or charity, we meet with an instance or two of a bishop joining an ecclesiastical and civil office together without any censure: as Theodoret^q notes of the famous Jacobus Nisibensis, that he was both bishop and prince, or governor of Nisibis, or Antioch in Mygdonia, a city in the confines of the Persian and Roman empires. Theodoret represents him as a man of great fame in his country for his miracles, by which he sometimes relieved the city when besieged by the Persians; and it is probable, in regard to this, the emperors Constantine and Constantius pitched upon him as the properest person to take the government of the city upon him; being a place in great danger, and very much exposed to the incursions of the Persians. But such instances are but rarely met with in ancient history.

SECT. X.—*Laws prohibiting the Clergy to be Tutors and Guardians, how far extended.*

In some times and places, the laws of the Church were so

^o Euseb. lib. vii. c. xxx. p. 229. B. (Reading, p. 316. A 7.) Κοσμικὰ ἀξιώματα ὑποδύμενος, καὶ δουκενάριος μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπίσκοπος θέλων καλεῖσθαι.

^p Vales. in loc. De Procuratoribus Ducenariis vide quæ scripsit Salmasius in notis ad Historiam Augustam. Sic dicebantur Procuratores, qui ducenta sestertia annui salarii nomine accipiebant a Principe; ut clare docet Dio in lib. iii. p. 506.

^q Theodor. lib. ii. c. xxx. Νίσιβις, ἣν Ἀντιόχειαν Μυγδονίας τινὲς ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐν μεθορίῳ κείται τῆς Περσῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ταύτης ἐπίσκοπος ἦν καὶ πολιοῦχος καὶ στρατηγός Ἰάκωβος. (Reading, p. 103. E 6.)

strict about this matter, that they would not suffer a bishop or presbyter to be left trustee to any man's will, or a tutor or guardian in pursuance of it; because it was thought this would be too great an avocation from his other business. There is a famous case in Cyprian relating to this matter. He tells us, "it had been determined by an African synod, that no one should appoint any of God's ministers a curator or guardian by his will, because they were to give themselves to supplications and prayer, and to attend only upon the sacrifice and service of the altar." And, therefore, when one Geminus Victor had made Geminus Faustinus, a presbyter of the Church of Furni, guardian or trustee by his last will and testament, contrary to the decree of the foresaid council, Cyprian^r wrote to the Church of Furni, that they should execute the sentence of the council against Victor; which was, that no annual commemoration should be made of him in the Church, nor any prayer be offered in his name (according to the custom of the Church in those times) in the sacrifice of the altar. This was a sort of excommunication after death, by denying to receive such a person's oblations, and refusing to name him at the altar among others that made their offerings; and neither honouring him with the common prayers or praises that were then put up to God for all the faithful that were dead in the Lord. This was the punishment of such as transgressed this rule in the days of Cyprian. And, in the following ages, the canon was renewed, but with a little difference; for, though bishops were absolutely and universally forbidden^s to take this office upon them, both by the ecclesiastical and civil law, yet presbyters, and deacons, and all the inferior clergy, were allowed to be tutors and guardians to such persons as, by right of kindred^t, might claim this as a duty from

^r Cypr. Ep. lxvi. (Paris. 1726. p. 114, at bottom.) Ideo Victor, cum contra formam nuper in concilio a sacerdotibus datam, Geminium Faustinum presbyterum ausus sit tutorem constituere, non est quod pro dormitione ejus apud vos fiat oblatio, aut deprecatio aliqua nomine ejus in ecclesia frequentetur, etc.

^s Conc. Carth. IV. c. xviii. (tom. ii. p. 1201.) Ut episcopus tuitionem testamentorum non suscipiat.

^t Justin. Novel. cxviii. c. v. Τοὺς θεοφιλεστάτους ἐπισκόπους καὶ μοναχοὺς ἐκ μηδενὸς νόμου ἐπιτρόπους ἢ κουράτωρας οὐδὲποτε προσώπου γίνεσθαι συγχωροῦμεν· τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους καὶ ὑποδιακόνους τῇ δικαίᾳ

them: but still the prohibition stood in force against their being concerned in that office for any other, that were not of their relations, as appears from one of Justinian's Novels, which was made to settle this matter in the Church.

SECT. XI.—*Laws against their being Sureties, and pleading Causes at the Bar in behalf of themselves or their Churches.*

By other laws, they were prohibited from taking upon them the office of pleaders at the bar in any civil contest, though it were in their own case, or the concerns of the Church. Neither might they be bondsmen or sureties for any other man's appearance in such causes, because it was thought that such sort of incumbrances might bring detriment to the Church, in distracting her ministers from constant attendance upon divine service; as appears both from the foresaid Novel^a of Justinian, and some ancient canons^w, which forbid a clergyman to become a sponsor in any such cause, under the penalty of deprivation.

SECT. XII.—*Laws against their following Secular Trades and Merchandise.*

Now, as all these offices and employments were forbidden the clergy, upon the account of being consumers of their time, and hindrances of divine service, so there were some others prohibited, not only upon this account, but also upon the notion of their being generally attended with covetousness and filthy lucre. Thus, in the first Council of Carthage^x, we find several

νόμῳ τῆς συγγενείας εἰς ἐπιτροπὴν ἢ κουρατωρίαν καλουμένους, τὴν τοιαύτην λειτουργίαν ὑποδέχισθαι συγχωροῦμεν.

^u Justin. Novel. cxliiii. c. vi. 'Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ . . . ἢ ἐντολία δίκης, ἢ ἐγγυητὴν ὑπὲρ τούτων τῶν αἰτιῶν ἐπίσκοπον, ἢ οἰκονόμον, ἢ ἄλλον κληρικὸν οἰονδίποτε βαθμοῦ, ἢ μοναχὸν ἰδίῳ ὀνόματι ἢ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἢ τοῦ μοναστηρίου ὑπεσιέναι συγχωροῦμεν ἵνα μὴ διὰ ταύτης τῆς προφάσεως καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις οἴκοις ζημία γίνηται, καὶ αἱ θεῖαι ὑπηρεσίαι ἐμποδιζωνται.

^w Can. Apost. c. xx. (xix.) Κληρικὸς ἐγγύας διδοὺς, καθαιρεῖσθω.—Constit. Apost. lib. ii. c. vi. Ἔστω δὲ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος . . . μὴ ἐγγυώμενός τινα, ἢ συνηγορῶν δίκαις χρηματικαῖς.

^x Conc. Carth. I. c. vi. (tom. ii. Conc. in Append. p. 1824.) Qui serviunt Deo et adnexi sunt clero, non accedant ad actus et administrationem vel procurationem domorum.—Ibid. can. xi. Ipsi (laici) non liceat clericos nostros eligere apothecarios, vel ratiocinatores.

prohibitions of clergymen becoming stewards or accomptants to laymen. The third Council^γ forbids both that, and also their taking any houses or lands to farm; and, generally, all business that was disreputable and unbecoming their calling. The second Council of Arles^², likewise, forbids their farming other men's estates, or following any trade or merchandise for filthy lucre's sake, under the penalty of deprivation. The general Council of Chalcedon^α has a canon to the same purpose: "That no monk or clergyman shall rent any estate, or take upon him the management of any secular business, except the law called him to be guardian to orphans (in the case that has been spoken of before, as being their next relation), or else the bishop made him steward of the Church revenues, or overseer of the widows, orphans, and such others as stood in need of the Church's care and assistance." And here the reason given for making this canon is, "that some of the clergy were found to neglect the service of God, and live in laymen's houses as their stewards, for covetousness and filthy lucre's sake;" which was an old complaint made by Cyprian^β in that sharp invective of his against some of the bishops of his own age, who were so far gone in this vice of covetousness,

^γ Conc. Carth. III. c. xv. (ibid. p. 1169.) *Placuit, ut episcopi et presbyteri et diaconi non sint conductores, neque procuratores, neque ullo turpi vel inhonesto negotio victum querant.*

^² Conc. Arelat. I. al. II. c. xiv. (tom. iv. p. 1013.) *Si quis clericus pecuniam dederit ad usuram, aut conductor alienae rei voluerit esse, aut turpis lucri gratia aliquod genus negotiationis exercuerit, depositus a communione alienus fiat.*

^α Conc. Chalced. c. iii. (tom. iv. p. 755.) Ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν σύνοδον, ὅτε τῶν ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ κατελεγμένων τινὲς δι' οἰκίαν αἰσχροκέρδειαν ἀλλοτρίων κτημάτων γίνονται μισθωταί, καὶ πράγματα κοσμικὰ ἐργολαβοῦσι, τῆς μὲν τοῦ Θεοῦ λειτουργίας καταρῶνθαι, τοὺς δὲ τῶν κοσμικῶν ὑποτρέχοντες οἴκους, καὶ οὐσιῶν χειρισμὸς ἀναδεχόμενοι διὰ φιλαργυρίαν, ὥρισε τοίνυν ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος, μηδεὶνα τοῦ λοιποῦ, μὴ ἐπίσκοπον, μὴ κληρικόν, μὴ μονάζοντα, ἢ μισθοῦσθαι κτήματα, ἢ πράγματα, ἢ ἐπεισάγειν ἑαυτὸν κοσμικαῖς διοικήσεσι· πλὴν εἰ μὴ που ἐκ νόμων καλοῖτο εἰς ἀφελίκων ἀπαραίτητον ἐπιτροπὴν, ἢ ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἐπίσκοπος ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἐπιτρίψῃ φροντίζειν πραγμάτων, ἢ ὁρφανῶν καὶ χηρῶν ἀπρονοήτων, καὶ τῶν προσώπων τῶν μάλιστα τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς δεομένης βοήθειας.

^β Cyp. de Lapsis. (Bened. p. 183, line 6.) *Episcopi plurimi, divina procuratione contempta, procuratores rerum saecularium fieri, derelicta cathedra, plebe deserta, per alienas provincias oberrantes, negotiationis quæstuosæ nundinas aucupari, etc.*

as to neglect the service of God to follow worldly business, leaving their sees, and deserting their people, to ramble in quest of gainful trades in other countries, to the provocation of the Divine vengeance, and flagrant scandal of the Church. So that these being the reasons of making such laws, we are to judge of the nature of the laws themselves, by the intent and design of them; which was, to correct such manifest abuses, as covetousness, and neglect of divine service, which, either as cause or effect, too often attended the clergy's engagement of themselves in secular business.

SECT. XIII.—*What Limitations and Exceptions these Laws admitted of.*

But, in some cases, it was reasonable to presume, that their engagements of this nature were separate from these vices; for, in some times and places, where the revenues of the Church were very small, and not a competent maintenance for all the clergy, some of them, especially among the inferior orders, were obliged to divide themselves between the service of the Church and some secular calling. Others who found they had time enough to spare, negotiated out of charity, to bestow their gains in the relief of the poor, and other pious uses; and some who, before their entrance into orders, had been brought up to an ascetic and philosophic life, wherein they wrought at some honest manual calling with their own hands, continued to work in the same manner, though not in the same measure, even after they were made presbyters and bishops in the Church, for the exercise of their humility, or to answer some other end of a Christian life. Now, in all these cases, the vices complained of in the forementioned laws, as the reasons of the prohibition, had no share or concern; for such men's negotiations were neither the effects of covetousness, nor attended properly with any neglect of divine service, and, consequently, not within the prohibition and censure of the laws; for, first, both the laws of Church and state allowed the inferior clergy to work at an honest calling in cases of necessity, to provide themselves of a liberal maintenance, when the revenues of the Church could not do it.

In the fourth Council of Carthage^c, there are three canons, immediately following one another, to this purpose: that they should provide themselves of food and raiment at some honest trade or husbandry, without hindering the duties of their office in the Church; and such of them as were able to labour, should be taught some trade and letters together. And the laws of the state were so far from hindering this, that they encouraged such of the clergy to follow an honest calling, by granting them a special immunity from the *chrysargyrum*, or 'lustral tax,' which was exacted of all other tradesmen, as I have showed more at large in another^d place. Secondly, it was lawful also to spend their leisure hours upon any manual trade or calling, when it was to answer some good end of charity thereby: as that they might not be over burdensome to the Church; or might have some superfluities to bestow upon the indigent and needy; or even that they might set the laity a provoking example of industry and diligence in their callings; which were those worthy ends which the holy apostle, St. Paul, proposed to himself, in labouring with his own hands at the trade of tent-making; after whose example, many eminent bishops of the ancient Church were not ashamed to employ their spare hours in some honest labour, to promote the same ends of charity which the apostle so frequently inculcates. Thus, Sozomen^e observes of Zeno, bishop of Maiuma, in Palestine, that he lived to be a hundred years old; all which time he constantly attended, both morning and evening, the service of the Church, and yet found time to work at

^c Conc. Carth. IV. c. li. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 1204.) Clericus, quantumlibet verbo Dei eruditus, artificio victum quærat.—Can. lii. Clericus victum et vestimentum sibi artificio vel agricultura, absque offici sui detrimento, paret.—Can. lii. Omnes clerici, qui ad operandum validiores sunt, et artificium et litteras discant.

^d Book v. chap. iii. sect. vi.

^e Sozom. lib. vii. c. cxviii. (Reading's edit. p. 295. B.) Φασὶν αὐτὸν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς τεθεάμεθα, ἐπισκοποῦντα τὴν ἐν τῇ Μαίουμῃ ἐκκλησίαν, ἥδη γηραλίων καὶ ἀμφὶ τὰ ἑκατὸν ἔτη ὄντα, μηδεπώποτε ἐωθινῶν ἢ ἑσπερινῶν ἔμνων, ἢ ἄλλης λειτουργίας τοῦ Θεοῦ κατόπιν γεγόμενον, εἰ μήγε νόσος αὐτὸν ἐπίσχεν· ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ δὲ μοναχικῇ τὸν βίον ἄγων, λινῇ ἐσθῆτι ὑφαίνεν ἐπὶ μονήρους ἱστοῦ, ἐντεῦθεν τε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια εἶχε, καὶ ἄλλους ἐχορήγει· καὶ οὐ διέλιπεν ἄχρι τελευτῆς τὸ αὐτὸ διέπων ἔργον, καίπερ ἀρχαίῳσθητι τῶν ἀνὰ τὸ ἔθνος ὑπέρων πρωτεύων, καὶ λαῷ καὶ χρήμασι μεγίστης ἐκκλησίας προϊστάς.

the trade of a linen-weaver; by which he not only subsisted himself, but relieved others, though he lived in a rich and wealthy Church. Epiphanius makes a more general observation against the Massalian heretics (who were great encouragers of idleness), that not only all those of a monastic life, but also many of the priests of God^f, imitating their holy father in Christ, St. Paul, wrought with their own hands at some honest trade, that was no dishonour to their dignity, and consistent with their constant attendance upon their ecclesiastical duties; by which means they had both what was necessary for their own subsistence, and to give to others that stood in need of their relief. The author of the Apostolical Constitutions^g brings in the apostles recommending industry, in every man's calling, from their own example, that they might have wherewith to sustain themselves, and supply the needs of others; which, though it be not an exact representation of the apostles' practice (for we do not read of any other apostle labouring with his own hands, except St. Paul, whilst he preached the Gospel), yet it serves to show what sense the author had of this matter, that he did not think it simply unlawful for a clergyman to labour at some secular employ-

^f Epiph. Haeres. lxxx. Massal. n. vi. (Colou. 1682. vol. i. p. 1072. C.) *Καὶ γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἱερέων, καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ τοῦ κηρύγματος τοῦ λόγου μιμούμενοι τὸν ἅγιον μετὰ τὸν Θεὸν ἐν Χριστῷ πατέρα, φημὶ δὲ Παῦλον τὸν ἅγιον ἀπόστολον, καὶ αὐτοὶ, κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντες, ἀλλ' οἱ πλείους ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶν ἐργαζόμενοι, οἷαν δ' ἀναλόγως συμπρέπουσαν τῷ ἀξιώματι, καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς φροντίδος ἐνδελεχεῖα εὐροῖεν τέχνην, ὅπως μετὰ τοῦ λόγου καὶ τοῦ κηρύγματος ἡ συνείδησις χαίρῃ, καὶ διὰ χειρῶν ἰδίων καρποφοροῦσα, καὶ ἑαυτῇ ἐπαρκουμένη, τοῖς τε ἀδελφοῖς, καὶ ἐνδεομένοις τὴν μετὰ χεῖρας οἰκονομίαν· ἀπαρχῶν δὲ φημὶ, καὶ προσφορῶν, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν διὰ χειρῶν ἐργασμένων δι' ὑπερβολὴν διαθέσεις πρὸς Θεὸν, καὶ τοῖς πέντας ἐκουσίως μεταδιδούσα καὶ τοί γε μὴ ἀναγκαζομένων αὐτῶν, μήτε κατακρινομένων, ἀλλὰ δικαιούσης πόνους, καὶ ἐργασίαν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἔχόντων, καὶ κατὰ δικαιοσύνην σιτουμένων, δι' ὑπερβολὴν δὲ προαιρέσεως τοῦτο αὐτῶν ποιοῦντων.*

^g Constit. Apost. lib. ii. c. lxiii. *Οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐν πάσαις ταῖς χρεῖαις ἀόκως λειτουργεῖν σπουδάζετε· μετὰ πάσης σεμνότητος τοῖς ἔργοις ὑμῶν σχολάζετε, ὅπως ἐν παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ ὑμῶν ἡτε ἐπαρκούντες καὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς πενομένοις, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαρεῖν τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαν· καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς σχολάζοντες τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ὅμως καὶ τῶν ἐπεργιῶν οὐκ ἀμελοῦμεν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰσιν ἐξ ἡμῶν ἀλιεῖς· οἱ δὲ, σκηνοποιοί· οἱ δὲ, γῆς ἐργάται, πρὸς τὸ μηδέποτε ἡμᾶς ἀργοὺς εἶναι.*

ment, when the end was charity, and not filthy lucre; and, it is observable, that the imperial laws, for some time, granted the same immunity from the lustral tax to the inferior clergy, that traded with a charitable design to relieve others, as to those that traded, out of necessity, for their own maintenance; of both which I have given an account in another place. Thirdly, we have some instances of very eminent bishops, who, out of humility, and love of a philosophical and laborious life, spent their vacant hours in some honest business, to which they had been accustomed in their former days. Thus Ruffin^b, and Socrates^c, and Sozomen^d, tell us of Spyridon, bishop of Trimythus, in Cyprus, one of the most eminent bishops in the Council of Nice, a man famous for the gift of prophecy and miracles, that, having been a shepherd before, he continued to employ himself in that calling, out of his great humility, all his life; but, then, he made his actions, and the whole tenour of his life, demonstrate, that he did it not out of covetousness. For, Sozomen particularly notes, that whatever his product was, he either distributed it among the poor, or lent it, without usury, to such as needed to borrow, whom he trusted to take out of his storehouse what they pleased, and return what they pleased, without ever examining or taking any account of them. Fourthly, I observe, that those laws which were most severe against the superior clergy negotiating in any secular business, in cases of necessity allowed them a privilege which was equivalent to it,—that is, that they might employ others to factor for them, so long as they were not concerned in their own persons. For so the Council of Eliberis^e words it: “Bishops, presbyters, and deacons, shall not leave their station to follow a secular calling, nor rove into other provinces, after fairs and markets. But yet, to provide themselves a livelihood,

^b Ruffin. lib. i. c. v. Hic pastor ovium etiam in episcopatu positus permansit.

^c Socrat. lib. i. c. xii. p. 34. Διὰ δὲ ἀτυφίαν πολλήν, ἐχόμενος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐποίμαине καὶ τὰ πρόβατα.

^d Sozom. lib. i. c. xi. Ἔθος ἦν τούτῳ τῷ Σπυρίδονι, τῶν γινόμενων αὐτῷ καρπῶν, τοὺς μὲν πτωχοῖς διανέμειν, τοὺς δὲ προῖκα δανίζειν τοῖς ἰθὺλουσιν· οὔτε δὲ διδοῦς, οὔτε ἀπολαμβάνων, δι’ ἑαυτοῦ παρῆχεν ἢ ὑπεδέχετο· μόνον δὲ τὸ ταμῆον ἐπιδεικνύς, ἐπέτρεπε τοῖς προσιοῦσιν, ὅσον δέονται κομίζεσθαι, καὶ πάλιν ἀποδιδόναι ὅσον ᾗδεσαν κομισάμενοι. (p. 21. E 7.)

^e Concil. Illiber. c. xviii. al. xix. (tom. i. Conc. p. 975.)

they may employ a son, or a freeman, or a hired servant, or a friend, or any other ; and, if they negotiate, let them negotiate within their own province." So that all these laws were justly tempered with great wisdom and prudence ; that as, on the one hand, the service of God, and the needs of his ministers and servants, might be supplied together ; so, on the other, no encouragement should be given to covetousness in the clergy, nor any one be countenanced in the neglect of his proper business, by a license to lead a wandering, busy, distracted life, which did not become those that were dedicated to the sacred function. It is against these only, that all the severe invectives of St. Jerome¹, and others of the ancients^m, are levelled ; which the reader must interpret with the same limitations and distinction of cases, as we have done the public laws : the design of both being only to censure the vices of the rich, who, without any just reason or necessity, immersed themselves in the cares of a secular life, contrary to the rules and tenour of their profession.

SECT. XIV.—*Laws respecting their outward Conversation.*

Another sort of laws were made respecting their outward behaviour, to guard them equally against scandal in their character, and danger in their conversation. Such were the laws against corresponding and conversing too familiarly with Jews and Gentile philosophers. The Council of Eliberisⁿ forbids them to eat with the Jews, under pain of suspension. The Council of Agde^o has a canon to the same purpose, forbidding

¹ Hieron. Epist. ii. ad Nepot. (Vallars. i. p. 260. C 4.) *Negotiatorem Clericum, et ex inope divitem, ex ignobili gloriosum, quasi quamdam pestem fuge.*

^m Sulpic. Sever. Hist. lib. i. (Lips. 1709. p. 74.) (p. 30, edit. Amstel. 1656, 8.) (lib. i. c. xxiii. p. 82, edit. Lips. 1703.) *Tanta hoc tempore animas eorum habendi cupido, veluti tabes, incessit : inhiant possessionibus ; prædia excolunt ; auro incubant ; emunt venduntque ; quæstui per omnia student. At si qui melioris propositi videntur, neque possidentes neque negotiantes, quod est multo turpius, sedentes munera expectant, atque omne vitæ decus mercede corruptum habent, dum quasi venalem præferunt sanctitatem.*

ⁿ Conc. Illib. c. l. (tom. i. p. 976.) *Si quis clericus vel fidelis cum Judæis cibum sumserit, placuit eum a communione abstinere, ut debeat emendari.*

^o Conc. Agath. c. xl. (tom. iv. Conc. p. 1390.) *Omnes clerici, sive laici, Judæorum convivia evitent : nec eos ad convivium quisquam excipiat.*

them to give, as well as receive, an entertainment from the Jews; and those called the Apostolical Canons^p not only prohibit them to fast or feast with the Jews, but to receive τῆς ἑορτῆς ξένια, any of those portions or presents which they were used to send to one another upon their festivals. And the laws against conversing with Gentile philosophers were much of the same nature; for, Sozomen^q says, Theodotus, bishop of Laodicea, in Syria, excommunicated the two *Apollinariū*, father and son, because they went to hear Epiphanius the Sophist speak his hymn in the praise of Bacchus: which was not so agreeable to their character; the one being a presbyter, the other a deacon, in the Christian Church. It was in regard to their character, likewise, that other canons restrained them from eating or drinking in a tavern, except they were upon a journey, or some such necessary occasion required them to do it; for, among those called the Apostolical Canons^r, and the decrees of the Councils of Laodicea^s and Carthage^t, there are several rules to this purpose; the strictness of which is not so much to be wondered at, since Julian required the same caution in his heathen priests, that they should neither appear at the public theatres, nor in any taverns, under pain of deposi-

^p Can. Apost. c. lxx. Εἰ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἡ πρεσβύτερος, ἡ διάκονος, ἡ ὄλως τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν κληρικῶν νηστεύει μετὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἡ συνεορτάζει μετ' αὐτῶν, ἡ δέχοιτο παρ' αὐτῶν τὰ τῆς ἑορτῆς ξένια, ὡς αἶζυμα, ἡ τι τοιοῦτον, καθαιρεῖσθω· εἰ δὲ λαϊκός, ἀφορίζεσθω.

^q Sozom. lib. vi. c. xxv. (Reading's ed. p. 231. B.) "Ἐν Θεοδότῳ τὴν Λαοδικεῶν ἐκκλησίαν ἰθύναντος, κατ' ἐκείνο καιροῦ διαπρέπων Ἐπιφάνιος, ὁ σοφιστής, ἕμνον εἰς τὸν Διόνυσον παρῆεν· διδασκάλῳ δὲ αὐτῷ χρώμενος Ἀπολλινάριος, ἔτι γὰρ νέος ἦν, παρεγένετο τῷ ἀκροάσει σὺν τῷ πατρὶ· ὁ μὲν οὖν δὲ αὐτῷ, γραμματικὸς οὐκ ἄσκητος· . . . μαθὼν ταῦτα Θεόδοτος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, χαλεπῶς ἤνεγκε· . . . Ἀπολλινάριον ἀμφὺ τὴν ἀμαρτίαν δημοσίᾳ ἐλέγξας, τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀφώρισεν· ἦσθην γὰρ κληρικὸς, ὁ μὲν πατήρ, πρεσβύτερος· ὁ δὲ παῖς, ἀναγνώστης ἔτι τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν.

^r Can. Apost. c. liii. Εἰ τις κληρικὸς ἐν καπηλείῳ φωραθῇ ἐσθίων, ἀφορίζεσθω, παρὲς τοῦ ἐν πανδοχείῳ ἐν ὁδῷ δι' ἀνάγκην καταλύσαντος.

^s Conc. Laod. c. xxiv. (tom. i. Conc. p. 1501.) "Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἱερατικούς ἀπὸ πρεσβυτέρων ἕως διακόνων, καὶ ἐξῆς τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς τάξεως ἕως ὑπηρετῶν, ἡ ἀναγνώστων, ἡ ψαλτῶν, ἡ ἐπορκιστῶν, ἡ θυρωρῶν, ἡ τοῦ τάγματος τῶν ἀσκητῶν, εἰς καπηλεῖον εἰσέναι.

^t Conc. Carth. III. c. cxvii. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 1171.) Ut clerici, edendi vel bibendi causa, tabernae non ingrediantur, nisi peregrinationis necessitate compulsi.

tion from their office of priesthood; as may be seen in his Letter to Arsacius, high-priest of Galatia, which Sozomen^v records, and other fragments of his writings.

SECT. XV.—*Laws relating to their Habit.*

To this sort of laws, we may reduce those ancient rules which concerned the garb and habit of the ancient clergy; in which, such a decent mean was to be observed, as might keep them from obloquy and censure on both hands, either as too nice and critical, or too slovenly and careless, in their dress: their habit being generally to be such as might express the gravity of their minds, without any superstitious singularities; and their modesty and humility, without affectation. In this matter, therefore, their rules were formed according to the customs and opinions of the age; which are commonly the standard and measure of decency and indecency, in things of this nature. Thus, for instance, long hair and baldness, by shaving the head or beard, being then generally reputed indecencies in contrary extremes, the clergy were obliged to observe a becoming mediocrity between them. This is the meaning of that controverted canon of the fourth Council of Carthage, according to its true reading, "That a clergyman shall neither indulge long hair, nor shave his beard," *clericus nec comam nutriat*^u, *nec barbam radat*. The contrary custom being now in vogue in the Church of Rome, Bellarmine^w, and many other writers of that side, who will have all their ceremonies to be apostolical, and to contain some great mystery in them, pretend, that the word *radat* should be left out of that

^v Sozom. lib. v. c. xvi. "Ἐπειτα παραινέσων ἱερέα, μήτε θειάτρῳ παραβάλλειν, μήτε ἐν καπηλείῳ πίνειν, ἢ τέχνης τινὸς καὶ ἐργασίας αἰσχρᾶς καὶ ἰππονειδίστου προίστασθαι καὶ τοὺς μὴν πειθόμενους τιμαὶ τοὺς δὲ ἀπειθοῦντας ἐξώθει. (Reading, p. 187. B 3.)—Vid. Julian. Fragment. Epist. p. 547, edit. Paris. 1630, 4to.

^u Conc. Carth. IV. c. xlv. In editione Labbei deest *radat*, et ad calcem hæc notata leguntur: "Alias barbam *tondeat*: ita in lib. Gemblacensi. Alias barbam *radat*, additur in libro Gandensi S. Bavonis, titulo: 'Statuta ecclesiæ antiqua.' Pleraque autem exemplaria non habent *radat*, vel *tondeat*: ut sit sensus, clerico nec comam nec barbam nutriendam."—*Grabbus*.

^w Bellarm. de Monach. lib. ii. c. xl. Concilium Carthag. IV. can. xliii. prohibet clericos alere comam aut barbam.

ancient canon, to make it agreeable to the present practice. But the learned Savaro^x proves the other to be the true reading, as well from the Vatican, as many other manuscripts. And even Spondanus himself^y confesses as much ; and, there-upon, takes occasion to correct Baronius for asserting, that, in the time of Sidonius Apollinaris, it was the custom of the French bishops to shave their beards ; whereas the contrary appears, from one of Sidonius's Epistles^z, that their custom then was to wear short hair and long beards, as he describes his friend, Maximus Palatinus, who, of a secular, was become a clergyman ; he says, " His habit, his gait, his modesty, his countenance, his discourse, were all religious ; and, agreeable to these, his hair was short and his beard long." Custom, it seems, had then made it decent and becoming : and, upon that ground, the ancients are sometimes pretty severe against such of the clergy as transgressed in this point, as guilty of an indecency in going contrary to the rules and customs of

^x Savaro, Not. in Sidonium, lib. iv. epist. xxiv. p. 306. Sicut clerici comam tondebant, ita barbam promittebant. Concil. Carthag. IV. c. xlv. " Clericus neque comam nutriat, neque barbam radat." Sic manuscripta Vaticanæ bibliothecæ, S. Victoris Gandensis ; meus et Isidori liber Parisiis impressus, recte, quod *radat* erasum est ex decreto Burchardi, lib. ii. clxxiv. Iuonis parte vi. c. cclxv. et ex c. v. extra, de vita et honest. clericorum, a quodam malegeniato et feriato homine, qui una litura maximas altercationes excitavit, barbamque sacerdotibus erasit malo exemplo. Nam sive illud ex Concilio Carthaginensi sumtum sit, in illo legitur, " neque barbam radat : " si ex decretis Aniceti papæ, in illis nulla barbæ mentio est, xxiii. Distinct. Can. Claricis. Usuard. xv. Kal. Maii, Pontific. c. xii. Innocent. III. Ep. ii. ad Tardisinum, et Marianus Scotus in Chronico, qui omnes auctores inter sanctiones Aniceti barbæ rasionem non numerant. Martinus quidem Polonus in Chronico, et Petrus de Natalibus, lib. iv. c. lvii. constitutionem, qua coma et barba simul clericis prohibetur, Aniceto tribuunt, sed quo auctore nescio ; scio quidem et liquido scio, ex traditione apostolorum esse barbam alere. S. Clemens Constitut. Apostolic. lib. i. c. iii. Clemens Alex. Pædag. lib. iii. c. iii. D. Cyprianus, lib. iii. ad Quirinum, lxxxv. et Epiphanius, lib. iii. tom. ii. Hæres. lxxx. præterquam quod apostolorum icones omnem dubitationem abstergunt. Vid. Levit. xix.

^y Spond. Epit. Baron. an. 58, n. lviii. Sacerdotes Galliarum Sidonius (ep. xiii. lib. iv.) docet corona decoros et barba rasos fuisse : servare autem in his locorum consuetudinem, ut secundum ejusque provinciæ mores vel barbati vel attonsi incederent, velut lege quadam fuisse præscriptum, ex eo saltem facile potest perspicui, quod quum sæpiissime occidentales cum orientalibus ad concilia convenissent, nulla umquam exorta hujus rei gratia controversia reperitur, etc.

^z Sidon. lib. iv. ep. xxiv.

the Church; which were to be observed, though the thing was otherwise, in itself, of an indifferent nature.

SECT. XVI.—*The Tonsure of the Ancients very different from that of the Romish Church.*

The Romanists are, generally, as much to blame in their accounts of the ancient tonsure of the clergy, which they describe in such a manner as to make parallel to that shaving of the crown of the head, by way of mystical rite, which is now the modern custom; whereas, this was so far from being required as a matter of decency among the ancients, that it was condemned and prohibited by them; which may appear from that question which Optatus puts to the Donatists, when he asks them, where they had a command^a to shave the heads of the priests, as they had done by the Catholic clergy, in order to bring them to do public penance in the Church? In which case, as Albaspinæus rightly^b notes, it was customary to use shaving to baldness, and sprinkling of the head with ashes, as signs of sorrow and repentance. But the priests of God were not to be thus treated. Which shows, that the ancients then knew nothing of this, as a ceremony belonging to the ordination or life of the clergy; which is still more evident, from what St. Jerome says upon those words of Ezekiel, xlv. 20, “Neither shall they shave their heads, nor suffer their locks to grow long; they shall only poll their heads.” “This,” says he^c, “evidently demonstrates, that we

^a Optat. cont. Parmen. lib. ii. (Oberthür, 1789. vol. i. p. 41.) (p. 58, edit. Paris. 1631.) (p. 54, edit. Paris. 1679.) Docete, ubi vobis mandatum est radere capita sacerdotum, cum e contrario sint tot exempla proposita, fieri non debere, . . . Qui parare debebas aures ad audiendum, parasti novacula ad delinquendum.

^b Albaspin. in loc. p. 141, (ad calcem.) Pœnitentium capita radebantur, et cinere adspergebantur: itaque quum sacerdotibus pœnitentiam imponerent Donatistæ, eis capita radebant.

^c Hieron. lib. xiii. in Ezek. c. xlv. p. 668. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 1029.) Quod autem sequitur, “Caput suum non radent,” etc. perspicue demonstratur, nec rasis capitibus, sicut sacerdotes cultoresque Isidis atque Serapis, nos esse debere; nec rursum comam demittere, quod proprie luxuriosorum est, barbarorumque et militantium; sed ut honestus habitus sacerdotum facie demonstretur. Nec calvitium novacula esse faciendum; nec ita ad pressum tonden-

ought neither to have our heads shaved, as the priests and votaries of Isis and Serapis, nor yet to suffer our hair to grow long, after the luxurious manner of barbarians and soldiers, but that priests should appear with a venerable and grave countenance; neither are they to make themselves bald with a razor, nor poll their heads so close, that they may look as if they were shaven; but they are to let their hair grow so long, that it may cover their skin." It is impossible, now, for any rational man to imagine, that Christian priests had shaven crowns in the time of St. Jerome, when he so expressly says they had not, and that none but the priests of Isis and Serapis had so: but the custom was, to poll their heads, and cut their hair to a moderate degree; not for any mystery that was in it, but for the sake of decency and gravity, that they might neither affect the manners of the luxurious part of the world, which prided itself in long hair, nor fall under contempt and obloquy, by an indecent baldness, but express a sort of venerable modesty in their looks and aspects; which is the reason that St. Jerome assigns for the ancient tonsure.

SECT. XVII.—*Of the Corona Clericalis, and why the Clergy called Coronati.*

From hence, we may further conclude, that the ancient clergy were not called *coronati*, from their shaven crowns, as some would have it, since it is evident there was no such thing among them; but it seems rather a name given them, as Gothofred^d and Savaro^e conjecture, from the form of the

dum caput, ut rasorum similes esse videamur; sed in tantum capillos esse demittendos, ut operata sit cutis.

^d Gothofr. Com. in Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. leg. xxxviii. Cur 'coronatorum' appellatione clerici designentur, proclive dictu. Nempe ob *ξύρσμα γυροειδές*: 'corona' scilicet jam hoc tempore insigne clericorum; et exinde clericalis reverentiæ per Africam saltem, mox alibi nomen fuit; sic quidem ut quemadmodum purpuram, quæ principis *παράσημον* insigne erat, interdum pro principe et principali reverentia sumebant, ita et 'coronam' pro clero et reverentia clericali acciperent.

^e Savaro, Not. in Sidon. lib. vi. ep. iii. ad verba, 'Auctoritas coronæ tuæ;' Id est, dignitas episcopatus tui. D. Hieronymus Augustino ep. lxxxi. tot. 'Precor coronam tuam.' Ennodius Marcellino episcopo: 'Quia fiduciæ meæ coronam vestram non ambigo responsuram.' Idem Aureliano: 'Sed dormiunt

ancient tonsure, which was made in a circular figure, by cutting away the hair a little from the crown of the head, and leaving a round or circle hanging downwards. This, in some councils^f, is called *circuli corona*, and ordered to be used in opposition to some heretics, who (it seems) prided themselves in long hair, and the contrary custom; but I am not confident that this was the reason of the name *coronati*: it might be given the clergy in general out of respect to their office and character, which was always of great honour and esteem; for *corona* signifies honour and dignity, in a figurative sense; and it is not improbable but that the word was sometimes so used in this case, as has been noted before^g, in speaking of the form of saluting bishops, *per coronam*.

SECT. XVIII.—*Whether the Clergy were distinguished in their Apparel from Laymen.*

As to the kind or fashion of their apparel, it does not appear, for several ages, that there was any other distinction observed therein between them and the laity, save that they were more confined to wear that which was modest, and grave, and becoming their profession, without being tied to any certain garb, or form of clothing. Several councils require the clergy to wear apparel suitable to their profession; but they do not express any kind, or describe it otherwise, than that it should not border upon luxury, or any affected

apud coronam tuam propinquitatis privilegia, priusquam pater esse meruisti.' Idem Symmacho papæ: 'Dum sedem apostolicam coronæ vestræ cura moderetur.' 'Corona episcopalis' Valentiniano Aug., Novella de Episcopali Ordinatione, lib. vii. 'De minimis videlicet rebus coronam tuam maximisque consulerem,' ubi plura: interim observabis, papas exinde dictos, id est, 'coronatos,' si quibusdam fides habeatur. Remigius Antissiodorensis de celebratione missæ: 'Papa autem secundum quosdam dicitur admirabilis vel coronatus,' etc. Et tonsura clerica et episcopalis corona, Balsamoni, Synodi vi. in Trullo, c. xxi. *παπαλήτρη* dicitur corona clericatus in Pragmatico Constantini, ad Sylvest. papam.

^f Conc. Tolet. IV. xli. (tom. v. Conc. p. 1716.) Omnes clerici, vel lectores, sicut Levitæ et sacerdotes, detonso superius toto capite, inferius solam 'circuli coronam' relinquant: non sicut huc usque in Galliæ partibus facere lectores videntur, qui prolixis, ut laici, comis, in solo capitis apice modicum circulum tondent. Ritus enim iste in Hispania huc usque hæreticorum fuit, etc.

^g Book ii. chap. ix. sect. 5.

neatness, but rather keep a medium between finery and slovenliness. This was St. Jerome's direction to Nepotian^h, "That he should never wear black nor white clothing, for gaiety and slovenliness were equally to be avoided: the one savouring of niceness and delicacy; and the other, of vain-glory." Yet, in different places, different customs seem to have prevailed as to the colour of their clothing; for, at Constantinople, in the time of Chrysostom and Arsacius, the clergy commonly went in black, as the Novatians did in white; which appears from the dispute which Socrates speaks ofⁱ, between Sisinnius, the Novatian bishop, and one of Arsacius's clergy: "for," he says, "Sisinnius, going one day to visit Arsacius, the clergyman asked him, 'Why he wore a garment which did not become a bishop, and where it was written, that a priest ought to be clothed in white?' To whom he replied, 'You first show me where it is written that a bishop ought to be clothed in black.'" From this, it is easy to collect, that, by this time, it was become the custom at Constantinople for the clergy to wear black; and that, perhaps, to distinguish themselves from the Novatians, who affected (it seems) to appear in white. But we do not find these matters, as yet, so particularly determined or prescribed in any councils; for the fourth Council of Carthage^j requires the clergy to wear such apparel as was suitable to their profession; but does not particularise any further about it, save that they should not affect any finery or gaiety in their shoes or clothing; and the Council of Agde^k gives the very same

^h Hieron. Ep. ii. ad Nepot. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 264.) Vestes pullas æque devita, ut candidas. Ornatus, ut sordes, pari modo fugiendæ sunt; quia alterum delicias, alterum gloriam redolet, etc.

ⁱ Socrat. lib. vi. c. xxii. "Ἄλλοτε δὲ Ἀρσάκιον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον κατὰ τιμὴν ὁρῶν (Σισίννιος) ἠρωτήθη ὑπὸ τινος τῶν περὶ Ἀρσάκιον, διὰ τί ἀνοίκιον ἐπισκόπῳ ἐσθῆτα φοροῖν, καὶ ποῦ γέγραπται λευκὰ τὸν κερωμένον ἀμφιέννυσθαι· ὁ δὲ, σὺ πρότερον, ἔφη, εἰπέ ποῦ γέγραπται μέλαιναν ἐσθῆτα φορεῖν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον. (Reading, p. 286. D 10.)

^j Conc. Carth. IV. c. xlv. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 1204.) Clericus professionem suam et in habitu Dei et in inessu probet: et nec vestibus nec calceamentis decorem quaerat.

^k Conc. Agath. c. xx. (tom. iv. Conc. p. 1386.) Vestimenta vel calceamenta etiam eis, nisi quæ religionem deceant, uti vel habere non liceat.

direction. Baronius¹, indeed, is very earnest to persuade his readers, that bishops, in the time of Cyprian, wore the same habit that is now worn by cardinals in the Church of Rome, and such bishops as are advanced from a monastery to the episcopal throne; as if Cyprian had been a monk or a cardinal of the Church of Rome. But, as the learned editor^m of Cyprian's works observes, there is scarce any thing so absurd, that a man, who is engaged in a party cause, cannot persuade himself to believe, and hope to persuade others also; for is it likely, that bishops and presbyters should make their appearance in public in a distinct habit, at a time when tyrants and persecutors made a most diligent search after them, to put them to death? Do the clergy of the present Church of Rome use to appear so in countries, where they live in danger of being discovered and taken? But what shall we say to the writer of Cyprian's Passion, who mentions Cyprian'sⁿ *lacerna*, or *birrus*; and, after that, his *tunica*, or *dalmatica*; and, last of all, his *linea*, in which he suffered? Of which, Baronius makes the *linea* to be the bishop's rochet; and the *dalmatica*, or *tunica*, that which they now call the loose tunicle; and the *lacerna*, or *birrus*, the red silken vestment that covers the shoulders. Why, to all this, it may be said, that these are only old names for new things; for, besides the absurdity of thinking that Cyprian should go to his martyrdom in his

¹ Baron. Ann. cclxi. n. xliii. (Lucre, 1738. vol. iii. p. 104.) Cum Acta Cypriani passionis habeant, ipsum lacernum birrum complicuisse, et ad genua posuisse; illud fuisse perbreve, ac parvi negotii operam egisse demonstrant: nam non sic de tunica eum fecisse, sed diaconis dedisse tradunt. Ex his itaque jam exploratum haberi videtur, episcoporum fuisse antiquum habitum, ut post vestem superinduerent lineam, et desuper eam solutam tunicam, ac denique humeros tantum tegens et brachia lacernum birrum: quo genere indumenti hodie videmus uti sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinales atque episcopos illos, qui ex Regularibus ad eam dignitatem proveci sunt: Romanum vero Pontificem birro absque tunica super lineam, sed serico atque rufo, interdum vero albo pro temporis ratione.

^m Fell. Not. in Vit. Cyprian. p. 13, edit. Oxon. 1682. (p. 15, edit. Amstelodam. 1700.)

ⁿ Passio Cyprian. (Bened. p. cxlvii.) Cyprianus in agrum Sexti productus est, et ibi se lacerna birro exspoliavit, et genu in terra flexit, et in orationem se Domino prostravit. Et cum se dalmatica (al. tunica) exspoliasset, et diaconibus tradidisset, in linea stetit, et cœpit spiculatorem sustinere.

sacred and pontifical robes (which were not to be worn out of the church), it is evident these were but the names of those common garments, which many Christians then used without distinction.

SECT. XIX.—*A particular Account of the Birrus and Pallium.*

As to the *birrus*, it is evident that it was no peculiar habit of bishops; no, nor yet of the clergy. That it was not peculiar to bishops, appears from what St. Austin says of it, “that it was the common garment, which all his clergy wore, as well as himself; and, therefore, if any one presented him with a richer *birrus* than ordinary, he would not wear it: for^o, though it might become another bishop, it would not become him, who was a poor man, and born of poor parents. He must have such an one as a presbyter could have, or a deacon, or a subdeacon. If any one gave him a better, he was used to sell it; that, since the garment itself could not be used in common, the price of it, at least, might be common.” This shows plainly, that the *birrus* was not the bishop’s peculiar habit, but the common garment of all St. Austin’s clergy; and that this was no more than the common *tunica*, or coat worn generally by Christians in Afric, and other places, may appear from a canon of the Council of Gangra, made against Eustathius, the heretic, and his followers, who condemned the common habit^p, and brought in the use of a strange habit in its room. Now this common habit was the *birrus*, or βῆρος, as they call it, in the canon made against them, which runs in these words: “If any man^q uses the

^o Aug. Serm. l. de Diversis, (tom. x. p. 523.) (p. 15, edit. Amstel. 1700.) (Bened. vol. v. p. 1389. F.) Offerat mihi birrum pretiosum: forte decet episcopum, quamvis non deceat Augustinum, id est, hominem pauperem, de pauperibus natum. Modo dicturi sunt homines, quia inveni pretiosas vestes, quas non potuissim habere vel in domo patris mei, vel in illa seculari professione mea. Non decet: talem debeo habere, qualem possum, si non habuerit, fratri meo dare. Qualem potest habere presbyter; qualem potest habere decenter diaconus et subdiaconus, talem volo accipere. Si quis meliorem dederit, vendo: quod et facere soleo; ut quando non potest vestis esse communis, pretium vestis possit esse commune.

^p Conc. Gangr. in Præfat. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 413. D.) Ξένα ἀμφιάσματα ἐπὶ καταπτώσει τῆς κοινότητος τῶν ἀμφιασμάτων συνάγοντες.

^q Ibid. c. xii. (ibid. p. 419.) Εἴ τις ἀνδρῶν διὰ νομιζομένην ἀσκησιν περι-

pallium, or 'cloak,' upon the account of an ascetic life, and, as if there were some holiness in that, condemns those that with reverence use the *birrus*, and other garments that are commonly worn, let him be anathema." The *birrus*, then, was the common and ordinary coat which the Christians of Paphlagonia and those parts generally wore; and, though the ascetics used the *περιβόλαιον*, the philosophic *pallium*, or 'cloak,' yet the clergy of that country used the common *birrus*, or 'coat;' for Sozomen^r, in relating this same history, instead of *βῆρος*, uses the word *χιτῶν*, which is a more known name for the Latin '*tunica*,' or coat; and he also adds, "that Eustathius himself, after the synod had condemned him, changed his philosophic habit, and used the same garb that the secular presbyters wore;" which plainly evinces, that as yet the clergy, in those parts, did not distinguish themselves by their habit from other Christians, though the ascetics generally did. In the French churches, several years after this, we find the clergy still using the same secular habit with other Christians; and, when some endeavoured to alter it, and introduce the ascetic, or philosophic habit among them, Celestine, bishop of Rome, wrote a reprimanding letter to them, asking, "why that habit, the cloak, was used^s in the French churches, when it had been the custom of so many bishops, for so many years, to use the common habit of the people; from whom the clergy were to be distinguished by their doctrine, and not by their garb; by their conversation, not their habit; by the purity of their souls, rather than their dress?" But yet, I must observe, that, in some places, the

βολαίψι χρηταί, καὶ ὡς ἂν ἐκ τούτου τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἔχων, καταψηφίσαιτο τῶν μετ' εὐλαβείας τοὺς βήρους φερόντων, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ κοινῇ καὶ ἐν συνηθείᾳ ὁσῶν ἐσθῆτι κεχρημένων, ἀνάθεμα ἴστω.

^r Sozom. lib. iii. c. xiv. p. 107. A 3. Χιτῶνας μὴ συνήθεις καὶ στολὰς μὴ ἀνέχομένους ἀμφιένυσθαι.—Ibid. 'Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ λόγος, Εὐστάθιον ἐπιδικνύμενον ὡς οὐκ αὐθαδείας ἔνεκα, ἀλλὰ τῆς κατὰ Θεὸν ἀσκήσεως εἰσηγεῖτο ταῦτα καὶ ἐπιτηδεύοι, ἀμειψαὶ τὴν στολὴν, καὶ παραπλησίως τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱερεῦσι τὰς προόδους ποιήσασθαι.

^s Celestin. Ep. ii. ad Episc. Gall. c. i. (tom. ii. Concil. p. 1619.) Unde hic habitus in ecclesiis Gallicanis, ut tot annorum, tantorumque pontificum in alterum habitum consuetudo vertatur? Discernendi a plebe vel cæteris sumus doctrina, non veste; conversatione, non habitu; mentis puritate, non cultu.

ascetics, when they were taken into the ministry of the Church, were allowed to retain their ancient philosophic habit, without any censure. Thus St. Jerome^t observes of his friend Nepotian, that he kept to his philosophic habit, the *pallium*, after he was ordained presbyter, and wore it to the day of his death. He says the same of Heraclas^u, presbyter of Alexandria, that he continued to use his philosophic habit when he was presbyter; which is noted also by Eusebius, out of Origen, who says, that when Heraclas entered himself in the school of philosophy, under Ammonius, he then laid aside the common garb, and took the philosophic^w habit, with which he sat in the presbytery of Alexandria. Upon which, Valesius^x very rightly observes, that there was then no peculiar habit of the clergy; forasmuch as Heraclas always retained his philosophic *pallium*, which was the known habit of the ascetics, but as yet was very rarely used among the clergy, who wore, generally, the common habit, except when some such philosophers and ascetics came among them: for here we see it was noted as something rare and singular in Heraclas. But, in after ages, when the clergy were chiefly chosen out of the monks and ascetics, the philosophic habit came in, by degrees, with them, and was encouraged; till, at last, it became the most usual habit of the clergy of all sorts. But this was not till the fifth or sixth century, as may be collected by what has been said before on this subject.

^t Hieron. Epitaph. Nepotian. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 341. B 4.) Projicere pallium, manus extendere, videre quod alii non videbant. . . . Intelligeres illum non emori, sed emigrare; et mutare amicos, non relinquere.

^u Hieron. de Scriptor. c. liv. Heraclam presbyterum, qui sub habitu philosophi perseverabat, etc.

^w Orig. ap. Euseb. lib. vi. c. xix. (p. 246. B 5.) Πρότερον κοινῇ ἐσθῆτι χρώμενος, ἀποδυσάμενος καὶ φιλόσοφον ἀναλαβὼν σχῆμα, μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο τηρεῖ.

^x Vales. Not. in loc. Ex his apparet, nullum etiam tum peculiarem fuisse vestitum clericorum, quandoquidem Heraclas philosophicum pallium semper retinuit.

SECT. XX.—*Of the Colobium, Dalmatica, Caracalla, Hemiphorium, and Linea.*

But some, perhaps, may think the clergy had always a distinct habit, because some ancient authors take notice of the *colobium*, as a garment worn by bishops and presbyters in the primitive ages. For Epiphanius^y, speaking of Arius, while he was presbyter of Alexandria, says, he “always wore the *colobium*, or *hemiphorium*.” And Pius, bishop of Rome, in his Epistle to Justus, bishop of Vienna (which by many is reckoned genuine), speaks of Justus^z as wearing a *colobium* also. But this was no more than the *tunica*, of which there were two sorts, the *dalmatica* and *colobium*; which differed only in this respect, that the *colobium* was ‘the short coat, without long sleeves,’ so called from κολοβός, ‘*curtus*,’ but the *dalmatica* was the *tunica manicata et talaris*, ‘the long coat, with sleeves.’ Both which were used by the Romans, though the *colobium* was the more common, ancient, and honourable garment; as appears from Tully, who derides^a Catiline’s soldiers, because they had their *tunicæ manicatæ et talaræ*, whereas the ancient Romans were used to wear the *colobia*, or ‘short coats, without long sleeves;’ as Servius^b, and St. Jerome^c after him, observe from this place of Tully. So that a bishop, or a presbyter, wearing a *colobium*, means

^y Epiphanius. *Hæres.* lxi. n. iii. ‘Ἡμιφόριον γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀεὶ καὶ κολοβίωνα ἐνδιδυσκόμενος, γλυκὺς ἦν τῇ προσηγορίᾳ, πείθων ἀεὶ ψυχὰς καὶ θωπεύων.

^z Pius, Ep. iv. ad Just. Vienn. (tom. i. Conc. p. 577.) Tu vero apud senatoriam urbem Viennensem ejus loco a fratribus constitutus et colobio episcoporum vestitus, vide, ut ministerium quod accepisti, in Domino impleas.

^a Cic. Orat. ii. in Catilin. n. xxii. Postremum genus est, non solum numero, verum etiam genere ipso atque vita: quod proprium est Catilinæ, de ejus delectu, immo vero de complexu ejus ac sinu: quos pexo capillo nitidos, aut imberbes aut bene barbatos videtis, manicatis et talaribus tunicis, velis amictos, non togis.

^b Servius in Virgil. lib. ix. *Æneid.* v. 616. (Benedict. vol. ii. p. 540, at top) ‘Et tunicæ manicas, et habent redimicula mitræ:’ ubi sic commentatur: Tunicæ vestræ habent manicas, quod etiam Cicero vituperat, dicens, ‘manicatis et talaribus tunicis.’ Nam colobiis utebantur antiqui.

^c Hieron. *Quest. Hebr. in Genes.* xxxvii. 32. Pro ‘*varia tunica*,’ Aquila interpretatus est *tunicam ἀσπραγάλειον*: id est, ‘*tunicam talarum*.’ Symmachus, ‘*tunicam manicatam*.’ sive quod ad talos usque descenderet, et manibus artificis mira esset varietate distincta; sive quod haberet manicas: antiqui enim magis colobiis utebantur.

no more (when the hard name is explained) but their wearing a common Roman garment : which is evident, from one of the laws of Theodosius the Great, made about the habits which senators were allowed to use within the walls of Constantinople, where they are forbidden to wear the soldier's coat, the *chlamys*, but allowed to use the *colobium* and *penula*^d, because these were civil habits, and vestments of peace. The *dalmatica*, or, as it was otherwise called, *χαϊρόδορος*, or ' *tunica manicata*,' because it had sleeves down to the hands, was seldom used among the Romans ; for Lampridius^e notes it as a singular thing, in the Life of Commodus, the emperor, that he wore a *dalmatica* in public, which he also^f censures in Helio-gabalus, as Tully had done before in Catiline : and that is a good argument to prove that the clergy of this age did not wear the *dalmatica* in public, since it was not then the common garment of the Romans. And the conjecture of a learned man^g is well grounded, who thinks that, in the Life of St. Cyprian, where the ancient copies have *tunicam tulit*, some officious modern transcribers changed the word *tunica* into *dalmatica*, as being more agreeable to the language and custom of their own time, when the *dalmatica* was reckoned among the sacred vestments of the Church, though we never find it mentioned as such in any ancient author. The *caracalla*, which some now call the cassock, was originally a Gallic habit, which Antoninus Bassianus, who was born at Lyons, in France, first brought into use among the Roman people ; whence he had the name of *Caracalla*, as Aurelius Victor^h informs us.

^d Cod. Theod. lib. xiv. tit. x. de Habitu, quo uti oportet intra Urbem, leg. i. Nullus senatorum habitum sibi vindicet militarem, sed chlamydis terrore deposito, quieta colobiorum ac penularum induat vestimenta.

^e Lamprid. Vit. Commod. p. 139. Dalmaticus in publico processit.

^f Id. Vit. Heliofab. p. 317. Dalmaticus in publico post cœnam sæpe visus est.

^g Fell. Not. in Vit. Cypr. p. 13, (p. 15, edit. Amstelod.) Obese prorsus est naris, qui in his quæ sequuntur, librariorum interpolationes, sæculis et ingeniis suis dignas, non deprehenderit. Illi quidem cum ' *tunicam* ' dignitati episcopali non satis respondere crediderant, officiosissimi homines, ' *dalmaticam* ' subministrabant.

^h Victor. Epit. Vit. Caracallæ. Cum e Gallia vestem plurimam devexisset, talaresque caracallas fecisset, coegissetque plebem ad se salutandum indutam talibus introire, de nomine hujus vestis, ' *Caracalla* ' cognominatus est.

It was a long garment, reaching down to the heels, which, Victor says, the Roman people put on when they went to salute the emperor; but whether it was also a clerical habit in those days, may be questioned, since no ancient author speaks of it as such: but, if it was, it was not any peculiar habit of the clergy, since Spartian¹, who lived in the time of Constantine, says, they were then used by the common people of Rome, who called them *caracallæ Antoninianæ*, from their author. The *ἡμιφόριον*, which Epiphanius joins with the *colobium*, was either but another name for the same garment, or one like it; for it signifies a short cloak or coat, as Petavius^k and other critics explain it: *ἥμισυν ἱματεας*, or, ‘*dimidium pallium*,’ which answers to the description of the *colobium* given before. As for the *linea*, mentioned in the Life of Cyprian, which Baronius calls the ‘bishop’s rochet,’ it seems to have been no more than some common garment, made of linen, though we know not what other name to give it.

ⁱ Spartian. Vit. Caracall. p. 251. Ipse ‘Caracallæ’ nomen accepit a vestimento, quod populo dederat, demisso usque ad talos, quod ante non fuerat; unde hodieque Antoninianæ dicuntur caracallæ hujusmodi, in usu maxime Romanæ plebis frequentatæ.

^k Petav. Not. in Epiphan. Hær. l. xix. n. iii. (Colon. vol. ii. p. 284.) ‘*ἡμιφόριον* idem est quod Hesychio ac Suidæ *ἡμιφόριον*, hoc est, *ἥμισυν ἱματίου*. Palladius in Historia Lausiaca, quem citat Meursius: *πάντα αὐτῆς* (de Melania juniore) *τὰ σηρικὰ ἡμιφόρια καλύμματα τοῖς θυσιαστηρίοις ἰδωρήσατο*. Utraque voce dimidiata vestis exprimitur. Colobium ‘curtam tunicam’ interpretari possis: proprie quidem quæ manicis careat ac decurtata sit. De qua non nihil ad Themistium diximus. Sed non minus apte sic appellari videtur, quod non ultra pectus atque humeros pateret, quasi dimidiatum esset pallium. Siquidem *κολοβίωνα* latum clavum nominari censet Acro; cui respondere dicit iudumentum illud ex purpura, quod a cervice ad pectus extantum gestabant principes. Ergo propterea *κολόβιον* et *ἡμιφόριον* vocatum est; quia justæ vestis more nequam extendebatur. Aliud est *ωμοφόριον* episcoporum, de quo Germanus Constantinopolitanus. — Suicer. Thes. Eccles. tom. i. p. 1334. ‘*ἡμιφόριον* significat ‘dimidiatam vestem:’ nam *φόρημα* Græcis recentioribus, ut ex Ulachi Thesauro constat, ‘vestem’ notat: Epiphanius contra Ariomanitas seu Hæresi l. ix. ‘*ἡμιφόριον γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀεὶ καὶ κολοβίωνα ἐνδιδυσκόμενος γλακὺς ἦν τῇ προσηγορίᾳ*. — Palladius, Hist. Laus. in Melania Juniore, p. 148. *Πάντα αὐτῆς τὰ σηρικὰ ἡμιφόρια καλύμματα τοῖς θυσιαστηρίοις ἰδωρήσατο*. Hesychius et Suidas scribunt *ἡμιφόριον*, et interpretantur, *ἥμισυν ἱματίου*, dimidium vestis, dimidiata vestis. Cl. Meursius hanc quoque lectionem probat, quia *φάρος* vestem significet. Hesychius *φάρη, ἱμάτια*, vestimenta. Item, *φάρος, ἱμάτιον, περιβόλαιον*, vestis, amiculum. Ita etiam Suidas, et Etymolog. M.

Baronius¹ says, pleasantly, it was not his 'shirt,' and therefore concludes it must be his 'rochet:' which is an argument to make a reader smile, but carries no great conviction in it; and yet it is as good as any that he produces, to prove that bishops, in Cyprian's time, appeared in public differently habited from other men. That the clergy had their particular habits for ministering in divine service, at least in the beginning of the fourth century, is not denied, but will be proved and evidenced in its proper place; but that any such distinction was generally observed, *extra sacra*, in their other habits in that age, is what does not appear; but the contrary, from what has been discoursed. It was necessary for me to give the reader this caution, because some unwarily confound these things together, and allege the proofs or disproofs of the one for the other, which yet are of very different consideration.

¹ Baron. Ann. cclxi. n. xl. (Venet. 1706. vol. ii. p. 450. C 3.) (Lucæ, vol. iii. p. 103.) Ex iis adeo certis antiquitatis ecclesiasticæ monumentis, qualis esse soleret episcoporum habitus, probe possumus intelligere. Sed illud primum de 'tunica linea,' quæ, cæteris vestibus expoliatus, ictum gladii excepturus remansit indutus, exacte considerandum. Ex iis enim, quæ ex dictis Actis sunt superius recitata, neminem certe puto adeo obtusum ingenio, ut cum ipsa dicant, 'Cyprianum exutum birro atque tunica remansisse in linea,' existimet de linea interula intelligendum, quæ super nudum indui consuevit: non enim decebat sacerdotalem decorem Cyprianum ad interulam usque denudari, cum præsertim ad hoc non cogeret magistratus, nec carnificina functio postularet: quid enim opus erat ad capitis obtruncationem, ad subuculam usque exui, quum præsertim nullum ea de re exstet exemplum? Sic igitur nihil aliud est, quod dici possit, nisi lineam illam Cypriani commune illud omnibus episcopis lineum indumentum fuisse, quod 'ephod' alii dicunt, Italice vero 'rochetto.'

CHAPTER V.

SOME REFLECTIONS UPON THE FOREGOING DISCOURSE, CONCLUDING WITH AN ADDRESS TO THE CLERGY OF THE PRESENT CHURCH.

SECT. I.—*Reflection 1st, All Laws and Rules of the Ancient Church not necessary to be observed by the present Church and Clergy.*

HAVING thus far gone over, and, as it were, brought into one view, the chief of those ancient laws and rules which concerned the elections, qualifications, duties, and general offices of the primitive clergy, reserving the consideration of particular offices to their proper places, I shall close this part of the discourse, with a few necessary reflections upon it, in reference to the practice of the clergy of the present Church. And here, first of all, it will be proper to observe, that all the laws and rules of the Primitive Church are not obligatory to the present clergy; save only so far as they either contain matters necessary in themselves, or are adopted into the body of rules and canons which are authorised and received by the present Church: for, some laws were made upon particular reasons, peculiar to the state and circumstances of the Church in those times: and it would neither be reasonable nor possible to reduce men to the observance of all such laws, when the reasons of them are ceased, and the state of affairs, and circumstances of the Church, are so much altered. Other laws were made by particular Churches for themselves only; and these never could oblige other Churches, till they were received by their own consent, or bound upon them by the authority of a general council, wherè they themselves were represented, and their consent virtually taken. Much less can they oblige absolute and independent Churches, at the distance of so many

ages, since every Church has power to make laws and rules about things of an alterable nature for herself, and is not tied to the laws of any other: nor, consequently, are any of the members of such a Church bound to observe those rules, unless they be revived and put in force by the Church whereof they are members. As this is agreeable to the sense and practice of the Catholic Church, so it was necessary here to be observed, that no one might mistake the design of this discourse, as if it tended to make every rule that has been mentioned therein, become necessary and obligatory, or designed to reflect upon the present Church, because, in all things, she does not conform to the primitive practice; which it is not possible to do, without making all cases and circumstances exactly the same in all ages.

SECT. II.—*Some ancient Rules would be of excellent Use, if revived by just Authority.*

But, 2dly, notwithstanding this, I may, I presume, without offence, take leave to observe, in the next place, that some ancient rules would be of excellent use, if they were revived by just authority in the present Church. What if we had a law, agreeable to that of Justinian's in the civil law, that every patron or elector, who presents a clerk, should depose, upon oath, that he chose him neither for any gift, or promise, or friendship, or any other cause, but because he knew him to be a man of the true Catholic faith, and good life, and good learning; might not this be a good addition to the present laws against simoniacal contracts? What if the order of the ancient *Chorepiscopi* were reduced, and settled in large dioceses, and coadjutors, in case of infirmity, or old age; might not these be of great use, as for many other ends, so particularly for the exercise of discipline, and the easier and constant discharge of that most excellent office of confirmation? The judicious reader will be able to carry this reflection through abundance of other instances, which I need not here suggest; and I forbear the rather, because I am only acting the part of an historian for the ancient Church, leaving others, whose province it is, to make laws for the present Church, if any things are here suggested, which their wisdom and

prudence may think fit, to make the matter of laws for the greater benefit and advantage of it.

SECT. III.—*Reflection 3d, Some ancient Laws may be complied with, though not Laws of the present Church.*

3dly, It may be observed further, that there were some laws in the ancient Church, which, though they be not established laws of the present Church, may yet innocently be complied with; and, perhaps, it would be for the honour and advantage of the clergy voluntarily to comply with them, since there is no law to prohibit that. I will instance in one case of this nature. It was a law in the ancient Church, as I have shown^a, that the clergy should end all their civil controversies, which they had one with another, among themselves; and not to go to law in a secular court, unless they had a controversy with a layman. Now, though there be no such law in the present Church, yet there is nothing to hinder clergymen from choosing bishops to be their arbitrators, and voluntarily referring all their causes to them, or any other judges whom they shall agree upon among themselves; which must be owned to be the most Christian way of ending controversies. Whence, as I have shown, it was many times practised by the laity in the Primitive Church, who took bishops for their arbitrators, by voluntary compromise, obliging themselves to stand to their arbitration. And what was so commendable in the laity, must needs be more reputable in the clergy, and more becoming their gravity and character, not to mention other advantages that might arise from this way of ending disputes, rather than any other. From this one instance, it will be easy to judge how far it may be both lawful and honourable for the clergy to imitate the practice of the ancients in other cases of the like nature.

SECT. IV.—*Reflection 4th, Of the Influence of great Examples, and Laws of perpetual Obligation.*

4thly, The last observation I have to make upon the foregoing discourse, is in reference to such laws of the ancient

^a Book v. chap. i. sect. iv.

Church as must be owned to be of necessary and eternal obligation. Such are most of those that have been mentioned in the second and third chapters of this Book, relating to the life and duties of the clergy; in which the clergy of all Churches will for ever be concerned, the matter of those laws being, in itself, of absolute and indispensable obligation. The practice of the ancients, therefore, in compliance with such laws, will be a continual admonition; and their example, a noble provocation to the clergy of all ages. There is nothing that commonly moves or affects us more than great and good examples; they, at once, both pleasantly instruct and powerfully excite us to the practice of our duty; they show us that rules are practicable, as having already been observed by men of like passions with ourselves; they are apt to inflame our courage by a holy contagion, and raise us to noble acts, by provoking our emulation; they, as it were, shame us into laudable works, by upbraiding and reproaching our defects, in falling short of the patterns set before us; they work upon our modesty, and turn it into zeal; they raise our several useful passions, and set us to work, by exciting those inbred sparks of emulation and principles of activity that are lodged within us. And, for this reason, whilst others have done good service, by writing of the pastoral office and care, in plain rules and directions, I have added the examples of the ancients to their rules, the better to excite us to tread those paths which are chalked out to us, by the encouragement of such instructive and provoking examples. Who can read that brave defence and answer^b, which St. Basil made to the Arian prefect, without being warmed with something of his zeal for truth upon any the like occasion? How resolute and courageous will it make a man, even against the calumnies of spite and malice, to contend for the faith, when he reads^c what base slanders and reproaches were cast upon the greatest luminaries of the Church, and the best of men, Athanasius and Basil, for standing up in the cause of religion against the Arian heresy. Again, how peaceable, how candid, how ingenuous and prudent, will it make a man, in composing unnecessary disputes

^b Book vi. chap. iii. sect. x.

^c Ibid.

that arise among Catholics in the Church, always to have before his eyes that great example of candour and peaceableness, which Nazianzen describes, in the person of Athanasius^d; who, by his prudence, reconciled two contending parties, that, for a few syllables, and a dispute about mere words, had like to have torn the Church in pieces. To instance but once more, who that reads that great example of charity and self-denial, in the African fathers, at the Collation of Carthage^e, and considers, with what a brave and public spirit they despised their own private interest, for the good, and peace, and unity of the Church, will not be inspired with something of the same noble temper, and ardent love of Christ? which will make him willing to do or suffer any thing for the benefit of his Church, and sacrifice his own private interest to the advantage of the public; whilst he persuades himself, with those holy fathers, that he was made for the Church of Christ, and not the Church for him. As it is of the utmost consequence to the welfare of the Church, to have these, and the like virtues and graces, planted in the hearts of her clergy; so, among other means that may be used for the promoting this end, there is none, perhaps, more likely to take effect, than the recommending such virtues by the powerful provocation of such noble examples. And he that offers such images of virtue to public view, may, at least, be allowed to make the apology which Sulpicius Severus^f makes for his writing the Life of St. Martin: “Etsi ipsi non viximus, ut aliis exemplo esse possimus; dedimus tamen operam, ne illi laterent, qui essent imitandi.”

SECT. V.—*Some particular Rules recommended to Observation.*

1st, *Relating to the Ancient Method of Training up Persons for the Ministry.*

But, whilst I am so earnest in recommending the examples of the ancients, I must not forget to inculcate some of their excellent rules. Such as their laws about training up young men for the ministry, under the ‘Magister Disciplinæ,’ whose

^d Chap. iii. sect. ix.

^e Chap. iv. sect. ii.

^f Sever. de Vita S. Martin. in Prologo.

business was to form their morals, and inure them to such studies, exercises, and practices, as would best qualify them for higher offices and services in the Church. This method of education being now changed into that of universities and schools of learning, it highly concerns them on whom this care is devolved, to see that the same ends, however, be answered ; that is, that all young men who aspire to the sacred profession, be rightly formed, both in their studies and morals, to qualify them for their great work, and the several duties of their calling. And they are the more concerned to be careful in this matter, because bishops, now, cannot have that personal knowledge of the morals of such persons as they had formerly, when they were trained up under their eye, and liable to their inspection. But, now, as to this part of their qualification, they must depend, first upon the care, and then upon the testimony, of those who are entrusted with their education. Besides, a late eminent writer^s, who inquires into the causes

^s Ostervald's *Causes of the Corruption of Christians*, part ii. chap. iii. p. 333, edit. Anglic. p. 127, edit. Gallic. à la Haye, 1721, ubi verba ita habent : A l'égard des mœurs, la jeunesse y vit dans le dérèglement ; elle y est abandonnée à sa propre conduite ; les soins des maîtres et de professeurs ne s'étendent pas jusqu'à régler les mœurs de leurs disciples. Ce désordre va si loin que dans plusieurs universités de l'Europe les écoliers et les étudiants font une ouverte profession de libertinage. Non seulement ils y vivent dans la licence, mais ils ont des privilèges, qui leur donne le droit de commettre impunément toutes sortes d'insolences, de brutalités et de scandales, et qui les exemptent de la juridiction de magistrat. P. 128. La théologie y est traitée, et l'Ecriture Sainte y est expliquée d'une manière scholastique, et toute spéculative. On y lit des lieux communs, remplis des termes d'école, et de questions peu nécessaires. On y apprend proprement à disputer sur tout, et à réduire toute la religion en controverses. Cette méthode perd les jeunes gens ; elle leur donne des idées embarrassées et même fausses, de la théologie, P. 120. L'autre défaut est plus essentiel. On n'a pas soin dans les académies d'apprendre aux jeunes gens, qui se consacrent au service de l'église, diverses choses dont la connaissance leur serait tout-à-fait nécessaire. L'étude de l'histoire et de l'antiquité ecclésiastique y est négligée. . . . On n'enseigne pas morale dans les écoles de théologie, si ce n'est d'une manière superficielle et scholastique ; et en plusieurs académies, on ne l'enseigne point du tout. On y parle rarement de la discipline. On n'y donne que peu ou point d'instructions sur la manière d'exercer la charge de pasteur et de gouverner l'église. Tellement que le plus grand nombre de ceux qui sont admis à cette charge, y entrent sans savoir en quoi elle consiste, et n'en ont point d'autre idée, que comme d'une profession, qui oblige à prêcher et à expliquer des textes.

of the present corruption of Christians, where he has occasion to speak of the pastoral office, and the ordinary methods now used for training up persons to it, makes a double complaint of the way of education in several of the universities of Europe. As to manners, he complains that young people live there licentiously, and are left to their own conduct, and make public profession of dissoluteness: nay, that they not only live there irregularly, but have privileges, which give them a right to commit, with impunity, all manner of insolences, brutalities, and scandals; and which exempt them from the magistrate's jurisdiction. Now, such universities as are concerned in this accusation (which, by the blessing of God, those of our land are not) have great reason to consider how far they are fallen from the primitive standard; and what a difference there is between the ancient way of educating under the inspection of a bishop, and the conduct of a master of discipline in every Church, and the way of such academies, where, if that learned person say true—"The care of masters and professors does not extend to the regulating of the manners of their disciples." The other complaint he makes, is in reference to the studies which are pursued at universities, in which he observes two faults, one in reference to the method of teaching: "Divinity is treated there, and the Holy Scripture explained, altogether in a scholastical and speculative manner. Commonplaces are read, which are full of school-terms, and of questions not very material. This makes young men resolve all religion into controversies, and gives them intricate and false notions of divinity." The other fault, he thinks, is more essential. "Little or no care is taken to teach those who dedicate themselves to the service of the Church, several things, the knowledge of which would be very necessary to them. The study of history, and of Church antiquity, is neglected; morality is not taught in divinity schools, but in a superficial and scholastic manner; and, in many academies, it is not taught at all; they seldom speak there of discipline; they give few or no instructions concerning the manner of exercising the pastoral care, or of governing the Church: so that the greater part of those who are admitted into this office, enter into it without knowing wherein it consists; all the notion they have

of it is, that it is a profession, which obliges them to preach and to explain texts." I cannot think all universities are equally concerned in this charge; nor shall I inquire how far any are; but only say, that the faults here complained of were rarely to be met with in the methods of education in the primitive Church; where, as I have shown, the chief studies of men, devoted to the service of the Church, both before and after their ordinations, were such as directly tended to instruct them in the necessary duties and offices of their function. The great care then was to oblige men carefully to study the Scriptures in a practical way, and to acquaint themselves with the history, and laws, and discipline of the Church; by the knowledge and exercise of which they became expert in all the arts of curing souls, and making pious and holy men, which is the business of spiritual physicians, and the whole of the pastoral office: in which, therefore, their rules and examples are proper to be proposed to all Churches, for their imitation.

SECT. VI.—*2dly, Their Rules for examining the Qualifications of Candidates for the Ministry.*

Another sort of rules, worthy our most serious thoughts and consideration, were those which concerned the examination of the candidates of the ministry: for, by these, such methods were prescribed, and such caution used, that it was scarce possible for an unfit or immoral man to be admitted to an ecclesiastical office; unless a bishop and the whole Church combined, as it were, to choose unworthy men; which was a case that very rarely happened. It was a peculiar advantage in the primitive Church, that, by her laws, ordinarily, none were to be ordained but in the church where they were personally known; so that their manners, and way of living, might be most strictly canvassed and examined; and a vicious man could not be ordained, if either the bishop or the Church had the courage to reject him. Now, though this rule cannot be practised in the present state of the Church, yet the main intent of it is of absolute necessity to be answered and provided for some other way: else the Church must needs suffer

greatly, and infinitely fall short of the purity of the primitive Church, by conferring the most sacred of all characters upon immoral and unworthy men. The only way which our present circumstances will admit of, to answer the caution that was used in former days, is to certify the bishop concerning the candidate's known probity and integrity of life, by such testimonials as he may safely depend upon. Here, therefore, every one sees, without my observing it to him, that to advance the present Church to the purity and excellency of the primitive Church, there is need of the utmost caution in this matter ; that testimonials in so weighty an affair be not promiscuously granted unto all, nor to any, but upon reasonable evidence and assurance of the things testified therein : otherwise we partake in other men's sins ; and are far from consulting truly the glory of God and the good of his Church, while we deviate so much from the exactness and caution, that is showed us in the primitive pattern.

The other part of the examination of candidates, which related to their abilities and talents, was made with no less diligence and exactness. The chief inquiry was, whether they were well versed in the sense and knowledge of the Holy Scriptures ? whether they rightly understood the fundamentals of religion, the necessary doctrines of the Gospel, and the rules of morality, as delivered in the law of God ? whether they had been conversant in the history of the Church, and understood her laws and discipline ? and were men of prudence to govern, as well as of ability to teach, the people committed to their charge ? These were things of great importance ; because most of them were of daily use in the exercise of the ministry and pastoral care, and, therefore, proper to be insisted on in examinations of this nature. These were the qualifications which, joined with the burning and shining light of a pious life, raised the primitive Church and clergy to that height of glory which we all profess to admire in them : and the very naming that is a sufficient provocation to such as are concerned in this matter, to express their zeal for the welfare and glory of the present Church, by keeping strictly to the measures which were so successfully observed in the ancient

Church ; and, without which, the ends of the ministry cannot be fully attained in any Church, whilst persons are ordained that want proper qualifications.

SECT. VII.—*3dly, Their Rules about private Address, and the Exercise of private Discipline.*

I shall not now stand to inculcate any other rules about particular duties, studying, preaching, or the like, but only beg leave to recommend the primitive pattern in two things more ; the one concerns private pastors, the other is humbly offered to the governors of the Church. That which concerns private pastors, is the duty of private address, and the exercise of private discipline toward the people committed to their charge. Some eminent persons^h who have lately considered the duties of the pastoral office, reckon this one of the principal and most necessary functions of it : which consists in inspecting the lives of private persons, in visiting families, in exhortations, warnings, reproofs, instructions, reconciliations, and in all those other cares, which a pastor ought to take of those over whom he is constituted ; “for,” as they rightly observe, “neither general exhortations, nor public discipline, can answer all the occasions of the Church. There are certain disorders which pastors neither can nor ought to repress openly, and which yet ought to be remedied by them ; in such cases, private admonitions are to be used. The concern of men’s salvation requires this ; and it becomes the pastoral carefulness to seek the straying sheep, and not to let the wicked perish for want of warning.” But, now, because this is a nice and difficult work, and requires not only great diligence and application, but also great art and prudence, with a

^h Ostervald’s *Causes of the Corruption of Christians*, p. 318, edit. Gallic. cit. pp. 109, 110. Ni les exhortations générales, ni discipline publique ne peuvent pourvoir à tous les besoins de l’Eglise. Il y a de certains désordres que les pasteurs ne peuvent ni ne doivent reprimer ouvertement, et auxquels ils doivent pourtant apporter du remède. Dans ces cas là, il en faut venir à des avertissements particuliers. L’interêt du salut des âmes le demande, et il est de la sollicitude pastorale d’aller chercher la brebis qui s’égaré, et de ne laisser pas périr le méchant faute d’avertissement.—See Bishop Burnet’s *Pastoral Care*, c. viii. p. 96.

proportionable share of meekness, moderation, and temper, to perform it aright, it is often either wholly neglected, or very ill performed; whilst some think it enough to admonish sinners from the pulpit, and others admonish them indiscreetly, which tends more to provoke than reclaim them. To remedy both these evils, it will be useful to reflect upon that excellent discourse of Gregory Nazianzen, which has been suggested in the third chapter of this Book¹; when he considers that great variety of tempers that is in men, and the nicety of all matters and occasions, that a skilful pastor ought to consider, in order to apply suitable remedies to every distemper. And there the reader will also find some other excellent cautions and directions, given by Chrysostom and others upon this head, with examples proper to excite him to the performance of this necessary duty.

SECT. VIII.—*4thly, Their Rules for exercising public Discipline upon delinquent Clergymen, who were convict of scandalous Offences.*

The other thing I would humbly offer to the consideration of our superiors, who are the guardians of public discipline, and inspectors of the behaviour of private pastors, is the exercise of discipline in the ancient Church. By which I do not now mean that general discipline which was exercised toward all offenders in the Church, but the particular discipline that was used among the clergy; by virtue of which every clerk, convict of immorality, or other scandalous offence, was liable to be deposed, and punished with other ecclesiastical censures; of which, both crimes and punishments, I have given a particular account in the three foregoing chapters of this Book. It is a thing generally acknowledged by all, that the glory of the ancient Church was her discipline; and it is as general a complaint of the misfortune of the present Church, that corruptions abound, for want of reviving and restoring the ancient discipline. Now, if there be any truth in either of these observations, it ought to be a quickening argument to all that sit at the helm of government in the Church, to bestir

¹ See book vi. chap. iii. sect. viii.

themselves with their utmost zeal, that discipline, where it is wanting, may, at least, be restored among the clergy; that no scandals or offences may be tolerated among them, whose lives and practices ought to be a light and a guide to others. As there is nothing to hinder the free exercise of it here, so it is but fitting it should be exemplified in them; as for many other reasons, so particularly for this,—that the laity may not think they are to be tied to any discipline which the clergy have not first exercised upon themselves, with greater severity of ecclesiastical censures. And, if either rules or examples can encourage this, those of the primitive Church are most provoking; her rules of discipline were most excellent and exact in themselves; and, for the most part, as exactly managed by persons entrusted with the execution of them.

SECT. IX.—*Julian's Design to reform the Heathen Priests by the Rules of the primitive Clergy, an Argument to provoke our Zeal in the present Age.*

After these reflections, made upon the laws and practice of the primitive clergy, it will be needless to make any long address to any orders of the clergy of the present age. I will, therefore, only observe one thing more, that Julian's design to bring the laws of the primitive clergy into use among the heathen priests, in order to reform them, as it was then a plain testimony of their excellency, so it is now a proper argument to provoke the zeal of the present clergy to be more forward and ambitious in their imitation. I have already, in part, recited Julian's testimony and design, out of his letter to Arsacius, high-priest of Galatia. I shall here subjoin a more ample testimony from a fragment of one of his Epistles^k, printed among his works; where, speaking of the Gentile priests, he says, "it was reasonable they should be honoured as the ministers and servants of the gods, by whose mediation many blessings were derived from heaven upon the world;

^k Jul. Fragment. Epist. p. 542, edit. Paris. 1630, 4to. (p. 296. B. edit. Lips. 1696. fol.) Εὐλογον καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς τιμᾶν, ὡς λειτουργοὺς θεῶν καὶ ὑπηρέτας, καὶ διακονοῦντας ἡμῖν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς συνεπισχύοντας τῇ ἐκ θεῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς τῶν ἀγαθῶν δόσει.

and, so¹ long as they retained this character, they were to be honoured and respected by all ; but if wicked and vicious, they should be deposed from their office, as unworthy of their function." Their lives^m were to be so regulated, as that they might be a copy and pattern of what they were to preach to men. To this purpose, they should be careful, in all their addresses to the gods, to express all imaginable reverence and piety, as being in their presence and under their inspection. Theyⁿ should neither speak a filthy word, nor hear one ; but abstain as well from all impure discourse as vile and wicked actions, and not let a scurrilous or abusive jest come from their mouths. They should read no books tending this way, such as Archilochus and Hipponax, and the writers of loose wanton comedies ; but apply themselves to the study of such philosophers as Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Chrysippus, and Zeno, whose writings were most likely to create piety in men's minds ; for all sorts of books were not to be read by the priests. Even among philosophers, those of Pyrrho^o and Epicurus were wholly to be rejected by them ; and instead of these, they should learn such divine^p hymns as were to be

¹ Jul. Fragment. Epist. (Paris. 1630. p. 543.) "Εως ἂν ἱερεὺς τις ὀνομάζεται, τιμᾶν αὐτὸν χρὴ καὶ θεραπεύειν· εἰ δὲ εἴη πονηρὸς, ἀφαιρεθέντα τὴν ἱερωσύνην, ὡς ἀνάξιον ἀποφάνεῖντα, περιορᾶν.

^m Ibid. p. 547. "Ὅν πρὸς τὰ πλήθη χρὴ λέγειν, δῆγμα τῶν ἐαυτῶν ἐκφέροντας βίον· ἀρκτέον δὲ ἡμῖν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας· οὕτω γὰρ ἡμᾶς πρέπει τοῖς θεοῖς λειτουργεῖν, ὡς παρεστηκόσιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὁρῶσιν μὲν ἡμᾶς, οὐχ ὁρωμένοις ὑφ' ἡμῶν.

ⁿ Ibid. (p. 549.) Αἰσχρὸν μῆτε λέγοντας, μῆτε ἀκούοντας ἀγνεύειν δὲ χρὴ τοὺς ἱερεῖς οὐκ ἔργων μόνον ἀκαθάρτων οὐδὲ ἀσελγῶν πράξεων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥημάτων καὶ ἀκρομάτων τοιούτων· ἐξίλατιά τοῖνυν ἐστὶ ἡμῖν πάντα τὰ ἐπαχθῇ σκώμματα· πᾶσα δὲ ἀσελγῆς ὁμιλία· καὶ ὅπως εἰδῆναι ἔχῃς ὃ βούλομαι φράζειν· ἱερωμένος τις μῆτε Ἀρχιλόχον ἀναγινωσκέτω, μῆτε Ἰππώνακτα, μῆτε ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν τοιαῦτα γραφόντων· ἀποκλινέτω καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς κωμωδίας, ὅσα τῆς τοιαύτης ἰδέας· ἀμεινον μὲν γὰρ, καὶ πάντως πρέπει οἱ δ' ἂν ἡμῖν, ἡ φιλοσοφία μόνη· καὶ τούτων, ἡ θεοῦς ἡγεμόνας προσθησαμένη τῆς ἐαυτῶν παιδείας· ὅπερ Πυθαγόρας, καὶ Πλάτων, καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης, οἷτε ἀμφὶ Χρύσιππον καὶ Ζήωνα. Προσεκτέον μὲν γὰρ οὔτε πᾶσιν, οὔτε τοῖς πάντων δόγμασι, ἀλλὰ ἐκείνοις μόνον, καὶ ἐκείνων ὅσα εὐσεβείας ἐστὶ ποιητικᾶ.

^o Ibid. (p. 551.) Οὐδὲ ἀνάγνωσμα πᾶν ἱερωμένῳ πρέπει· . . . Μῆτε Ἐπικούρειος εἰσέτω λόγος, μῆτε Πυρρώνιος.

^p Ibid. p. 551. (p. 301. D. 302. A.) Ἐκμανθάνειν χρὴ τοὺς ὕμνους τῶν θεῶν· εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ καλοὶ πεποιημένοι παλαιοῖς καὶ νέοις· οὗ

sung in honour of the gods, to whom they should make their supplications, publicly and privately, thrice a-day, if it might be ; however, twice at least, morning and evening. In the course of their public ministrations¹ in the temples, which, at Rome, commonly held for thirty days,—they were to reside all the time in the temples, and give themselves to philosophic thoughts ; and neither go to their own houses, nor into the forum, nor see any magistrate but in the temple. When their term of waiting was expired, and they were returned home, they might not converse or feast promiscuously with all, but only with their friends and the best of men. They were but rarely then to appear in the forum, and not to visit the magistrates and rulers, except it were in order to be helpful to some that needed their assistance. While they ministered in the temple, they were to be arrayed with a magnificent garment ; but, out of it, they must wear common apparel, and that not very costly, or in the least savouring of pride and vainglory. They were, in no case¹, to go to see the obscene and wanton

μήν ἀλλ' ἐκείνους πειρατίον ἐπίστασθαι, τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ᾑδόμενους· οἱ πλεῖστοι γὰρ ὑφ' αὐτῶν θεῶν ἱκετευθέντων ἐδόθησαν· καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἐνθέου, καὶ ψυχῆς ἀβάτου τοῖς κακοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν θεῶν τιμῇ συγκείμενοι. Ταῦτά γε ἄξιον ἐπιτηδεύειν καὶ εὐχεσθαι πολλάκις τοῖς θεοῖς ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ, μάλιστα μὲν τρίς τῆς ἡμέρας· εἰ δὲ μή, πάντως ὀρθρου τε καὶ διελθης.

¹ Jul. Fragment. Epist. (Paris. 1630. p. 553.) Οἶμαι δὲ χρῆναι τὸν ἱερέα πάντων ἀγνεύσαντα νύκτωρ καὶ ἡμέραν· εἶτα ἄλλην ἐπ' αὐτῇ νύκτα καθαρῶμενον, οἷς διαγορεύουσιν οἱ θεσμοὶ καθαρμοῖς, οὕτως εἴσω φοιτῶντα τοῦ ἱεροῦ μένειν, ὅσας ἂν ἡμέρας ὁ νόμος κελεύῃ· τριάκοντα μὲν γὰρ παρ' ἡμῖν εἰσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ· παρ' ἄλλοις δὲ ἄλλως. Εὐλόγον οὖν οἶμαι, μένειν ἀπάσας ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς φιλοσοφῶντα· καὶ μήτε εἰς οἰκίαν βαδίζειν, μήτε εἰς ἀγορὰν, μηδὲ ἄρχοντα πλὴν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐφορᾶν· ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ τῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον θραπείας αὐτὸν, ἐφορῶντα πάντα καὶ διατάττοντα· πληρώσαντα δὲ τὰς ἡμέρας, εἶτα ἐτέρῳ παραχωρῶντα τῆς λειτουργίας. Ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον τρεπομένῳ βίον ἐξέσω καὶ βαδίζειν εἰς οἰκίαν φίλων, καὶ εἰς ἐστίασιν ἀπαντᾶν παρακληθέντα, μὴ πάντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν βελτίστων· ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ εἰς ἀγορὰν παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἄτοπον ὀλίγακις· ἡγεμόνα τε προσεπεῖν, καὶ ἔθνους ἄρχοντα· καὶ τοῖς εὐλόγως δεομένοις ὅσα ἐνδέχεται βοηθῆσαι. Πρέπει δὲ οἶμαι τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἔνδον μὲν, ὅτε λειτουργοῦσιν, ἐσθῆτι χρῆσθαι μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῃ· τῶν ἱερῶν δὲ ἔξω, τῇ συνήθει, εἶχα πολυτελείας· . . . ἀφεκτέον ἡμῖν ἐσθῆτος πολυτελεστέρας ἐν ἀγορᾷ, καὶ κόμπου· ἢ καὶ πάσης ἀπλῶς ἀλαζυνείας.

¹ Ibid. p. 555. Τοῖς ἀσελείσι τούτοις θεάτροις τῶν ἱερῶν μηδεὶς μηδαμῶς παραβαλλέτω· μήτε εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσαγέτω τὴν ἑαυτοῦ· . . . Μηδεὶς ποιεῖτω

shows of the public theatres; nor to bring them into their own houses; nor to converse familiarly with any charioteer, or player, or dancer, belonging to the theatre. After this, he signifies out of what sort of men the priests should be chosen*. They should be the best that could be found in every city, persons that had true love for God and man: and then it mattered not whether they were rich or poor, there being no difference to be made between noble and ignoble in this case. No one was to be rejected upon other accounts, who was endued with those two qualities—piety to God, and humanity to men; whereof the former might be evidenced by their care to make all their domestics as devout as themselves; and the latter, by their readiness to distribute liberally to the poor out of that little they had, and extending their charity to as many as was possible. And there was the more reason to be careful in this matter, because it was manifestly the neglect of this humanity in the priests which had given occasion to the impious Galileans (by whom he means the Christians) to strengthen their party by the practice of that humanity which the others neglected; for, as kidnappers steal away children, whom they first allure with a cake, so these begin, first, to

φίλον θυμελικόν· μηδὲ ἀρματηλάτην· μηδὲ ὀρχηστής, μηδὲ μῖμος, αὐτῶν τῇ θύρᾳ προσίτω.

* Jul. Fragment. Epist. (p. 556.) Ἐγὼ φημι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι βελτίστους καὶ μάλιστα μὲν φιλοθεωτάτους, ἔπειτα φιланθρωποτάτους· ἴάν τε πένητες ὦσιν, ἴάν τε πλούσιοι· διάκρισις ἔστω πρὸς τοῦτο μηδὲ τις οὖν ἀφανοὺς καὶ ἐπιφανοὺς. Ὁ γὰρ διὰ πρᾶφῃτα λεληθῶς, οὐ διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀξιώματος ἀφάνειαν, δίκαιός ἐστι κωλύεσθαι· κἂν πένης οὖν ᾗ τις, κἂν δημότης, ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ δύο ταῦτα, τό τε φιλόθεον, καὶ τὸ φιλάνθρωπον, ἱερὺς ἀποδεικνύσθω. Δεῖγμα δὲ τοῦ φιλοθεοῦ μὲν, εἰ τοὺς οἰκίους ἅπαντας εἰς τὴν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείαν εἰσαγάγῃ· τοῦ φιλανθρώπου δὲ, εἰ καὶ ἐξ ὀλίγων εὐκόλως κοινωνῇ τοῖς δεομένοις, καὶ μεταδίδωσι προθύμως, εὖ ποιεῖν ἐπιχειρῶν ὅσους ἂν οἷός τε ᾦ· προσεκτεῖον γὰρ μάλιστα τῷ μέρει τούτῳ, καὶ τὴν ἰατρείαν ὅθεν ποιητέον. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἶμαι συνέβη, τοὺς πένητας ἀμελείσθαι παρορωμένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων, οἱ δυσσεβεῖς Γαλιλαῖοι κατανοήσαντες, ἐπέθεντο ταύτῃ τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ· καὶ τὸ χεῖριστον τῶν ἔργων, διὰ τοῦ δοκοῦντος τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἐκράτουν· ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ παιδία διὰ τοῦ πλακοῦντος ἐξαπατῶντες, τῷ καὶ δις καὶ τρίς προοίσιαι, πέιθουσιν ἀκολουθεῖν ἑαυτοῖς· εἰθ' ὅταν ἀποστήσῃσι πόνῳ τῶν οἰκίων, ἐμβάλλοντες εἰς ναῦν ἀπέδοντο· καὶ γέγονεν εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν ἐξῆς βίον πικρὸν τὸ δόξαν πρὸς ὀλίγον γλυκύν· τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτοὶ τρόπον ἀρξάμενοι διὰ τῆς λεγομένης παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀγάπης καὶ ὑποδοχῆς καὶ διακονίας τραπέζων· ἔστι γὰρ ὥσπερ τὸ ἔργον, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὄνομα, παρ' αὐτοῖς πολὺ πιστοὺς ἐνέηγαγον εἰς τὴν ἀθείότητα.

work upon honest-hearted Gentiles with their love-feasts and entertainments, and ministering of tables, as they call them ; till, at last, they pervert them to atheism and impiety against the gods.

Now, from this discourse of Julian, I think it is very evident, that he had observed what laws and practices had chiefly contributed to the advancement of the character and credit of the Christian clergy, and of the Christian religion, by their means ; and, therefore, he laboured to introduce the like rules and discipline among the idol-priests ; and intended to have made many other alterations in the heathen customs, in compliance with the envied rites and usages of the Christian religion, as is observed both by Gregory Nazianzen^t and Sozomen^u, who give us a particular account of his intended emendations ; the very mentioning which, if I mistake not, is a loud call to us, to be at least as zealous as Julian was, in copying out such excellencies of the primitive clergy as are proper for our imitation. It is the argument which the apostle makes use of in a like case : “ I will provoke you to jealousy

^t Nazian. Invect. I. in Julian. (Paris. 1630. p. 101. D 8.) Διδασκαλεία μὲν ιδρύσασθαι κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἔτοιμος ἦν, βήματά τε καὶ προεδρίας καὶ ἐφεδρίας Ἑλληνικῶν τε δογμάτων ἀναγνώσεις· καὶ ἀναπτύξεις, ὅσαι τε ἦθος ρυθμίζουσι, καὶ ὅσαι τῆς ἐπικρύψεως εὐχῶν τε τύπον ἐν μέρει, καὶ τῆς τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων κατὰ μέτρον ἐπιτιμῆσεως· προτελείων δὲ καὶ τελειώσεως, καὶ ὅσα τῆς ἡμετέρας σαφῶς ἔστιν εὐταξίας· ἔτι δὲ καταγώγια πῆξασθαι καὶ ξενῶνας· ἀγνευτήριά τε καὶ παρθενῶνας, καὶ φροντιστήρια, καὶ τὴν εἰς τοὺς δεομένους φιλανθρωπίαν, τὴν τε ἄλλην ὁπόση, καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιστολιμαίοις συνθήμασιν, οἷς ἡμεῖς ἐξ ἔθνους εἰς ἔθνος τοὺς χρῆζοντας παραπέμπομεν· ἃ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἡμετέρων εἶχε θανμάσας.

^u Sozom. lib. v. c. xvi. (Cambr. p. 1720. p. 203. 2.) Ὑπολαβὼν δὲ τὸν Χριστιανισμὸν τὴν σύστασιν ἔχειν ἐκ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς πολιτείας τῶν αὐτὸν μετιόντων, διενοεῖτο πανταχῇ τοὺς Ἑλληνικοὺς ναοὺς τῇ παρασκευῇ καὶ τῇ τάξει τῆς Χριστιανῶν θρησκείας διακοσμεῖν· βήμασί τε, καὶ προεδρίας, καὶ Ἑλληνικῶν δογμάτων καὶ παραινέσεων διδασκάλους τε καὶ ἀναγνώστους, ὁρῶν τε ῥητῶν καὶ ἡμερῶν τεταγμέναις εὐχαῖς, φροντιστηρίοις τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν φιλοσοφεῖν ἰγνυκῶτων, καὶ καταγωγίοις ξένων καὶ πτωχῶν, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ τῇ περὶ τοὺς δεομένους φιλανθρωπίᾳ, τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν δόγμα σημνύναι· ἐκουσίως τε καὶ ἀκουσίως ἁμαρτημάτων κατὰ τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν παράδοσιν ἐκ μεταμελείας σύμμετρον τάξει σωφρονισμὸν· οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ ζηλῶσαι λέγεται τὰ συνθήματα τῶν ἐπισκοπικῶν γραμμάτων, οἷς ἔθος ἀμοιβαδὺν τοὺς ξένους ὅποι δήποτε διῶντας, καὶ παρ’ οἷς ἀφίκωνται, πάντως κατάγεισθαι καὶ θεραπείας ἀξιοῦσθαι, οἷα γε γνωρίμους καὶ φιλάτους, διὰ τὴν τοῦ συμβόλου μαρτυρίαν· ταῦτα διανοοῦμενος, ἰσπούδαζε Ἑλληνιστὰς προσεθίζειν τοῖς τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἱππηδεύμασιν.

by them that are no people: by a foolish nation will I anger you." (Rom. x. 19.) I must needs say, it will be but a melancholy consideration for any man to find hereafter, that the zeal of an apostate heathen shall rise up in judgment against him, and condemn him.

SECT. X.—*The Conclusion, by way of Address, to the Clergy of the present Church.*

We all profess, as it is our duty to do, a great zeal for the honour and welfare of the present Church. Now if, indeed, we have that zeal which we profess, we shall be careful to demonstrate it in all our actions; observing those necessary rules and measures which raised the primitive Church to its glory. We are obliged, in this respect, first, to be strict and exemplary in our lives; to set others a pattern of sobriety, humility, meekness, charity, self-denial, and contempt of the world, and all such common graces as are required of Christians in general to adorn their profession; and then to add to these the peculiar graces and ornaments of our function—diligence, prudence, fidelity, and piety in the whole course of our ministry; imitating those excellencies of the ancients which have been described; confining ourselves to the proper business of our calling, and not intermeddling or distracting ourselves with other cares; employing our thoughts and time in useful studies, and directing them to their proper end, the edification of the Church; performing all divine offices with assiduity and constancy, and in that rational, decent, and becoming way as suits the nature of the action; making our addresses to God with a serious reverence, and an affecting fervency of devotion; and, in our discourses to men, speaking always as the oracles of God, with Scripture eloquence, which is the most persuasive; in our doctrine showing uncorruptness, gravity, sincerity, sound speech, that cannot be condemned; in our reproofs, and the exercise of public and private discipline, using great wisdom and prudence, both to discern the tempers of men, and to time the application to its proper season, mixing charity and compassion with a just severity, and endeavouring to restore fallen brethren in the spirit of meekness; showing gentleness and patience to them that are

in error, and giving them good arguments with good usage, in order to regain them: avoiding all bitter and contumelious language, and never bringing against any man a railing accusation; treating those of our own order, whether superiors, inferiors, or equals, with all the decency and respect that is due to them, since nothing is more scandalous among clergymen than the abuses and contempt of one another; endeavouring here, as well as in all other cases, to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace; showing ourselves candid and ingenuous in moderating disputes among good Catholics, as well as resolute and prudent in opposing the malicious designs of the professed enemies of truth: briefly, employing our thoughts day and night upon these things, turning our designs this way, and always acting with a pure intention for the benefit and edification of the Church; even neglecting our own honours, and despising our own interest, when it is needful, for the advantage of the public. Such actions will proclaim our zeal, indeed, and draw every eye to take notice of it. Such qualities, joined with probity and integrity of life, will equal our character to that of the primitive saints; and either give happy success to our labours, or at least crown our endeavours with the comfort and satisfaction of having discharged a good conscience in the sight of God. The best designs, indeed, may be frustrated, and the most pious and zealous endeavours be disappointed. It was so with our Lord and Master himself; and no one of his household, then, is to think it strange if it happen to be his own case. For, though he spake as never man spake, though he had done so many miracles among the Jews, yet they believed not on him. This seems to be written for our comfort, that we should not be wholly dejected, though our endeavours fail of success; since our Lord himself was first pleased to take his share in the disappointment. It will still be our comfort that we can be able to say with the prophet, in this case, "Though we have laboured in vain, and spent our strength for nought, yet surely our judgment is with the Lord, and our work with our God: and, then, though Israel be not gathered, yet shall we be glorious in the eyes of the Lord; and our God shall be our strength." (Isaiah xlix. 4, 5.)

BOOK VII.

OF THE ASCETICS IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE FIRST ASCETICS AND MONKS, AND OF THE FIRST ORIGINAL OF THE MONASTIC LIFE.

SECT. I.—*Ascetics always in the Church; Monks not so.*

THEY who are conversant in the writings of the ancients, will very often meet with the name 'Ἀσκηταί, 'Ascetics,' applied to some Christians, by way of distinction from others. The generality of writers in the Romish Church, whenever they meet with this word, lay hold of it as an argument to prove the antiquity of monks in the Church; whereas, indeed, there was a very wide difference between them. For, though in the writers of the fourth and fifth ages, when the monastic life was fully established, ascetics and monks often signify the same persons; yet, for the greatest part of the three first centuries, it was otherwise; for there were always ascetics in the Church, but not always monks retiring to the deserts and mountains, or living in monasteries and cells, as in after ages.

SECT. II.—*This Difference acknowledged by some ingenuous Writers in the Romish Church.*

This difference is freely confessed by some of the more frank and ingenuous writers of the Romish Church; as Valesius*

* Vales. Not. in Euseb. lib. ii. c. xvii. (Aug. Taur. 1746. p. 60.) Τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ἀσκητῶν. Musculus et Christophorus monachos his verbis significari existimarunt: a quibus magnopere dissentio: ἀσκητὰς enim prisce illis temporibus vocabant eos, qui inter Christianos strictius quoddam ac durius vitæ genus profitebantur. Quam vocem a philosophis mutuati erant, qui exercitationem

and Mr. Pagi^b, who correct the mistake of Baronius, Christopherson, and others, in this matter. Eusebius, speaking of Philo Judæus's description of the Egyptian *Therapeutæ*, says^c, "He therein exactly described the life of the Christian ascetics that lived in those times." Where, by ascetics, Christopherson and Baronius understood Monks and Religious, as they speak in the modern style: but Valesius rightly observes, that there were no monks in the time of Philo; but both the name and institution of them was of much later dates. 'Ascetic' was a more general name than that of 'monk;' for, though every monk was an ascetic, yet every ascetic was not a monk; but anciently, every Christian that made profession of a more strict and austere life, was dignified with the name of ascetic; which is a name borrowed by the Christians from the ancient philosophers, as Valesius shows out of Arrian, Artemidorus, and Philo; and signifies, as the word imports, 'any one that exercises himself by the severe rules of abstinence and virtue;' of which kind there were always ascetics, without being monks, from the first foundation of the Church by the Apostles.

SECT. III.—*What the Primitive Ascetics were.*

Such were all those that inured themselves to greater degrees of abstinence and fasting than other men. As those

virtutis atque abstinentiæ ἀσκησιν vocabant. Est apud Arrianum in lib. iii. dissertationum, caput περὶ ἀσκήσεως. Sic apud Artemidorum in lib. iv. c. xxxv. Alexander quidam philosophus ἀσκητῆς vocatur. Et Philo in illud, Excitatus est Noë, p. 280, ἀσκητὴν, pietatis exercitiis deditum vocat. Recte igitur Rufinus hæc Eusebii verba tam de clericis quam de monachis interpretatus est: 'Sed et abinentium vitas, eorum duntaxat, qui nunc in ecclesiis vel monasteriis degunt, describit ad liquidum.' Hæc si animadvertisset Scaliger, non tam facile reprehendisset Eusebium. Neque enim Eusebius monachos a Marco institutos esse dicit Alexandriæ, sed ascetas. Hi autem multum distant a monachis, ut genus distat a specie. Et ascetæ quidem in ecclesia fuerunt semper: monachorum vero nomen et institutum serius cœpit. Scio Cassianum (in lib. ii. Institutionum, capite v.), Sozomenum, et alios hunc Eusebii locum de monachis accepisse. Verum hi ab Eusebii mente, meo quidem iudicio, longe aberrarunt.—See note (r) page 241.

^b Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 62. n. iv. [qui istam Valesii observationem recitat, et calculo suo approbat. *Griechow.*]

^c Euseb. lib. ii. c. xvii. (Aug. Taur. 1746. p. 60. C 7.) Τὸν βίον τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀσκητῶν ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα ἀκριβέστατα ιστορῶν, κ. τ. λ.

mentioned by Origen^d, who abstained from flesh and living creatures, as well as the Pythagoreans, but upon very different principles and designs. The Pythagoreans abstained upon the fond imagination of the transmigration of souls, lest a father should kill and eat his own son in the body of a living creature; “but the ascetics,” says he, “among us do it only to keep under the body, and bring it into subjection; to mortify their members upon earth, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, and all inordinate passions and affections.” Such abstinence the Apostolical Canons call^e “*Ἀσκησις*, ‘the exercise of an ascetic life,’ saying, “If any bishop, presbyter, or deacon, or any other of the clergy, abstain from marriage, flesh, or wine, οὐ διὰ ἄσκησιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ βδελυρίαν—not for exercise sake, but as abominating the good creatures of God, &c., let him either reform himself, or be deposed and cast out of the Church.” So that all who exercised themselves with abstinence from flesh only for mortification, and not out of an opinion of its uncleanness, as some heretics did, were reckoned ascetics, whether they were of the laity or clergy. Some of these not only abstained from flesh, but often continued their fasts for two or three days together, without taking any food at all; of which there are frequent instances in Irenæus^f, and

^d Orig. cont. Cels. lib. v. (Cantab. 1677. p. 264.) “Ὅρα τὴν διαφορὰν τοῦ αἰτίου τῆς τῶν ἐμψύχων ἀποχῆς, τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πυθαγόρου, καὶ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀσκητῶν· ἐκείνοι μὲν, διὰ τὴν περὶ ψυχῆς μετενσωματουμένης μῦθον, ἐμψύχων ἀπέχονται·

—καὶ τινες φίλον νὺν αἰέρας,

Σφάζει ἐπευχόμενος μέγα νῆπιος;—

ἡμεῖς δὲ, κἂν τὸ τοιοῦτο πράττωμεν, ποιοῦμεν αὐτὸ, ἐπεὶ ὑπωπιάζομεν τὸ σῶμα καὶ δουλαγωγούμεν· καὶ βουλόμεθα νεκροῦν τὰ μέλη τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, πορνείαν, ἀκαθαρσίαν, ἀσελγείαν, πάθος, ἐπιθυμίαν κακὴν· καὶ πάντα γε πράττομεν, ἵνα τὰς πράξεις τοῦ σώματος θανατώσωμεν.

^e Can. Apost. c. l. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 37.) Εἰ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, ἢ ὧλος τοῦ καταλόγου τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ, γάμων, καὶ κρεῶν, καὶ οἴνου, οὐ δὲ ἄσκησιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ βδελυρίαν ἀπέχεται, ἐπιλαθόμενος ὅτι πάντα καλὰ λίαν, καὶ ὅτι ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ βλασφημῶν διαβάλλει τὴν δημιουργίαν, ἢ διορθώσθω, ἢ καθαίρεισθω, καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποβαλλέσθω.

^f Iren. ap. Euseb. lib. v. c. xxiv. (Camb. 1720. p. 246.) Οἱ μὲν οἰονταὶ μίαν ἡμέραν δεῖν αὐτοὺς νηστεῖν· οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ καὶ πλείονας· οἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ὥρας ἡμερινὰς τε καὶ νυκτερινὰς συμμετροῦσι τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτῶν.

Dionysius of Alexandria^g, and Epiphanius^h, and others. And such, again, were called asceticsⁱ, from the severe exercise of fasting, to which they accustomed themselves.

Secondly. In like manner, they who were more than ordinarily intent upon the exercise of prayer, and spent their time in devotion, were justly thought to deserve the name of ascetics. Whence Cyril of Jerusalem^k, speaking of Anna, the prophetess, who departed not from the temple, but served God with fasting and prayer, night and day, styles her 'Ἀσκήτρια εὐλαβεστέρα', 'the religious ascetic'; which the common translations, not so correctly, render, *monialis*; as if she had been confined to a monastery or a cloister; of which we read nothing in those times in Jerusalem.

Thirdly. The exercise of charity, and contempt of the world, in any extraordinary degree, as when men gave up their whole estate to the service of God or use of the poor, was another thing that gave men the denomination and title of ascetics. In this respect, St. Jerome^l calls Pierius a wonderful ascetic; because, among other things, he embraced a voluntary poverty, and lived an austere and philosophic life. And, perhaps, for the same reason, he gives Serapion, bishop of Antioch, the same title^m, as having freely given up his whole estate to the service of the Church upon his ordination; which was a prac-

^g Dionys. Ep. Can. apud Bevereg. Pand. tom. ii. p. 3. 'Ἐπεὶ μὴδὲ τὰς ἑξ τῶν νηστειῶν ἡμέρας ἴσως μὴδὲ ὁμοίως πάντες διαμένουσιν· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν καὶ πάσας ὑπεριθίσουσιν, αἱτοὶ διατελοῦντες, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ τρεῖς, οἱ δὲ τίσσεσας, οἱ δὲ οὐδεμίαν.

^h Epiphanius. Exposit. Fid. n. xxii. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 1105. C 4.) Οἱ σπουδαῖοι διπλᾶς, καὶ τριπλᾶς, καὶ τετραπλᾶς ὑπεριθίσονται, καὶ ὅλην τὴν ἐβδομάδα τινὲς ἄχρι ἀλεκτρονίων κλαγγῆς, τῆς Κυριακῆς ἐπιφωσκούσης.

ⁱ Antioch. Hom. vii. in Biblioth. Patr. Græc. Latin. tom. ii. p. 1037. Νηστεία ἐστὶν οὐ μόνον τὸ βραδυφαγῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ βραχυφαγῆσαι, καὶ οὐ διὰ δύο ἐσθίου (τοῦτο ἀσκήσις ἐστίν) ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ πολυφαγῆσαι· ἀσκήσις γάρ ἐστιν ἐν μονοειδέϊ τροφῇ συνεσταλμένη τράπεζα.

^k Cyrill. Catech. x. n. 19. (Venet. 1763. p. 146.) Καὶ Ἄννα προφῆτις ἐγκρατῆς, εὐλαβεστέρα, καὶ ἀσκήτρια, μαρτυρεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ.

^l Hieronym. de Scriptor. Eccles. c. lxxvi. (Vallars. vol. ii. p. 915.) Constat hunc miræ ἀσκήσεως et appetitorem voluntariæ paupertatis.

^m Ibid. c. xli. (p. 883.) Leguntur ejus breves epistolæ, auctoris sui ἀσκήσις et vitæ congruentes.

tice very common in those days ; as appears from the examples of Cyprian, Paulinus, Gregory Nazianzen, and many others.

Fourthly. The widows and virgins of the Church, and all such as confined themselves to a single life, and made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake, were reckoned into the number of ascetics ; though there was then neither cloister nor vow to keep them under this obligation. Thus Epiphaniusⁿ observes of Marcion, that, before he fell into his heresy, he lived an ascetic life, professing celibacy under his father, who was bishop of Sinope, in Pontus, by whom he was excommunicated for corrupting one of the virgins of the Church. Origen^o, in like manner, alludes to this name, when he says, " The number of those who exercised themselves in perpetual virginity among the Christians, was great in comparison of those few who did it among the Gentiles : " and hence, in after ages, the word *Ascetria*, in the civil law^p, is commonly put to signify the widows and virgins of the Church.

Lastly. All such as exercised themselves with uncommon hardships or austerities, for the greater promotion of piety and religion, as in frequent watchings, humicubations, and the like, had the name of ascetics also. In allusion to which Athanasius, or whoever is the author of the *Synopsis Scripturæ*, among his works, styles Lucian, the martyr^q, *Μέγαν άσκητήν*, ' the great ascetic,' because of the hardships he endured in prison ; being forced to lodge on sharp potsherds for twelve days together, with his feet and hands so bound in the stocks that he could not move ; and being denied all sustenance, except he would eat things sacrificed to idols ;

ⁿ Epiph. Hæres. 42. xlii. n. i. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 302. B 9.) Τὸν δὲ πρῶτον αὐτοῦ βίον παρθενίαν δῆθεν ἤσκει· μονάζων γὰρ ὑπῆρχε, κ. τ. λ.

^o Orig. cont. Cels. lib. vii. p. 365. 'Εν Χριστιανοῖς οὐ διὰ τὰς παρὰ ἀνθρώποις τιμὰς, οὐ διὰ μισθοῦς καὶ ἀργύρια, οὐδὲ διὰ δοξάριον, ἀσκούσιν τὴν παντελῆ παρθενίαν.

^p Justin. Novel. cxliii. c. xliii. Εἴ τις ἀρπάσει, ἢ ὑπονοθεύσει, ἢ διαφθείρῃ ἀσκήτριαν, κ. τ. λ.

^q Athan. Synop. (Paris. 1698. vol. ii. p. 203, at bottom.) (tom. ii. p. 157, edit. Paris. 1627.) 'Εβδόμη πάλιν καὶ τελευταία ἐρμηνεία, ἢ τοῦ ἁγίου Λουκίου, τοῦ μεγάλου ἀσκητοῦ καὶ μάρτυρος, κ. τ. λ.

rather than pollute himself with which, he chose to die with famine; as the Acts of his martyrdom relate the story.

Now, from this account that has been given of the primitive ascetics, it plainly appears that originally they were not monks, but men of all orders, that freely chose such a way of living as engaged them upon some austerities, without deserting their station or business in the world, whether it were ecclesiastical or secular, that they were otherwise engaged in: and, therefore, wherever we read of ascetics in the writers of the three first ages, we must not, with Baronius, dream of monks and regulars; but take them for persons of another character, agreeable to this description. Valesius^r makes this observation upon several passages in Eusebius's Book of the Martyrs of Palestine, who suffered in the beginning of the fourth century, in the Diocletian persecution. There he terms one of them^a "Peter, the ascetic;" and another, called Seleucus^t, "a follower of the religious ascetics, whose chief exercise was to take care of the fatherless and widows, and minister to the sick and the poor." These were no monks, as Valesius rightly observes; for St. Jerome says, there were no monks in Palestine before Hilarion, who brought the monastic life into use in that country; nor till about fifty years after the death of those martyrs. Cotelerius^u makes the like remark upon the

^r Vales. Not. in Euseb. de Martyr. Palæstin. c. xi. (Aug. Taur. 1746. p. 380.) Male Christophorus non monachos intellexit (per ascetas). Neque enim tunc temporis ulli adhuc erant monachi. At si qui erant, longe ab illis distabant ascetæ. Nam monachi, ut nomen ipsum indicat, solitudinem sectabantur: ascetæ vero in mediis versabantur urbibus. Quicumque igitur ex Evangelii præceptis severiorem vitam instituerant, et cuncta propter Deum reliquerant, ascetæ dicebantur. Sic Petrus quidam asceta, et virgo ascetria, nominatur supra in hoc Eusebii libro. Quos si quis monachos nominare vellet, is procul dubio falleretur. Conf. supra not. (a) p. 236.

^s Euseb. de Martyr. Palæst. c. x. (p. 375.) Πέτρος ἀσκητής ὁ καὶ Ἀψέλαμος.

^t Ibid. c. xi. (p. 380. B 7.) Μετὰ τὴν τῆς στρατείας ἀπαλλαγὴν, ζηλωτὴν ἑαυτὸν καταστήσας τῶν τῆς θεοσεβείας ἀσκητῶν ὀρφανῶν ἐρήμων καὶ χηρῶν ἀπεριστάτων, τῶν τε ἐν πενίαις καὶ ἀσθενείαις ἀπερρίμμένων, ἐπίσκοπος, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπίκουρος, πατρὸς καὶ κηδεμόνος δίκην ἀνατίφεται.

^u Coteler. (vol. i. p. 405.) Οἱ ἀσκηταί. Non monachi ascetæ; sed laici, in severioribus pietatis officiis sese exercentes: quales semper inter Christianos exstitisse, dubitari non debet; ut et ecclesiasticas virgines nequaquam moniales ascetrias. Nam opus, quod notis imus illustratum, ante exortum vite monasticæ

author of the Apostolical Constitutions^x, who speaks of ascetics among other orders of Christians, but never of monks; whence he concludes, not without some probability, "that that author wrote before the monastic life was settled in the Church; else it is hardly to be imagined, that he should not, somewhere in his Collections, have taken notice of monks as well as others."

SECT. IV.—*When the Monastic Life first began.*

Ascetics, then, there always were in the Church; but the monastic life, neither name nor thing, was known till toward the fourth century. Mr. Pagi^y fixes its original to the time of Constantine, and he cites Holstenius^z and Papebrochius^a

conscriptum fuit: unde in eo nulla illius mentio, multa habenda, si per tempus licuisset.

^x Constit. Apost. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 484. E 2.) *Μετὰ τοῦτο μεταλαμβάνετε ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἔπειτα οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ διάκονοι, καὶ ὑποδιάκονοι, καὶ οἱ ἀναγνώσται, καὶ οἱ ψάλται, καὶ οἱ ἀσκηταί, καὶ ἐν ταῖς γυναῖξιν αἱ διακόνισσαι, καὶ αἱ παρθέναι, καὶ αἱ χήραι· εἶτα τὰ παῖδια, καὶ τότε πᾶς ὁ λαὸς κατὰ τάξιν μετὰ αἰδούς καὶ εὐλαβείας ἀνευ θορύβου.*

^y Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 318, n. xii. (Lucræ, 1738. vol. iii. p. 645.) In Actis S. Pachomii a monacho supparis ævi scriptis capite primo dicitur: 'Quum finem accepisset persecutio, regnavit Constantinus M. imperatorum Romanorum primus Christianus; et adversus tyrannum quemdam bello contendens, multos etiam tirones conquiri jussit: quos inter ipse quoque in militiam abreptus est Pachomius, vigesimum tunc circiter agens ætatis suæ annum;' et deinde ait, Pachomium sub Palæmone in Ægypto monachatum amplexum esse. Hactenus ignoratum, de quo tyranno ibi sermo fiat. Baronius quidem Licinium intelligit; alii Maxentium; alii Achillem, qui Diocletiano imperante tyrannidem in Ægypto arripuit. Sed quidquid sit, recte Holstenius, in præfatione ad Regulas Veterum Monachorum, ætati Constantini M. vitæ regularis initia imputat: illi enim consentit Actorum S. Pachomii auctor, quum dicit in prologo, quod, extremæ persecutionis tempore, [sc. Diocletianæe,] 'tunc et monasteria cepta sunt extrui, et ascetarum habitacula in vitæ innocentia et rerum omnium abdicatione fundari;' idque, ut ait ipse, exemplo potissimum S. Antonii, 'ascetæ clarissimi et in omni virtutum genere excellentis, cujus ea fuit vitæ ratio, quam et magnus Elias, et Eliseus, et Joannes Baptista, quondam tenuerunt.'

^z Holsten. Præf. ad Regul. Veter. Monach. c. i. Verum ut alia multa ecclesiastica monumenta illorum temporum, sic memoria distinctior primævæ illius vitæ regularis, Diocletiani flammis, quibus Christiana tabularia conflagravit, abolita fuit. Ex his porro, quæ supersunt, monumentis ætati Constantini Magni vitæ regularis initia imputanda sunt: tunc scilicet per ecclesiæ pacem ea perpetuari sine interpellatione, dilatari sine obstaculis potuit.

^a Papebroch. Com. in Acta Pachomii, Maii 14, tom. iii. act. Sanctor. p. 295.

for the same opinion. The rise of it was thus. In the Decian persecution, which was about the middle of the third century, many persons in Egypt, to avoid the fury of the storm, fled to the neighbouring deserts and mountains, where they not only found a safe retreat, but also more time and liberty to exercise themselves in acts of piety and divine contemplations; which sort of life, though at first forced upon them by necessity, became so agreeable to some of them, that, when the persecution was over, they would not return to their ancient habitations again; but chose rather to continue in those cottages or cells, which they had made themselves in the wilderness. The first and most noted of these were Paul and Antonius, two famous Egyptians; whom, therefore, St. Jerome calls^b, “the fathers of the Christian hermits.” For though some deduced them from John the Baptist and Elias, yet they who understood the matter best, reckoned Paul the Thebæan the first author, and Antony the great encourager, of that way of living among the Christians; to which opinion, as the truest, St. Jerome himself subscribes^c. But, as yet, there were no bodies or communities of men embracing this life, nor any monasteries built, nor any regular societies formed into any method of government; but only a few single persons scattered here and there in the deserts of Egypt, till Pachomius, in the peaceable reign of Constantine, when the persecutions were ended, procured some monasteries to be built in Thebais, in Egypt, from whence the custom of living as regulars in societies, was followed, by degrees, in other parts of the world, in the succeeding ages. This is evident from what Papebrochius and Pagi^d have observed out of the ancient writer of the Acts of Pachomius, where the author brings in Antony, the hermit, thus comparing the different states of monachism

^b Hieron. Ep. xxii. ad Eustoch. c. xvi. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 120, at bottom.) Quia nunc de virginibus scribens, pene superfluum de monachis disputavi, ad tertium genus veniam, quos ‘anachoretas’ vocant; qui de cenobiis exeuntes, excepto pane et sale, ad deserti nihil perferunt amplius. Hujus vitæ auctor Paulus, illustrator Antonius.

^c Hieron. Vit. Paul. tom. i. p. 237, edit. Basil. 1565, (p. 154, edit. Francof. 1684.) Adfirmant Paulum quemdam Thebæum principem istius rei fuisse: quod non tam nomine quam opinione nos quoque comprobamus.

^d Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 318, n. xii. (xiv.) (vol. iii. p. 647.)

together. "When I first became a monk," says he^c, "there was as yet no monastery in any part of the world, where one man was obliged to take care of another; but every one of the ancient monks, when the persecution was ended, exercised a monastic life, by himself, in private: but afterward, your father, Pachomius," (he speaks to one of Pachomius's disciples), "by the help of God, effected this;"—that is, he brought the monks to live in communities, and under rules, which they had not done before. So that here we see at once the rise and progress of the monastic life. Till the year 250, there were no monks, but only ascetics, in the Church; from that time to the reign of Constantine, monachism was confined to the anchorets living in private cells in the wilderness; but, when Pachomius had erected monasteries in Egypt, other countries presently followed the example: and so the monastic life came to its full maturity in the Church. Hilarion, who was scholar to Antonius, was the first monk that ever lived in Palestine or Syria: for St. Jerome says plainly^f, there was neither monastery nor monk before he came there; but he was the founder and beginner of that sort of life in those provinces. Not long after, Eustathius, bishop of Sebastia, brought it into the regions of Armenia, Paphlagonia, and Pontus, as Sozomen^g informs us; but as yet there were no monasteries in Thrace, or Illyricum, or amongst the Europeans, as the same author testifies. Baronius^h owns there were no monasteries in Italy

* Acta Pachomii, c. xxvii. ap. Papebroch. die 14 Maii. Quo ego primum tempore monachum coepi agere, nullum uspiam extabat coenobium, in quo de aliorum salute cura aut metus cuiquam erat: sed quisque antiquorum monachorum, persecutione jam finita, privatim in vita sese monastica exercebat: postea vero Pater vester (Pachomius) tantum bonum, Deo adjuvante, effectit.

^f Hieron. Vit. Hilar. c. xi. (Vallars. vol. ii. p. 19, at bottom.) Nec dum enim tunc monasteria erant in Palæstina, nec quisquam monachum ante sanctum Hilarionem in Syria noverat. Ille fundator et eruditor hujus conversationis et studii in hac provincia fuit.

^g Sozom. lib. iii. c. xiv. (Aug. Taur. 1746. p. 106. C 4.) 'Αρμενίους καὶ Παφλαγόσι καὶ τοῖς πρὸς τὸν Πόντον οἰκοῦσι, λέγεται Εὐστάθιος, ὁ τὴν ἐν Σεβαστίᾳ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιτροπεύσας, μοναχικῆς πολιτείας ἄρξαι, καὶ τῆς ἐν ταύτῃ σπουδαίας ἀγωγῆς, ἰδεσμάτων τε ὧν χρὴ μετέχειν καὶ ἀπέχεσθαι, καὶ ἐσθῆτος ἣ δὲ κεχρῆσθαι, καὶ ἡθῶν, καὶ πολιτείας ἀκριβοῦς εἰσηγητὴν γενόμενον.

^h Baron. an. 340, n. 7. (Luceæ, vol iv. p. 342.) Quam proficiuus fuerit Athanasii Romam accessus, vel ex eo potest intelligi, quod in urbem invexerit ipse

or Rome, till Athanasius came hither (an. 340), and taught the anchorets to live in societies, after the example of Pachomius and the Egyptian monks; which is confirmed by St. Jerome¹, who says, “Marcella was the first noble woman that embraced the monastic life at Rome, and that she was instructed by Athanasius and Peter, his successor, who fled to Rome for shelter against the Arian persecution.” It was some time after this, that St. Martin, bishop of Tours, fixed his cell in France; and eighty other monks^k followed his example: from whence, some learned men^l think, Pelagius brought the monastic life first into Britain, in the beginning of the fifth century; beyond which period I think it needless to carry the present inquiry. They who would know the rise and distinction of the several later orders, may consult Hospinian, Creccelius, and others, who pursue this history through all ages^m.

SECT. V.—*In what the Ascetics differed from Monks.*

But it may now be properly inquired, since monks are of so much later date than ascetics, how the ancient ascetics differed from them? To which it may be replied, chiefly in these three things:—1. That the monks were men that retired from the business and conversation of the world; for they either lived in private cells singly by themselves; or, if in monasteries and societies, yet those were remote from cities, in some far distant mountain, or a desert wilderness. But the

primus Ægyptiorum monachorum institutionem, vitamque admirandam Antonii Magni, licet adhuc viventis, a se conscriptam detulerit, etc.

¹ Hieron. Epist. xvi. Epitaph. Marcellæ. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 954. B 2.) Nulla eo tempore nobilium feminarum noverat Romæ propositum monachorum, nec audebat, propter rei novitatem, ignominiosum (ut tunc putabatur), et vile in populis nomen adsumere. Hæc (Marcella) ab Alexandrinis sacerdotibus, papaque Athanasio, et postea Petro, qui persecutionem Arianae hæreseos declinantes, quasi ad tutissimum communionis suæ portum Romam confugerant, vitam beati Antonii adhuc tunc viventis, monasteriorumque in Thebaide, Pachomii, et virginum ac viduarum didicit disciplinam.

^k Sever. Vit. Martin. c. vii. (c. x. p. 315, edit. Lips. 1703.) Discipuli octoginta erant, qui ad exemplum beati magistri instituebantur.

^l Sutlif. de Monach. Institut. c. vi.

^m Vid. Hospinianum de Origin. Monachor. Creccelii Collectanea de Origin. et Fundat. Ordinum Monastic. &c.

first ascetics, as their name implies, were always men of an active life, living in cities, as other men, and in nothing differing from them, save only in this, that they were more intent and zealous in attempting greater heights and heroical acts of Christian virtue.

2. The monks, by their first institution, as we shall see hereafter, were to be no more than laymen: for, being confined to the wilderness, the clerical and monastic life were, upon that account, incompatible states; and, for almost one whole age, they were scarce ever joined together. But the ancient ascetics were indifferently persons of any order of men, clergy as well as laity, because the clerical and ascetic life were then consistent with each other; the business of each being to converse with men, and exercise themselves in acts of piety and charity among them.

3. The monks, at least such as lived in monasteries and societies, were always brought under certain private rules and laws of discipline; but the ancient ascetics had no laws but those of the Gospel and the Church where they lived, to be governed by; their exercises were freely chosen, and as freely pursued, in what manner and to what degree they pleased, without any binding laws or rules of compulsion. And these things are a further proof, that the first ascetics were no monks, however some writers unwarily confound them together.

SECT. VI.—*What other Names they were called by.*

The reader may take notice of one thing more concerning the primitive ascetics, that they were sometimes called by other names. Eusebiusⁿ calls them Σπουδαῖοι, and Epiphanius^o uses the same appellation; meaning persons more eminent for their sanctity, and diligence in the exercises of fasting, and prayer, and alms-deeds, and the like. Clemens Alexandrinus^p styles them Ἐκλεκτῶν ἐκλεκτότεροι, ‘the elect of the

ⁿ Euseb. lib. vi. c. xi. p. 312. A. Τοῖς μάλιστα αὐτῶν σπουδαίοις. [Ἐρημον ἀδελφῶν καὶ σπουδαίων ἀνθρώπων ἔφασκον εἶναι τὸ χωρίον.]

^o Epiphani. Exposit. Fid. n. 22. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 1104. C 4.) Ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ σπουδαῖοι διπλᾶς, καὶ τριπλᾶς, καὶ τετραπλᾶς ὑπεριθύνονται.

^p Clem. Alexandr. Homil. Quis Dives salvetur, n. 36. (Venet. 1757. p. 955. 30.) Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ εἰσὶν ἤδη τινὲς καὶ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν ἐκλεκτότεροι, καὶ τοσοῦτῃ

elect;' for all Christians, as has been observed in another place^a, were called 'the elect;' and therefore the ascetics are termed 'the elect of the elect;' because they were the more eminent or choice part of Christian professors.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE SEVERAL SORTS OF MONKS, AND THEIR WAYS OF LIVING IN THE CHURCH.

SECT. I.—*Several Sorts of Monks, distinguished by their different Ways of Living.*

HAVING hitherto showed the difference between the first ascetics and monks, I come now to speak a little more particularly of the monks alone, so far as may be necessary to inform the reader of the true state of the monastic life, at its first appearance and settlement in the Church. And here we are to observe, that the ancient monks were not like the modern, distinguished into orders, and denominated from the authors and founders of them; but they had their names either from the places where they inhabited, as the monks of Mount Scethis, Tabennesus, Nitria, Canopus, in Egypt, &c. or else they were distinguished by their different ways of living, some in cells, others on pillars, others in societies, and others by a roving and rambling kind of life, which were always reckoned a dishonour and reproach to the Church.

SECT. II.—*The first, called Anchorets, 'Αναχωρηταί.*

The first sort were commonly known by the name of 'anchorets,' from their retiring from society, and living in private cells in the wilderness. Such were Paul, and Antony, and Hilarion, the first founders of the monastic life in Egypt and Palestine; from whom other monks took their model.

μᾶλλον ἤττον ἐπίσημοι πρὸς τὸν λιμένα ἐκ τοῦ κλύδωνος τοῦ κόσμου νεωλοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἐπανάγοντες ἐπ' ἀσφαλές.

^a Book i. chap. i. sect. i.

Some of these lived in caves, ἐν σπηλαίοις, as Chrysostom^a says, the monks of Mount Casius, near Antioch, did; and others in little tents or cells. Οἰκίσκοι, Evagrius^b calls them; and Chrysostom, Σκηναί, 'tabernacles.' When many of these were placed together in the same wilderness at some distance from one another, they were all called by one common name *Laura*; which, as Evagrius^c informs us, differed from a *Cænobium* or *community* in this, that a *Laura* was many cells divided from each other, where every monk provided for himself; but a *Cænobium* was but one habitation, where the monks lived in society, and had all things in common. Epiphanius says^d, *Laura* or *Labra* was the name of a street, or district, where a church stood at Alexandria: and it is probable that from thence the name was taken to signify a multitude of cells in the wilderness, united, as it were, in a certain district, yet so divided as to make up many separate habitations; whereas a *Cænobium* was more like a single house for many monks to dwell in.

SECT. III.—*The second,—Cænobitæ, or Synoditæ.*

And hence arose a second sort of monks, who, from their different way of living, were commonly called *Cænobitæ*; and their habitations, *Cænobia*, Κοινόβια, because they lived in

^a Chrysost. Hom. xvii. ad Popul. Antioch. (Bened. Venet. 1734. vol. ii. p. 172. A 8.) (p. 192. D. Francof. 1698.) "Ἐτεσι τοσούτοις ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν καλίβαις συγκεκλεισμένοι, οὐδενὸς παρακαλίσαντος, οὐδενὸς συμβουλευσαντος, ἐπειδὴ τοσούτον νέφος εἶδον τὴν πόλιν περιϊστάμενον, καταλιπόντες αὐτῶν τὰς σκηνάς, καὶ τὰ σπήλαια, πάντοθεν συνίρρυσαν, κ. τ. λ.

^b Evagr. lib. i. c. xxi. (Aug. Taur. 1746. p. 253. C 1.) "Ἐτεροι αὖ πάλιν ἀπεναντίας ἰόντες, μόνους ἑαυτοὺς καθειργνύουσιν ἐν οἰκίσκοις, τοσούτον εὖρος, τοσούτον ὕψος ἔχουσιν, ὥς μὴδὲ τὰ σώματα ἀνορθοῦν, μὴδὲ μὲν ἐπ' ἀδείας τὰς κλίσεις ποιεῖσθαι σπηλαιοῖς προσκαρτεροῦντες, καὶ ταῖς ὁπαῖς τῆς γῆς, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἀποστόλου φωνήν.

^c Evagr. lib. i. (Aug. T. 1746. p. 253. A 2.) "Ὅμως δ' οὖν ἀνά τὴν ἀγίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ πόλιν γενομένη, πολλὰ πρὸς τιμῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος πίπραχε Θεοῦ ὥστε καὶ εὐαγγ. δειμασθαι φροντιστήρια καὶ τὰς καλουμένας Λαύρας.

^d Epiph. Hæres. lxi. n. i. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 727. C 9.) "Ὅσαι ἐκκλησίαι τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ ὑπὸ ἑνα ἀρχιεπίσκοπον οὔσαι, καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ταύταις ἐπιτεταγμένοι εἰσὶ πρεσβύτεροι, διὰ τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς χρείας τῶν οἰκτόρων, πλησίων ἐκάστης ἐκκλησίας αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀμφοδῶν, ἦτοι λαβῶν (λαυρῶν) ἐπιχωρίως καλουμένων, ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν Ἀλεξανδρίαν κατοικοῦντων πόλιν.

common. In the Theodosian Code^e they are also called *Synoditæ*; which does not signify the attendants of monks, as some civilians^f by mistake explain the word, deriving it from *σύν* and *ὁδῖτης*, *viator*; but it denotes the monks themselves, who were so called from their living, *ἐν συνόδοις* ‘in communities or convents.’ And in this they differed from Anchorets, as has been noted before. Gennadius^g applies these two names indifferently to this second sort of monks, when he says, “Evagrius wrote a book concerning Cœnobites and Synodites, containing rules and directions for leading a life in common.” St. Jerome^h says, the Egyptians called this sort of monks *Sauses*, in their proper tongue, which signifies the same as Cœnobites in the Greek and Latin Church; and that the Anchorets were of a different order from them, and had their name from living in solitude, or singly by themselves in the wilderness.

SECT. IV.—*The third,—Sarabaitæ.*

There was another sort, he says, whom the Egyptians called *Remoboth*, who were a sort of monks that would live as they listed themselves, only two or three together, under no rule or governmentⁱ. They did not resort to the wilderness as the

^e Cod. Theod. lib. xi. tit. xxx. de Appellat. leg. lviii. Addictos supplicio, nulli clericorum vel monachorum, eorum etiam quos Synoditas vocant, per vim atque usurpationem vindicare liceat, etc.—It. Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. iv. de Episcopali Audientia, leg. vi.

^f Lexicon. Juridic. voce Synoditæ: Geneva, 1615, 8. *Συνόδοις* dici videntur comites monachorum, nam *ὁδῖτης* viatorem significat; solent autem monachi ex collegii sui inferiore ordine quempiam deligere, qui eos comitetur, quos Galli Culopolos appellat, quod (ut quidam aiunt) a tergo monachorum concionantium sedentes, illos horæ præteritæ culpulsiōne admoncant.

^g Gennad. de Scriptor. in Evagrio. Composuit de Cœnobitis ac Synoditis doctrinam aptam vitæ communis.

^h Hieron. Ep. xxii. ad Eustoch. c. xv. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 118. C 11.) Tria sunt in Ægypto genera monachorum: unum, *Cœnobitæ*, quod illi *Sauses* gentili lingua vocant; nos ‘in commune viventes’ possumus appellare. Secundum, *Anchoretæ*, qui soli habitant per deserta; et ab eo quod procul ab hominibus recesserint, nuncupantur. Tertium genus est quod *Remoboth* dicunt, deterrimum atque neglectum, etc.

ⁱ Ibid. Hi bini vel terni, nec multo plures simul habitant, suo arbitratu ac ditione viventes. . . . Habitant autem quamplurimum in urbibus et castellis: et quasi ars sit sancta, non vita, quicquid vendiderint, majoris est pretiū. Inter

others, but lived chiefly in cities and castles; where every thing they did might be seen and valued by men, which was the only end they aimed at; for they turned religion into an art, and made a real gain of pretended godliness. Whatever they sold of the work of their own hands, was at a higher price than any others. And this made them very turbulent and contentious; for, living upon their own labour, they would be subject to no superiors. They fasted to an extraordinary degree; but then they made that, which should have been a private exercise, matter of strife, and public victory and triumph. Every thing about them was affected,—loose sleeves, wide stockings, coarse clothes, often sighing, making frequent visits to the virgins, and always bitterly inveighing against the clergy. But, if ever there came a feast-day, they would indulge themselves even to riot and excess. These, therefore, St. Jerome justly brands as the pests and banes of the Church. He that would see more of their character, may consult Cassian^k, among the ancient writers, who exposes them under

hos sæpe sunt jurgia; quia suo viventes cibo, non patiuntur se alicui esse subjectos. Revera solent certare jejuniis; et rem secreti victoriæ faciunt, Apud hos affectata sunt omnia, laxæ manicæ, caligæ follicantes, vestis crassior, crebra suspiria, visitatio virginum, detractio clericorum: et si quando dies festus venerit, saturantur ad vomitum, etc.

^k Cassian. Collat. xviii. c. vii. (Atrebat. 1628. p. 731.) Quum his duabus professionibus monachorum (cœnobarum et anachoretarum) religio Christiana gauderet, cœpisset autem in deterius paullatim hic quoque ordo recidere, emersit post hæc illud deterrimum et infidele monachorum genus, vel potius noxia illa plantatio rediviva concrevit, quæ, per Ananiam et Sapphiram in exordio ecclesiæ pullulans, apostoli Petri severitate succisa est, quæ inter monachos tam diu detestabilis execrandaque judicata est, nec a quoquam ulterius usurpata, quam diu illius tam districtæ formido sententiæ memoriæ fidelium inserta duravit, qua beatus Apostolus prædictos novi facinoris principes, non pœnitentia, non ulla passus est satisfactione curari, sed perniciosissimum germen celeri morte succidit. Illo igitur exemplo, quod in Ananiam et Sapphiram apostolica districtione punitum est, a nonnullorum contemplatione paullatim longa incuria et temporis obliteratione subtracto, emersit illud Sarabaitarum genus, qui ab eo, quod semetipsos a cœnobiolorum congregationibus sequestrarent, ac sigillatim suas curarent necessitates, Ægyptiæ lingue proprietate 'Sarabaitæ' nuncupati sunt, de illorum quos prædiximus numero procedentes, qui evangelicam perfectionem simulare potius quam in veritate arripere maluerunt, æmulatione scilicet eorum vel laudibus provocati, qui universis divitiis mundi perfectam Christi præferunt nuditatem. Hi igitur dum imbecillo animo rem summæ virtutis adfectant, vel necessitate ad hanc professionem

the name of *Sarabaitæ*; and *Spalatensis*¹, among the moderns, who draws the parallel between them and the Minorites, Dominicans, Carmelites, Servites, and Minims of the Romish Church.

SECT. V.—*Of the Stylitæ, or Pillarists.*

Another sort of monks in the ancient Church, of which there were but a very few, were the *Stylitæ*, or *Pillarists*; so called from their taking up a singular way of living perpetually upon a pillar. Symeon, surnamed Stylites, who lived about the time of the Council of Chalcedon, was the first, Evagrius says^m, that introduced this sort of life among the monastic orders. And Theodorus Lectorⁿ observes, “that the novelty

venire compulsi, dum censeri tantummodo nomine monachorum absque ulla studiorum emulatione festinant, cœnobiorum nullatenus expetunt disciplinam, nec seniorum subjiçuntur arbitrio, ut eorum traditionibus instituti, suas discant vincere voluntates; nec ullam sane discretionis regulam legitima eruditione suscipiunt, sed ad publicam tantummodo, id est, ad hominum faciem renuntiantes, aut in suis domiciliis sub privilegio hujus nominis iisdem obstricti occupationibus perseverant; aut construentes sibi cellulas, easque monasteria nuncupantes, suo in eis jure ac libertate consistunt, nequaquam evangelicis præparationibus succumbentes, ut nulla scilicet quotidiani victus sollicitudine, nullis rei familiaris distentionibus occupentur. Quid illi soli absque ulla infideli dubitatione consummant, qui cunctis hujus mundi facultatibus absoluti, ita se cœnobiorum præpositis subdiderunt, ut ne sui quidem ipsius fateantur se dominos. Illi autem qui districtionem, ut diximus, cœnobii declinantes, bini vel terni in cellulis commorantur, non contenti abbatis cura atque imperio gubernari, sed hoc præcipue procurantes, ut absoluti a seniorum jugo, extendendi voluntates suas, et procedendi, vel quo placuerit evagandi, agendive quod libitum fuerit, habeant libertatem, etiam amplius in operibus diurnis, quam hi, qui in cœnobiis degunt, diebus ac noctibus consumuntur, sed non ea fide eodemque proposito. Hoc enim isti faciunt, non ut fructum sui operis subjiçiant dispensatoris arbitrio, sed ut acquirant pecunias quas recondant.

¹ Marc. Ant. de Dominis, de Republ. Eccles. lib. ii. c. xii. n. lxxvii. Si nostri Minoritæ, Dominicani, Carmelitæ, Servitæ, Minimitæ, ac similes, non sunt ipsissimi Sarabaitæ (bonos, si quis inter ipsos est verus cœnobita, excipio) quinam erant, aut jam diu fuerunt? etiam Benedictinos quis non videt ferme plenissime jam diu in veros Sarabaitas degenerasse? etc.

^m Evagr. lib. i. c. xiii. (Aug. Taur. 1746. p. 423.) Ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χρόνοις ἡμασὶ τε καὶ διεφάνη καὶ Συμεωνῆς, ὁ τῆς ὀσίας καὶ πάντα ἀοιδίμον μνήμης, πρῶτος τὴν ἐπὶ κίονος στάσιν ἐπιτηδεύσας, κ. τ. λ.

ⁿ Theod. Lect. lib. ii. (p. 524. C.) Οἱ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μοναχοὶ, περὶ τοῦ ἀγίου Συμεῶνος μαθόντες ὅτι ἐπὶ κίονος ἵσταται, μεταπεψάμενοι τῷ ξένῳ τοῦ πράγματος, πρῶτος γὰρ αὐτὸς τοῦτο ἐπενόησεν· ἀκοινωνήσιαν αὐτοῦ ἐπεμψαν·

of it, at first, was so offensive to the Egyptian monks, that they sent anathematising letters against him; but, upon better information, coming to understand the worth and conversation of the man, they afterward communicated with him." The severity of this way of living was not very inviting; and, therefore, it made but few proselytes. Theodorus Lector^o mentions one Daniel, a disciple of Symeon's; and Evagrius^p speaks of another Symeon in the time of Mauricius, who lived sixty-eight years upon a pillar, and is commonly called Symeon Stylites, Junior, to distinguish him from the former. Johannes Moschus^a gives an account of two or three more of this way in the same age. Surius, also, among his catalogue of saints, has the Life of one Alipius, bishop of Adrianople, who renounced his see to live upon a pillar; where, if the story say true^r, he continued seventy years, having two choirs of virgins, and one of monks, attending him, with whom he sang psalms

εἶτα ἔγνωκότες τὸν βίον τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ τὸν στίφανον, πάλιν αὐτῷ ἱκανώ-
νησαν.

^o Ibid. lib. i. (p. 512. C.) Δανιὴλ ὁ θαυμάσιος ἐκ τῆς Συμεῶνος μάνδρας ἐλθὼν, τῷ στυλῷ ἐπέβη τῷ ἐν τῷ Ἀνόπλῳ.

^p Evagr. lib. vi. c. xxiii. (p. 425. D 10.) Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κίονι, καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ ἐστὼς ἀνωτάτῳ τοῦ ὅρου ἀκρωρείας, δεκτῶ καὶ ἐξήκοντα διετέλει χρόνους.

^a Mosch. Prat. Spirit. c. xxxvi. Quum audisset (sanctus Ephraem) de Stylite illo, qui erat in partibus Hierapolis, quod Severianus esset haereseos, abiit ad illum, ut impietatem diffunderet illi. Coepit ergo divus Ephraem corripere Stylitem, &c.—Cap. lvii. Ἀπὸ τεσσάρων σημείων τῆς πόλεως Αἰγαίων Στυλίτης ἴστατο ὀνόματι Συμεών. Οὗτος ἀπὸ ἀστραπῆς καταβληθεὶς, ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ οὖν Ἀββᾶς Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ Στυλίτης ὁ εἰς τὸν κόλπον, παρὰ τὸν συνήθη καιρὸν, λέγει τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ, Βάλλετε θυμίαμα, κ. τ. λ. — Cap. cxxix. Ὁ αὐτὸς πάλιν Ἀββᾶς Ἀθανάσιος διηγήσατο, ὅτι ἀκήκοεν τοῦ Ἀββᾶ Ἀθηνογένους τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Πέτρου, λέγοντος, ὅτι ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ σου Στυλίτης ἦν, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐρχόμενοι πρὸς αὐτὸν κάτω ἐστῶτες ἐλάλουν αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν αὐτὸν κλίμακα, κ. τ. λ.

^r Sur. tom. vi. vid. Hospin. de Monach. lib. ii. c. v. p. 22, edit. Tigur. 1598. (p. 42, edit. Genev. 1669.) Simile genus vitæ ingressus etiam est Alipius, episcopus Adrianopolitanus, qui, (ut Surius habet, tom. vi. de Vitis Sanctorum,) valedicens terrenis omnibus et amicis et negotiis, vitam egit in columna (unde et Cionita dictus est) per annos septuaginta, inter cælum in terram pendens, adeoque paucis tabulis conclusus in capite columnæ, ut ne quidem parum sedere aut recumbere posset, sed perpetuo staret in ipsa tamquam statua ænea: quin etiam tabulis tandem dejectis, imbris, nivi, frigori, et calori solis, ventis et tempestatibus obnoxius fuit, planeque sub dio vivit usque ad finem vitæ. Habuit sibi adjunctos duos choros virginum et unum monachorum, cum quibus alternatim hymnos et psalmos diu noctuque decantavit.

and hymns alternately night and day. Besides these, we scarce meet with any other of this way, in ancient history: an argument, that it was not of any great esteem, when it was first invented in the primitive Church.

SECT. VI.—*Of Secular Monks.*

Beside these sorts of monks who renounced the world and lived in perpetual celibacy, Spalatensis* thinks there was another order, which did neither of those things, but lived in a married state and enjoyed their own property and possessions: only they exercised themselves in acts of austerity and religion, as the primitive ascetics were used to do, of whom we have given an account in the former chapter. Thus much is certain, from the express words of Athanasius and St. Austin, that, in their time, some went by the name of monks, who were married men, and possessed of estates. For Athanasius, writing to Dracontius, a monk, to persuade him to accept of a bishopric, to which he was averse, because he thought it would not consist with his ascetic way of living, uses this argument to him: "You may still," says he†, "after you are made a bishop, hunger and thirst with Paul, and abstain from wine with Timothy, and fast frequently, as St. Paul was wont to do. Let not, therefore, your counsellors throw such objections in your way. For we know many bishops that fast, and monks

* Spalat. de Rep. lib. ii. c. xi. n. xxii. Non deerant monachi, etiam uxorati in ecclesia catholica: et non apostatæ, sed veri monachi. . . Erat fortasse genus monachorum laicorum et conjugatorum, et cum proprietate rerum, sed vitæ asperioris et religiosæ in pœnitentia: sed hi non erant cœnobitæ.

† Athan. Epist. ad Dracont. (Bened. vol. i. p. 267, at bottom.) (tom. i. p. 958, edit. Paris. 1627.) (p. 267. F, edit. Paris. 1698.) Ἐξεστι γὰρ καὶ ἐπισκοπον ὄντα σε πεινᾶν, καὶ διψᾶν, ὡς ὁ Παῦλος. Δύνασαι μὴ πιεῖν οἶνον, ὡς ὁ Τιμόθεος· καὶ νηστεύειν καὶ αὐτὸς συνεχῶς, ὡς ὁ Παῦλος ἐποίει· ἵνα κατ' ἐκείνον οὕτως νηστεύων, χορτάζῃς ἄλλους ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, καὶ διψῶν ἐν τῷ μὴ πιεῖν, ποτίζῃς ἄλλους διδάσκων· μὴ οὖν ταῦτα προβαλλέτωσαν οἱ συμβουλευόντές σοι· οἶδαμεν γὰρ καὶ ἐπισκόπους μὴ πίνοντας οἶνον, μοναχοὺς δὲ πίνοντας· οἶδαμεν καὶ σημεῖα ποιοῦντας ἐπισκόπους, μοναχοὺς δὲ μὴ ποιοῦντας· πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπισκόπων οὐδὲ γεγαμήκασιν, μοναχοὶ δὲ πατέρες τέκνων γιγόνασιν· ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπισκόπους πατέρας τέκνων καὶ μοναχοὺς ἐξ ὀλοκλήρου γένους τυγχάνοντας· καὶ πάλιν οἶδαμεν κληρικοὺς πεινῶντας, μοναχοὺς δὲ νηστεύοντας· ἔξεστι γὰρ καὶ οὕτως, καὶ ἐκείνως οὐ κεκώλυται· ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ τις ἀγωνιζέσθω· καὶ γὰρ ὁ στέφανος οὐ κατὰ τόπον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀποδίδοται.

that eat and drink ; we know bishops that drink no wine, and monks that do ; we know bishops that work miracles, and monks that work none. Many bishops are not married ; and, on the other hand, many monks are fathers of children. You may also find bishops that are fathers of children, and monks that are not so ; clergy that eat and drink, and monks that fast. For these things are at liberty, and no prohibition laid upon them. Every one exercises himself as he pleases ; for it is not men's stations, but their actions, for which they shall be crowned." From these words of Athanasius, it seems plain that, as yet, the rules of the monastic life obliged no man to renounce either his possessions or a married state ; but he might use both, if he pleased, without any ecclesiastical censure. And, though the case was a little altered with some monks before St. Austin's time, yet others reserved to themselves their ancient privilege ; for St. Austin, writing against the heretics, who called themselves Apostolics, says^u, "They arrogantly assumed to themselves that name, because they rejected all from their communion who had either wives or estates, of which sort the Catholic Church had many, both monks and clergy." So that, at least, some monks were still at liberty to enjoy both a conjugal state, and possessions of their own, without any impeachment of apostasy or breach of vow, in the Catholic Church. For which reason, I have given this sort of monks the distinguishing name of *seculars*.

SECT. VII.—*All Monks originally no more than Laymen.*

Though, to avoid ambiguity in terms, it must be observed, that all monks, at first, might properly be called 'seculars,' as that name is opposed to ecclesiastics. For monks, in their first original, were generally laymen ; nor could they well be otherwise, by their proper constitution, and the general laws of the Catholic Church. For the first monks were generally hermits ; that is, persons confined, by their own rules, to some

^u Aug. de Hæres. c. xl. (Bened. vol. viii. p. 11. E 5.) Apostolici qui se isto nomine arrogantissime vocaverunt, eo quod in suam communionem non recipere utentes conjugibus, et res proprias possidentes ; quales habet Catholica et monachos et clericos plurimos.

desert or wilderness, where solitude was thought to help forward the exercises of contemplation and repentance ; and they had none to take care of but their own souls. But the clerical life required men to live in towns and cities, where crowds of people afforded them proper occasions to exercise the offices of the clerical function ; and it was against the rules of the Catholic Church, as I have shown in another place^v, for any clerk to be ordained without a proper cure or title in some church, where he might do the duties of his function. For this reason it was a thing impracticable in itself, as well as against the rules of the two different states of the clerical and monastic life, that the generality of monks should be clergymen ; which, to the confusion of ancient rules and discipline, has been the unwarrantable practice of later ages, especially since the time of Clement V. (an. 1311), who obliged ^w all monks to take holy orders, that they might say private mass for the honour of God, as he esteemed it ; which was, in truth, a manifest trampling on the laws of the ancient Church, and an affront to her practice. For, anciently, monks were put into the same class with laymen, as they generally were, and considered only as such. St. Jerome gives us at once both the rule and the practice, when he says^x, “ The office of a monk is not to teach, but to mourn ; ” and that “ the cause of the monks and clergy is very different from each other : the clergy are those that feed the sheep, but the monks, among whom he reckons himself, are those that are fed.” It is true St. Jerome was not only a monk, but a presbyter likewise ; but, being ordained against his will, and resolving to continue a monk, he refused to officiate as a presbyter. Which shows, that he had no great opinion of joining the monk and the clerk together ; much less of making all monks in general become clerks, according to the modern practice. The Council of Chalcedon once or twice very expressly distinguishes the monks from the clergy, and reckons them with the laymen. In one canon

^v Book iv. chap. vi. § ii.

^w Vid. Clementin. lib. iii. tit. x. c. i.

^x Hieron. Ep. iv. ad Ripar. *Monachus non docentis, sed plangentis habet officium.*—Idem. Ep. i. ad Heliodor. (tom. i. p. 3, edit. Francof.) *Alia monachorum est causa, alia clericorum : clerici pascunt oves ; ego pascor.*

it says^γ, "Whoever are instrumental in getting others ordained or promoted to any office in the Church for money or filthy lucre, such transactors, if they be clergymen, shall be deposed; if laymen or monks, excommunicated." And another canon^z forbids monks to meddle with ecclesiastical affairs. Both which canons plainly imply, that the monks then were not of the clergy, but merely laymen. Pope Leo^a, at the same time, speaks of them as such, telling Maximus, bishop of Antioch, "that he should not permit monks or laymen, however learned, to usurp the power of teaching or preaching, but only the priests of the Lord." And, therefore, when any monk was to be ordained presbyter or bishop, he was obliged first to go through all other orders of the Church, as it was then customary for laymen to do, before the superior orders were conferred upon them. This we learn from a decree of Pope Gelasius^b, which orders, "that if a monk of good life and learning was minded to be ordained a priest, he should first be made a reader, or a notary, or a defensor; and, after three months, an acolythist; after six months, a subdeacon; after nine months, a deacon; and, at the year's end, a presbyter." So that the difference between a monk and any other layman was only this, that a monk by virtue of his education in a school of learning and good discipline, such as monasteries then were, was supposed to be a better proficient than other laymen; and, therefore, allowed the benefit of a quicker passage through the inferior orders, than other candidates of the

^γ Conc. Chalced. c. ii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 755. D.) *Εἰ δὲ τις καὶ μιστεῦν φανείη τοῖς οὕτως αἰσχροῖς καὶ ἀθεμίτοις λήμμασιν, καὶ οὗτος, εἰ μὲν κληρικός εἴη, τοῦ οἰκείου ἐκπιπτέτω βαθμοῦ· εἰ δὲ λαϊκός, ἡ μονάζων, ἀναθεματίζισθω.*

^z Ibid. c. iv. *Ἐδοξε—τοὺς καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν καὶ χώραν μονάζοντας—μήτε ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς, μήτε βιωτικοῖς παρενοχλεῖν πράγμασιν, ἢ ἐπικοινωνεῖν, καταλιμπάνοντας τὰ ἴδια μοναστήρια, κ. τ. λ.*

^a Leo, Ep. lx. al. lxiii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 885.) *Illud quoque convenit præcavere, ut præter eos qui sunt Domini sacerdotes, nullus sibi jus docendi et prædicandi audeat vindicare, sive sit ille monachus, sive sit laicus, qui alicujus scientiæ nomine gloriatur.*

^b Gelas. Ep. ix. ad Episc. Lucaniæ, c. iii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1188. C 10.) *Si quis de religioso proposito, et disciplinis monasterialibus eruditus, ad clericale munus accedat—continuo lector, vel notarius, aut certe defensor effectus; post tres menses, existat acolythus; sexto mense, subdiaconi nomen accipiat; nono mense, diaconus; completoque anno sit presbyter.*

priesthood. All which shows that, anciently, the generality of monks were only laymen, or, at most, but a middle state betwixt common laymen and the clergy; as the learned men of the Romish Church, Habertus^c, Lindanus^d, and others, scruple not to confess, though they are willing to defend the modern practice. Nay, even Gratian^e himself, who is most concerned for the moderns, owns it to be plain, from ecclesiastical history, that to the time of Popes Siricius and Zosimus the ancient monks were only simple monks, and not of the clergy.

SECT. VIII.—*In what Cases the Clerical and Monastic Life might be conjoined together.*

But, though monks did not anciently aspire to be ordained, nor was it consistent with the rules of the Church that all of them should be so, yet, in several cases, the clerical and monastic life was in some measure capable of being conjoined. As, first, when a monastery happened to be at so great a distance from its proper episcopal or parochial church, that the monks could not ordinarily resort thither for divine service, which was the case of the monasteries in Egypt and other parts of the East, where the monks lived in great deserts, sequestered from the rest of mankind, then some one or more of the monks were ordained for the performance of divine offices among them. Thus, Cassian often speaks of the churches of the monasteries of Scethis, or Scythia, in the deserts of Egypt; one of which had two presbyters, Paphnutius^f and Daniel; and three others, single presbyters, resi-

^c Habert. Archieratic. p. 601. Monachi quales primo erant ævo, extra ordinem constituti, ad hierarchiam imperantem non pertinent; sed medio quodam inter ordinem et plebem statu.

^d Lindan. Panopl. lib. iv. c. lxxv. Non nescimus, fuisse olim quosdam Christiani hujus gregis ductores, qui a perfectioris sanctimonie studio dicebantur vel therapeutæ vel monachi, vel etiam aliis forte nominibus. Qui omnes sicuti erant ordinis laici, ita una cum reliquis templi choro, quem dicimus, erant exclusi.

^e Gratian. Causs. xvi. quæst. i. post cap. xxxix. Monachos vero usque ad tempus Eusebii, Zosimi, et Siricii, monachos simpliciter et non clericos fuisse, ecclesiastica testatur historia.

^f Cassian. Collat. iii. c. i. (Atrebat. 1628. p. 352.) In illo choro sanctorum, qui velut astra purissima, in nocte mundi istius refulgebant, vidimus sanctum

ding, and performing divine offices in them: these were the abbats or fathers of the monasteries, and presbyters of the churches together, whom Cassian mentions, with this remarkable^s circumstance, that all of them, except Paphnutius, being overrun with the heresy of the Anthropomorphites, when Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, sent one of his paschal letters among them (to give notice of Easter according to custom), and therein made some sharp reflections on that absurd heresy,

Paphnutium, vice luminaris magni, claritate scientiæ coruscantem. Hic namque presbyter congregationis nostræ, id est, illius quæ in eremo Scyti morabatur, fuit, in qua ita usque ad extremam duravit ætatem, ut numquam e cella, quam junior coeperat habitare, quæque ab ecclesia millibus quinque distabat, saltem ad vicina migraverit, etc.—Collat. iv. c. i. Inter ceteros Christianæ philosophiæ viros, abbatem quoque vidimus Daniele, æqualem quidem in omni virtutum genere, his qui in eremo Scyti commanebant, sed peculiaris gratia humilitatis ornatum, qui merito puritatis ac mansuetudinis suæ a beato Paphnutio, solitudinis ejusdem presbytero, et quidem quum multis junior esset ætate, ad diaconii est prælatus gradu. In tantum enim beatus Paphnutius virtutibus ipsius adgaudebat, ut quem vitæ meritis sibi et gratia parem noverat cœquare sibi etiam sacerdotii ordine festinaret; siquidem nequaquam ferens in inferiore eum ministerio diutius immorari, optansque sibi successorem dignissimum providere, superstes eum presbyterii honore provexit.

^s Ibid. x. c. ii. (p. 532.) Intra Ægypti regionem mos iste antiqua traditione servatur, ut peracto Epiphaniæ die, (quem provinciæ illius sacerdotes, vel dominici baptismi, vel secundum carnem nativitatis esse definiunt, et ideo utriusque sacramenti solemnitate non bifarie, ut in occiduis provinciis, sed sub una diei unius festivitate concelebrant,) epistolæ pontificis Alexandrini per universas dirigantur Ægypti ecclesias, quibus et ad initium quadragesimæ et dies Paschæ non solum per civitates omnes, sed etiam per universa monasteria, designentur. Secundum hunc igitur morem post dies admodum paucos, quam superior cum abbate Isaac fuerat agitata Collatio, Theophili prædictæ urbis episcopi solennes epistolæ commearunt, quibus cum denuntiatione paschali contra ineptam quoque Anthropomorphitarum hæresim longa disputatione disseruit, eamque copioso sermone destruxit. Quod tanta est amaritudine ab universo propemodum genere monachorum, qui per totam provinciam Ægypti morabantur, pro simplicitatis errore susceptum, ut e contrario memoratum pontificem, velut hæresi gravissima depravatum, pars maxima seniorum ab universo fraternitatis corpore decerneret detestandum; quod scilicet impugnare scripturæ sanctæ sententiam videretur, negans omnipotentem Deum humanæ figuræ compositione formatum, quum ad ejus imaginem creatum Adam Scriptura manifestissime testaretur. Denique et ab his, qui erant in eremo Scythi commorantes, quique perfectione ac scientia omnibus, qui erant in Ægypti monasteriis, præeminebant, ita est hæc epistola refutata, præter abbatem Paphnutium nostræ congregationis presbyterum, nullus eam ceterorum presbyterorum, qui in eadem eremo aliis tribus ecclesiis præsidebant, nec legi quidem ac recitari in suis conventibus prorsus admitterent.

they would not so much as suffer his epistle to be read in their churches. Sozomen, likewise^h, tells us, that Prines, the monk, whom the Arians made use of as their instrument to conceal Arsenius, while they accused Athanasius of his murder, was a presbyter of one of the monasteries in the deserts of Thebais, where, it seems, the monasteries were vastly great; for Cassianⁱ assures us, that one of them had no less than five thousand monks in it: and it cannot be thought strange, that such monasteries, in remote deserts, should have their proper churches, and presbyters to officiate in them. But it was not only in the deserts that monasteries were allowed presbyters in them; but in some places, the city monasteries (as soon as they began to get footing there) had the same privilege likewise; for Eutyches the heretic was not only Archimandrite, but presbyter also of his monastery at Constantinople, as Liberatus^k and other ancient writers style him. And that this was no unusual thing, appears from hence, that both the civil and the canon law allows the practice. Justinian, in one of his Novels^l, has a proviso both for such monasteries

^h Sozom. lib. ii. c. xxiii. (Aug. T. 1746. p. 69. B 3.) Τὸν μὲν Ἀρσένιον ἱπιμελῶς ζητήσαντες εὗρον, καὶ φιλοφρονησάμενοι, καὶ πᾶσαν ἐβνοίαν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν παρίξιν αὐτῷ ὑποσχόμενοι, ἄγουσι λάθρα πρὸς τινὰ τῶν αὐτοῖς συνήθων καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ σπουδαζόντων. Πρίνης ὄνομα αὐτῷ ἦν, Πρεσβύτερος μοναστηρίου· ἐνταῦθα τε τὸν Ἀρσένιον κρύψαντες, σπουδῇ περιέφεσαν κατὰ τὰς ἀγορὰς καὶ τοὺς συλλόγους τῶν ἐν τέλει, λογοποιούντες τοῦτον πεφονεύσθαι παρὰ Ἀθανασίου.

ⁱ Cassian. de Institut. Renuntiant. lib. iv. c. i. p. 67. . . . in Thebaide est coenobium, quanto numero populosius cunctis, tanto conversationis rigore districtius: siquidem in eo plusquam quinque millia fratrum sub uno abbate reguntur, etc.

^k Liberat. Breviar. c. xi. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 754. D.) His temporibus Eutyches quidam presbyter et archimandrita, præsiciens Constantinopoli celeberrimo monasterio, urgente Satana, prædicabat Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum consubstantialiem nobis non esse secundum carnem, sed de cælo corpus habuisse.

^l Justin. Novel. cxxxiii. c. ii. Ἐπειτα κἀν εἴ τις ἐκκλησία κατὰ τὸ μοναστήριον εἴη, μὴδὲ οὕτως ποφάσει τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐκφοιτᾶν ἀδείῳ, ἢ καὶ περὶ πάντους ἐκείσε ποιέσθαι, καὶ ἐντυγχάνειν τισὶν οἷς οὐδὲ προσήκον· ἀλλὰ παραγίνεσθαι μὲν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας, ἅμα τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, ἢ τοῖς αὐτοῦ πρωτεύουσιν τε καὶ γεγρακόσι· τῆς δὲ λειτουργίας πληρωθείσης, τὸ μὲν μοναχικὸν ἅπαν αὐθις εἰς τὸ κοινόβιον χωρεῖν ἀκέϊσε καθῆσθαι * * * Τέσσαρας δὲ ἢ πέντε πρεσβύτεας ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς μονῆς εἶναι, κατὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ καθεστῶσαν ἀγιωτάτην ἐκκλησίαν, οἷς ἡδὴ πᾶς ἀγὼν ἡνυσται κατὰ τὴν

as had churches of their own, and such as had not : for those which had none of their own, it is ordered, that the monks should repair to the parish church with their abbot, and, after divine service, immediately return to their monastery again ; but such monasteries as had churches in them, might have four or five of their own body ordained presbyters, or deacons, or of the inferior orders, as there was occasion. And before this, the Council of Chalcedonⁿ speaks of churches in monasteries, and clergy belonging to them, allowing a deputation to any such church to be a sufficient title to qualify a man for holy orders. So that, in these circumstances, there is no question to be made but that the clerical and monastic life were often joined together.

2. Another case in which the same thing was practised, was, when monks were taken out of monasteries by the bishops, and ordained for the service of the Church. Which thing was frequently done, and not only allowed, but encouraged both by the imperial and ecclesiastical laws. When once monasteries were become schools of learning and pious education, they were thought the properest nurseries for the Church. Therefore, Arcadius made it an instruction to the bishops, that if at any time^o they needed to augment their clergy, they should do it out of the monks. Gothofred, in his learned observations on this law, has abundantly showed the Church's practice from the testimonies of Athanasius^p, St. Jerome^q,

ἀσκησιν, καὶ ὅπερ χειροτονίας ἤζιωνται τῆς ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ, πρεσβυτέρων τυχόν ἢ διακόνων ἢ τῶν ἐπιεξῆς ἔχοντες σχῆμα.

ⁿ Conc. Chalced. c. vi. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 758.) *Μηδένα ἀπολελυμένως χειροτονεῖσθαι, μήτε πρεσβύτερον μήτε διάκονον μήτε ὅλως τινὰ τῶν ἐν ἐκκλησιαστικῷ τάγματι, εἰ μὴ ἰδικῶς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πόλεως, ἢ κώμης, ἢ μαρτυρίῳ, ἢ μοναστηρίῳ, ὃ χειροτονοῦμενος ἐπικηρύττεται.* — Can. viii. *Οἱ κληρικοὶ τῶν πτωχείων καὶ μοναστηρίων, κ. τ. λ.*

^o Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. leg. xxxii. *Si quos forte episcopi decesse sibi clericos arbitrantur, ex monachorum numero rectius ordinabunt.*

^p Athan. Epist. ad Dracont. (Bened. vol. i. p. 267. A 4.) (tom. i. p. 267. A. edit. Paris. 1698.) *Ὁὗ γὰρ σὺ μόνος ἐκ μοναχῶν κατεστάθης, οὐδὲ σὺ μόνος προέστης μοναστηρίου, ἢ μόνος ὑπὸ μοναχῶν ἡγαπήθης· ἀλλ' οἶδας, ὅτι καὶ Σεραπίων μοναχός ἐστι, καὶ τούτων μοναχῶν προέστη, κ. τ. λ.*

^q Hieron. Epist. iii. (tom. i. p. 16, a, edit. Francof.) *In uno atque eodem et imitabatur monachum, et episcopum venerabatur.* — Epistol. iv. (Benedict. vol. i. p. 938.) *Ita age, et vive in monasterio, ut clericus esse merearis. . . .*

St. Austin^r, Epiphanius^s, Palladius^t, St. Basil^u, Marcellinus (Chronicon), and the code of the African^w Church. To which may be added the Letters^x of Siricius, Innocent, and Gelasius, alleged by Gratian, and the Councils of Agde^y and Lerida, which allow a bishop to take any monk out of a monastery with the consent and approbation of the abbot, and ordain

Quum ad perfectam ætatem veneris, si tamen vita comes fuerit, et te vel populus vel pontifex civitatis in clerum elegerit, agito quæ clerici sunt.

^r Aug. Epist. lxxvi. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 147, at bottom.) (tom. ii. Opp. p. 342. Basil. 1569.) Et ipsis facilis lapsus, et ordini clericorum fit in dignissima injuria, si desertorios monasteriorum ad militiam clericatus eligantur, cum ex his qui in monasterio permanent, non tamen nisi probatiores atque meliores in clerum adsumere soleamus.—Id. Epist. lxxxi. (p. 113. F.) Eudoxio abbati et monachis ejus ita scribit Augustinus: Vos fratres exhortamur in Domino, ut propositum vestrum custodiat, et usque in finem perseveretis: ac si quam operam vestram mater ecclesia desideraverit, nec elatione avida suscipiat, nec blandiente desidia respuat, sed miti corde obtemperetis Deo; etc.

^s Epiphani. Exposit. Fid. n. xxi. (Colon. vol. i. p. 1103. D 7.) Στεφάνῃ δὲ τούτων πάντων, ἡ μήτηρ, ὡς εἰπεῖν, καὶ γενήτρια, ἡ ἅγια ἱερωσύνη, ἐκ μὲν παρθένων τὸ πλεῖστον ὀρμωμένη· εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐκ παρθένων, ἐκ μοναζόντων· εἰ δὲ μὴ εἶεν ἱκανοὶ εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν ἀπὸ μοναζόντων, ἐξ ἐγκρατευομένων τῶν ἰδίων γυναικῶν, ἡ χηρευσάντων ἀπὸ μονογαμίας.

^t Pallad. Histor. Lausiac. c. xxiv. Τελευτᾷ δὲ οὗτος (Μωϋσῆς μοναχὸς) ἐτῶν ἐβδομήκοντα πέντε ἐν τῇ Σκήτῃ, γενόμενος πρεσβύτερος, καταλιπὼν μαθητὰς ἐβδομήκοντα.

^u Basil. Ep. eccciii. ad Amphiloc. (Bened. 1839. vol. iii. p. 480.) Εἰ δὲ μέλλει τις ἀπείναι, ἐπιζητησάτω ἐν Κορυδαλοῖς Ἀλίξανδρον ἀπὸ μοναζόντων ἐπίσκοπον.

^w Cod. Afric. c. lxxx. al. lxxxiii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1098.) Ὁμοίως ἤρρεσεν, ἵνα, ἐάν τις ἀπὸ ἀλλοτρίου μοναστηρίου ὑποδέξηται τινα, καὶ πρὸς κλήρωσιν προσαγαγεῖν ἰθελήσῃ, ἡ τοῦ ἰδίου μοναστηρίου ἡγούμενον καταστήσῃ, ὃ τοῦτο ποιῶν ἐπίσκοπος, ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν λοιπῶν κοινωνίας χωριζόμενος, τῇ τοῦ ἰδίου λαοῦ κοινωνίᾳ ἀρκεσθῇ μόνῃ· ἐκείνος δὲ, μὴδὲ κληρικός, μὴδὲ ἡγούμενος ἐπιμείνῃ.

^x Gratian. Causs. xvi. qu. i. c. xx. Faciat Deus, ut tales sint hi, qui vel a nobis in isto habitu nutriuntur, vel in monasteriis crescunt, ut propecta ætate et vita probata, non ad litigiorum officia, sed ad sacerdotium valeant promoveri.—C. xxii. Si monachus ad clericatum promoveatur, beneficia ei pleniter et annonæ et decimæ donentur, etc.—C. xxviii. Si quis monachus fuerit, qui venerabilis vitæ merito sacerdotio dignus videatur, et abbas, sub cujus imperio regi Christo militat, illum fieri presbyterum petierit, ab episcopo debet eligi, et in loco, quo judicaverit, ordinari: omnia quæ ad sacerdotis officium pertinent, vel populi vel episcopi electione provide ac juste acturus.

^y Concil. Agathens. c. xxvii. (tom. iv. Conc. p. 1387.) Monachi vagantes ad officium clericatus, nisi eis testimonium abbas suus dederit, nec in civitatibus nec in parœciis ordinentur.—Conc. Ilerd. c. iii. (ibid. p. 1611.) De monachis

him for the service of the Church. And, in this case, they usually continued their ancient austerities, and ascetic way of living, and so joined the clerical and monastic life together. Upon which account, both these and the former sort were, by the Greeks, styled *ἐρημιτικοί*, 'clergy-monks,' to distinguish them from such as were only laymen.

3. It happened, sometimes, that a bishop and all his clergy chose an ascetic way of living, by a voluntary renunciation of all property, and enjoying all things in common, in imitation of the first Church under the apostles. St. Ambrose^a seems to say, that Eusebius Vercellensis was the first that brought in this way of living into the Western Church; for, before his time, the monastic life was not known in cities; but he taught his clergy to live in the city after the rules and institution of monks in the wilderness: which must be understood chiefly, I conceive, of their austerities, and renouncing their property, and having all things in common, as the other had. St. Austin set up the same way of living among the clergy of Hippo, as we learn from his own words, who says^a he made the bishop's house a monastery of clergymen, where it was against the rule for any man to enjoy any property of his own, but they had all things in common: which is also noted by Possidius, in his Life, that 'his clergy^b lived with him in the same house, and ate at the same table, and were fed and clothed at a common expense;' and, so far as this was an imitation of the cœnobites way of living, and having all things common, it might be called a monastic as well as clerical life, as Possidius and St. Austin call it. But as yet there was no monastery in the world where all the monks were ordained

id observari placuit, quod synodus Agathensis vel Aurelianensis noscitur decrevisse: hoc tantummodo adjiciendum, ut pro ecclesiæ utilitate, quos episcopus probaverit in clericatus officio, cum abbatis voluntate debeant ordinari.

^a Ambros. Ep. lxxxi. ad Eccles. Vercell. p. 254. (Paris. 1836. vol. iv. p. 382, edit. Basil. 1567.) Hæc enim primus in occidentis partibus diversa inter se Eusebius sanctæ memoriæ conjunxit; ut et in civitate positus instituta monachorum teneret, et ecclesiam regeret jejunii sobrietate.

^a Aug. Serm. xlix. de Diversis. (Bened. vol. v. p. 1381. B.) (tom. x. p. 519.) Volui habere in ista domo episcopii meum monasterium clericorum. Ecce quomodo vivimus. Nulli licet in societate nostra habere aliquid proprium.

^b Possid. Vit. Aug. c. xxv. (vol. x. p. 274.) Cum ipso semper clerici, una etiam domo ac mensa, sumptibusque communibus, alebantur et vestiebantur.

only to say private mass, without being fixed to any certain cure, where they might perform the several offices of the clerical function. The monastery of St. Austin consisted only of such as had public offices and business in the Church, and were not men confined to a cloister.

SECT. IX.—*The Original of Canons Regular.*

Therefore the hermits of St. Austin, and many other modern orders which assume his name, do but falsely pretend to derive their original from him, who, it is certain, never was a hermit himself, nor wrote any rules for them, though a great many sermons are fathered on him, as preached to the hermits in the wilderness. They who count the rise of canons regular from him, as Duarenus^c and others, have something more of probability on their side; because, as I have shown, the clergy of Hippo were under some of the exercises of a monastic life, which made them a sort of canons regular. And yet Onuphrius^d and Hospinian^e, who have inquired very nicely into these matters, make Gelasius the first founder of them, under that name, in the Lateran Church, where they continued to the time of Boniface VIII., who expelled them thence. How

^c Duaren. de Minist. et Benefic. lib. i. c. xxi. Dicebantur non simpliciter, ut nunc, canonici, sed 'regulares,' ab illo peculiari instituto ac regula, quam amplectebantur: et hoc modo discrimen inter eos designabatur et aliarum ecclesiarum canonicos, qui hujusmodi se votis non adligaverant; idque supra a nobis ostensum est. Hæc secta, cujus auctor Augustinus perhibetur, quum Hipponensis episcopus esset, late Christianorum orbem pervagata est, adeo ut eorum cœnobita hodie in quibus locis monachorum nomen deletum non est, nusquam non reperiantur.

^d Onuphr. Annot. in Platin. Vit. Gelas. p. 62. Gelasius Canonicos, ut vocant, regularis ordinis S. Augustini Laterani primus collocavit, qui ibidem usque ad Bonifacium VIII., a quo expulsi sunt, permanserunt. Ex archivis basilicæ Lateranensis.

^e Hospin. de Orig. Monach. lib. iii. c. vi. p. 56, edit. Tigur. 1588. (p. 110, n. iv. edit. Genev. 1569.) Onuphrius Panunius in suis ad Platinam adnotationibus, indicat ex archivis ecclesiæ Lateranensis, Gelasium I. papam circa annum 495, canonicos regulares ordinis Sancti Augustini Laterani primum collocasse. Crediderim ergo, hunc Gelasium horum canonicorum esse auctorem, et ad hoc exemplum mox alibi quoque in majoribus ecclesiis eos institutos esse: de quo tamen alii judicent. Fuit certe hic Gelasius idololatriæ egregius architectus, et ceremoniarum cumulator, ut in vita ejus indicatur.

soon the name or order came into other churches, Hospinian will inform the curious reader.

SECT. X.—*Of the Monks called Acœmetæ, or Watchers.*

About the beginning of the fifth century, or, as Baronius^f thinks, toward the middle of it, at Constantinople, under Genadius, the patriarch, one Alexander set up an order of monks, whom the writers of that and the following ages commonly style *ἀκοιμηταί*, that is, ‘watchers;’ the reason of which name is taken from their manner of performing divine offices day and night, without intermission: for they divided themselves into three classes, and so one succeeded another at a stated hour, and by that means continued a perpetual course of divine service, without any interval, as well by night as by day: whence they had the name of Watchers given them. The piety of this order procured them great esteem and veneration, and many monasteries were built for their use at Constantinople. Among others, one Studius, a nobleman of Rome, and a man of consular dignity, renounced the world, and became one of their order; erecting a famous monastery for them himself, which, from their founder, was^g called Studium; and the monks of it, Studitæ. And this, perhaps, is the first time we meet with any monks that took their denomination from any founder. But these monks, in a little time, sank in their credit, because they were many times found to be favourers of the heresy of Nestorius; for which they are frequently reflected on^h by ecclesiastical writers.

^f Baron. ad an. 459, ex Actis Marcelli, ap. Surium, Decembr. 29. (Lucæ, vol. viii. p. 230.) (p. 250, d. edit. Antverp. 1658.) Quod spectat ad Acœmetarum monachorum institutum, non fuit ejus Marcellus auctor, sed propagator: verum Alexander abbas, ejusdemque Marcelli institutor, religiosum illum cultum invenit, prout ejusdem Marcelli Acta testantur.

^g Niceph. Hist. lib. xv. c. xxiii. Τούτου (Γενναδίου) ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον ὄντος, καὶ Στουδίου τις περιφανὴς ἀνὴρ, ἐκ Ῥώμης ἤκων, τὸν τοῦ προδρόμου ἀνεγείρει νέων, μοναχοὺς ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀκοιμήτων μονῆς ἐκῆσε ἐγκαταστήσας· ἦν Μάρκελλος ὁ θειότατος ἡγεῖρεν, ἀσίγητον τὸν ὕμνον παρασκευάσας Θεῷ ἀναπέμπεσθαι, εἰς τρία μέρη τὴν ποίμνην διανεμόμενος.

^h Niceph. ibid. Τότε καὶ Τιμοκλῆς τε καὶ Ἀνθιμος οἱ τῶν Τροπαρίων ἡκμαζον ποιηταί, κατὰ φραγρίας διγρημένοι· ἀλλ’ ὅσοι μὲν τοῖς ἐόξασι τῇ ἐκ Χαλκηδόνι συνόδῳ προσέκειντο, παρὰ τῷ Ἀνθιμῳ συνήγοντο· ὃς πρῶτος

SECT. XI.—*Of those called Βόσκοι, or 'Grazers.'*

In the regions of Syria and Mesopotamia, Sozomen¹ takes notice of another sort of monks, who, from their peculiar way of living, were commonly called βόσκοι, the 'grazers:' for they lived after the same manner as flocks and herds upon the mountains, never dwelling in any house, nor eating any bread or flesh, nor drinking wine; but continuing instantly in the worship of God, in prayers and hymns, according to the custom of the Church, till eating time was come; and then every man went, with his knife in his hand, to provide himself food of the herbs of the field, which was their only diet, and constant way of living.

SECT. XII.—*Of the Benedictines and Gyrovagi in Italy.*

I take no notice here of those called by some of the monks, of St. Basil and St. Jerome; for it is certain those fathers never set up any distinct orders of their own, though both of them were promoters of the monastic life in general. The rule which goes under the name of St. Jerome, is known to be a forgery of some later writer; and the ascetics commonly ascribed to St. Basil, are, by some learned men^k, rather

καὶ τὰς παννυχίδας ἐπενόησε γίνεσθαι· ὅσοι δ' ἐχθρῶδῶς ἐκείνῳ ἐφέροντο, μᾶλλον προσέκειντο Τιμοκλέϊ.

ⁱ Sozom. lib. vi. c. xxiii. (Aug. Taur. 1746. p. 246. B 4.) Τούτους δὲ καὶ βόσκους ἀπεκάλουν, ἐναγχος τῆς τοιαύτης φιλοσοφίας ἄρξαντας· ὀνομάζουσι ἐξ ὧδε αὐτοὺς, καθότι οὔτε οἰκήματα ἔχουσιν, οὔτε ἄρτον, οὔτε ὄψον ἐσθίουσιν, οὔτε οἶνον πίνουσιν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὕρσι διατρίβοντες, αἰετὸν θεὸν εὐλογοῦσιν, ἐν εὐχαῖς καὶ ὕμνοις κατὰ θεσμὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας· τροφῆς δὲ ἡνίκα γένηται καιρὸς, καθάπερ νεμόμενοι, ἄρπην ἔχων ἕκαστος, ἀνὰ τὸ ὅρος περιϊόντες τὰς βοτάνας σιτίζονται. — Evagr. lib. i. c. xxi. (p. 253, at bottom.) 'Ἐς ἔρημον κεκαυμένην σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀφέντες, καὶ μόνα τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἀναγκαῖα περιστέλλαντες, ἄνδρες τε καὶ γυναῖκα τὸ λοιπὸν σῶμα γυμνόν, κρυμοῖς τε ἐξαισίοις, αἶρων τε πυρακτώσειν ἐπιτρέπουσιν, ἐπίσης θάλλπους τε καὶ ψύχους περιορῶντες· καὶ τὰς μὲν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τροφὰς τέλειον ἀποσειόνται· νέμονται δὲ τὴν γῆν, βόσκους καλοῦσι, μόνον τὸ ζῆν ἐντεῦθεν ποριζόμενοι.

^k Hospin. de Origine Monach. p. 69, edit. Tigur. 1587. (p. 105, edit. cit. Genev.) A multis dubitatur, num libri illi de virginitate et monastica vita scripti, qui Ascetici dicuntur, Basilii γνήσιοι sint, quum pleraque in iis horridiora sint, quam in reliquis ejus scriptis. Deinde etiam in catalogo scriptorum Basilii, in Oratione Nazianzeni, Ascetica illa non recensentur: quæ certe vir ille, qui ex professo laudationem Basilii instituerat, omisurus minime fuisset: potest igitur esse alius quidam Basilius, et hoc quidem recentior. Sozomenus

thought to be the offspring of Eustathius, of Sebastia. But, admitting them to be his, as most learned men do, they do not argue him the author of any new order, but only a director of those which were already founded. Therefore, passing by these, I shall only take notice of two orders more, the Benedictines in Italy, and the Apostolics in Britain. The Benedictines had their rise from Benedict, a famous Italian monk, in the time of Justinian, about the year 530. His first settlement was at Sublaqueum, in the diocese of Tibur, in Italy, where he erected twelve monasteries, of twelve monks apiece, in the neighbouring wilderness; one of which, in after-ages, grew so great, that it was not only exempt from episcopal power against all ancient rules; but, as a modern writer¹ observes, had no less than fourteen villages under its own proper jurisdiction. From this place he removed to Mount Cassin, where he erected another monastery; from whence he propagated his order into other countries with so great success, that, for 600 years after, the greatest part of the European monks were followers of his rule; and so, whatever other names they went by, Carthusians, Cistercians, Grandimontenses, Præmonstratenses, Cluniacks, &c., they were but different branches of the Benedictines, till about the year 1220, the Dominicans and Franciscans took new rules from their leaders. Hospinian^m reckons up twenty-three orders

autem, lib. iii. c. xiv. adfirmat, visum nonnullis suo tempore, Asceticorum illorum auctorem fuisse Eustathium, illum Sebastie Armeniæ episcopum, sed Macedonianum hæreticum, qui monasticæ auctor Armeniis exstiterit, &c.—Sozom. lib. iii. c. xiv. p. 106. C 10. Ὡς καὶ τὴν ἐπιγεγραμμένην Βασιλείου τοῦ Καππαδόκου ἀσκητικὴν βίβλον, ἰσχυρίζεσθαι τινὰς αὐτοῦ (Εὐστάθιου) γράφην εἶναι.—Sutlif. de Monachis, c. vii.

¹ Baudrand. Lexic. Geograph. vocæ 'Sublaqueum,' p. 220. Sublaqueum, seu melius Sublacum, oppidum Aequorum in Latio. Hodie dicitur vulgo 'Subiaco,' ejus Abbacia, quæ nullius est diocesis, quatuordecim vicus sub se habet, in confinio regni Neapolitani. Sedet in colle, ad fontes Anienis, 36 milliaribus distans a Roma in ortum, et 10 a Præneste; estque in Campania Romana, sub dominio Summi Pontificis.

^m Hospin. de Monach. lib. iv. c. v. p. 116, edit. Basil. (p. 201, edit. Genev.) Cardinales habuit et ordo hic Volaterani ætate fere 200, archiepiscopus in diversis ecclesiis 1600, episcopus 4000, abbates eruditione et scriptis celebres 15,700, canonizatos et sanctorum catalogo insertos 15,600.—P. 132. (p. 222.) Militant sub hac regula ordines circiter 23. Ordo Specuensis, Carthusiensis, Cisterciensis, S. Gulielmi, Scotorum; Montis-Olivetensium, album portantium

that sprang from this one; and observes, out of Volateran, that in his time it was computed that there had been of the order, 200 cardinals, 1600 archbishops, 4000 bishops, 15,700 abbots; by which, it is easy to judge of the prodigious increase of this order. I shall not concern myself to give any further account of them, but only observe one thing out of the rule of Benedict himself; that he never intended his monks should be called after his own name, or reckoned a new order, much less that so many new orders should be derived from it. For, he professes only to write in general for the use of the Cœnobites and Anchorets of the Primitive Church, which, in his time, were the only two standing orders that the Churches of Italy allowed. He says, indeed, there were four sorts of monks in all, Cœnobites, Anchorets, Sarabaitæ, and Gyrovagi; but the two last were only scandals and reproaches to the Church. Of the Sarabaitæ, he gives much the same account that St. Jerome and Cassian do before him^a. And the Gyrovagi he thus describes: That "they were a sort of rambling monks, that spent their whole life^o in running about from one province to another, and getting themselves well entertained, for three or four days together, at every cell they came at, being arrant slaves to their bellies, and wholly addicted to their pleasures; and, in all things, worse than the very Sarabaitæ themselves." So that he professes to pass over their miserable conversation

habitum, Cœlestinorum, Selavorum; Vallis umbrosæ, Fontis Ebrandi, Humiliatorum sub albo habitu, Grandimontensis, S. Ambrosii, Camaldulensis, Vallis Scholarium, S. Pauli primi eremitæ, quem alii ad Augustinenses referunt, Cluniacensis, Præmonstratensis, S. Justinae, Sylvestrinorum, Gilbertinorum, et ordo de S. Burga vidua: ut Trithemius judicat (lib. i. c. iii.) de viris illustribus ordinis Benedictinorum. His Polydorus Vergilius (lib. vii. c. ii.) Eremitanos D. Hieronymi adnumerat, quos dicit postremo per Martinum V. in familiam Benedicti adscitos fuisse.

^a See sect. iv. page 250.

^o Benedict. Regul. Monachor. c. i. (Bibl. V. P. Gallard. vol. xi. p. 299.) (Hospinian. de Monach. p. 202. Genev.) Quartum genus est monachorum, quod nominatur 'Gyrovagus;' qui tota vita sua, per diversas provincias, ternis aut quaternis diebus, per diversorum cellas hospitantur; semper vagi et nunquam stabiles; propriis voluptatibus et gulæ illecebris servientes, et per omnia deteriores Sarabaitis: de quorum omnium miserrima conversatione melius est silere quam loqui. His ergo omissis, ad Cœnobitarum fortissimum genus disponendum, adjuvante Domino, veniamus.

in silence, and to write only for the instruction and use of the ancient Cœnobites of the Church. By which it is plain, that in the time of St. Benedict, the monks had not distinguished themselves into very many different orders allowed in the Western Church.

SECT. XIII.—*Of the Apostolics in Great Britain and Ireland.*

About the year 596, the Benedictines came with Austin, the monk, into Britain, and so all the monasteries which the Saxons built, were for monks of that order; but the ancient Britons had, long before this, entertained the monastic life. Some say Pelagius^p first brought it out of the East into Britain: others make him also abbot of the college of Bangor, and speak of two thousand monks under him; but this is justly censured by learned men^q as a mere fable of modern authors. However it is certain, from Bede, that there was a monastery at Bangor (whoever was the first founder of it is not very material to inquire), before Austin and his monks came into England; and here^r was such a number of monks, that the monastery being divided into seven parts, each part had a rector, and no less than three hundred persons in it; all which were wont to live by the labour of their own hands. Hospinian and Bale give this the name of the “apostolic order;” but whether upon good grounds, I cannot say. In one thing, it is certain, they make a great mistake, in that they confound this monastery of Banochor, or Bangor, with

^p Hospin. de Monach. lib. iv. c. iii. (p. 193. Genev.) Sub Congello Bannocorensi, illustris familiæ Britanno, monachismus Ægyptius, a Pelagio prius introductus, sub specie religionis in Britannia radices, vires et incrementa largissima cepit, ad alias etiam Europæ provincias plantaria transmittens.

^q Cave, Hist. Litter. (Oxon. 1740. p. 381.) Monachum fuisse (Pelagium) facile concedimus: collegii vero Bannochorensis fuisse abbatem, et duo millia monachorum sub regimine suo habuisse, et exinde postea a suis in exilium pulsum; denique academix Cantabrigiensis fuisse alumnum, nuda videntur Ranulphi Cestrensis, Joannis Timmuthensis, Nicolai Cantilupi, Caii, Balei, aliorumque somnia.

^r Bede, Hist. Anglor. lib. ii. c. ii. (Lond. 1738. p. 103.) In monasterio Bancor, tantus fertur fuisse numerus monachorum, ut cum in septem portiones esset cum præpositis sibi rectoribus monasterium divisum, nulla harum portio minus quam trecentos homines haberet, qui omnes de labore manuum suarum vivere solebant.

that of Benchor, in Ireland; which was another famous monastery, founded by Congellus about the year 520. Out of this monastery sprang many thousand monks, and many other monasteries, in Ireland, and other nations also. St. Bernard^a says, "Luanus, one of the monks of this congregation, himself alone founded a hundred monasteries." And Bishop Usher has observed^t of Brendanus, one of Congellus's first disciples, "that he presided over three thousand monks, who, by their own labours and handiwork, did earn their own living." Columba was another of his disciples, who, having first founded the monastery of Dearmach, in Ireland, went and converted the Northern Picts to the Christian faith (an. 565), and builded a monastery in the Isle of Huy; from whence many other monasteries, both in Britain and Ireland, as Bede^u observes, were propagated by his disciples. Columbanus and Gallus were, also, monks under Congellus; the latter of which is famous for founding the monastery of St. Gall, in Helvetia, which is since become an eminent city; and the other, for founding that of Lexovium, or Lisieux, in Normandy: where the monks (like the *acœmetæ*, or 'watchers' of Constantinople, mentioned before) were used to divide themselves into several choirs, to succeed one another, and continue divine service, day and night, without intermission, as St. Bernard^w informs us. I have been the more particular in giving a distinct account of these two famous monasteries, Benchor and Bangor, not only because they were the most ancient in Ireland and Britain, but because they are so unhappily, by Hospinian and Bale, confounded into one.

^a Bernard. Vit. Malach. c. v. p. 1934, d. edit. Antwerp. 1609. Locus (Benchor) vere sanctus fœcundusque sanctorum, copiosissime fructificans Deo, ita ut unus ex filiis sanctæ illius congregationis, nomine Luanus, centum solus monasteriorum fundator exstitisse feratur.

^t Usher, Religion of the Ancient Irish, c. vi. p. 46.

^u Bed. lib. iii. c. iv. p. 163. Venit Britanniam Columba, regnante Pictis Bridio, filio Meilochon, rege potentissimo, nono anno regni ejus, gentemque illam verbo et exemplo ad fidem Christi convertit. . . Fecerat autem, priusquam Britanniam veniret, monasterium nobile in Hibernia, quod a copia roborum 'Dearmach' lingua Scottorum, hoc est, Campus Roborum, cognominatur. Ex quo utroque monasterio, plurima exinde monasteria per discipulos ejus, et in Britannia et in Hibernia, propagata sunt.

^w Bernard. Vit. Malach. c. v.

SECT. XIV.—*Of some uncommon Names of Monks in the Ancient Church.*

I will shut up this chapter with a few remarks upon the different names, which the ancients gave to some, or all kinds of monks in general. Beside the names of monks and ascetics, we find them frequently styled by other titles, respecting some particular act of their profession. In regard to their retirement and quiet way of living, some are styled by Justinian^x, in one of his Novels, *ήσυχασταί*, *hesychastæ*, ‘quietists.’ Suicerus^y and Habertus^z take it to be only another name for anchorets. But, according to Justinian’s account, it seems rather to mean persons who lived among the cœnobites; but, for greater exercise, were allowed to retire from the community, and live (though within the bounds of a *cœnobium*) in particular cells, by themselves; and those cells were called *ήσυχαστήρια* upon that account. Otherwhiles monks are styled *continentes*, because of their great abstinence and continent life: as in the third Council of Carthage, which forbids the clergy and persons^a professing continence to go to the virgins or widows, without the leave of the bishops or presbyters. So, also, in a law of Valentinian, in the Theodosian^b

^x Justin. Novel. v. c. iii. . . . *εἰ μὴ τινες αὐτῶν, τὸν ἐν τῇ θεωρίᾳ τε καὶ τελειότητι διαζῶντες βίον, ἰδιάζον ἔχουσιν οἰκημάτων· οὗς δὴ καλεῖν ἀναχωρητάς τε καὶ ήσυχαστάς εἰώθασιν, ὡς τῆς κοινότητος ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον ἐξηρημένους.*

^y Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. voce *ήσυχαστής*. (Amstel. 1728. p. 1335.) ‘*Ησυχάζω* significat ‘quiesco, in otio vivo.’ Hinc *ήσυχάζων* notat *ἀναχωρητήν*. Photius, Epistolam xx. p. 81, inscribit: ‘*Ἀθανασίῳ μοναχῷ ήσυχάζοντι*, ‘Athanasio monacho anachoretæ.’ Hinc colligitur, hunc non simpliciter monachum fuisse, sed *ήσυχάζοντα*: hoc est, quem nos dicimus anachoretam, qui cellam incolens solitariam se separabat a *κοινοβιωτῶν ἀναστροφῇ*. Hic vocatur *ήσυχαστής*.

^z Habert. Archierat. p. 588. Anachoretarum loca non *φροντιστήρια*, vel monasteria, sed *ήσυχαστήρια* dicta sunt, ut et ipsi *ήσυχασταί*.—Justin. Novel. v.

^a Conc. Carth. III. c. xxv. (Labbe, tom. ii. p. 1171.) Ut clerici vel continentēs, ad viduas vel virgines, nisi jussu vel permissu episcoporum et presbyterorum, non accedant.—Vid. Cod. Can. Eccles. Afric. can. xxxviii. (ibid. p. 1070.) *Κληρικοί ἢ ἐγκρατεύμενοι πρὸς χήρας ἢ παρθένους, εἰ μὴ κατ’ ἐπιτροπὴν καὶ συναίνεσιν τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου ἢ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, μὴ εἰσέλωσαν.*

^b Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. leg. xx. Ecclesiastici, aut ex eccle-

Code, and other places. Sometimes, again, they are noted by the names ἀποταξάμενοι and *Renunciantes*, 'renouncers,' from renouncing the world and a secular life: as in Palladius^c and Cassian^d, who particularly entitles one of his books *De Institutis Renunciantium*. Sometimes they are termed philosophers, as by Isidore of Pelusium^e, Palladius^f, Theodoret^g, and others; because their way of living seemed to resemble the philosophic life more than others. The author, under the name of 'Dionysius the Areopagite,' seems to give them the name^h of *Therapeutæ*; though that was once a common name of Christians in Egypt, if the accounts of Eusebius and St. Jerome may be trustedⁱ. Palladius sometimes uses the term φιλοθεία for the monastic life^k, because they made a profession of renouncing all for the love of God. And, upon this account, Theodoret^l gives one of his books the title of *Philotheus*, or 'Religious History,' because it contains the lives of the most famous ascetics of his time. The reader will sometimes also meet with the name of 'Silentarii,' given to some monks in

siasticis, vel qui Continentium se volunt nomine nuncupari, viduarum ac pupillarum domos non adeant.

^c Pallad. *Histor. Lausiac.* c. xv. (p. 917. B. tom. ii. *Biblioth. Patr. Græco-Latin.* Par. 1624.) Τοῖς μὲν ἤρεσκεν ὁ τοῦ ἀπαξ ἀποταξαμένου βίος, τοῖς δὲ ὁ κοινωνικὸς πρὸς πάντας τοὺς δεομένους.

^d Cassian. lib. iv. de *Institut. Renunt.*

^e Isid. lib. i. ep. i. (Paris. 1638. p. 1.) Οἱ μὲν ἄγιοι τῆς μοναχικῆς φιλοσοφίας κορυφαῖοι καὶ ἡγεμόνες ἐκ τῶν ἀθλῶν καὶ ἀγώνων ὧν ἐτίλεσαν, καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας ἀρμοδίας τοῖς πράγμασι πρὸς νοουθεσίαν ἡμῶν καὶ μάθησιν ἔθεντο.

^f Pallad. *Histor. Lausiac.* c. viii. l. c. p. 910. B. Ἀγοπὸν γὰρ ἐστὶ δι' ἐμὲ κρύπτεσθαι σου τὴν τοσαύτην καὶ τοιαύτην ἀρετὴν τῆς φιλοσοφίας, συνικοῦντά μοι διὰ τὸν Κύριον ἐν ἀγνείᾳ.

^g Theod. lib. iv. c. xxviii. (Aug. T. 1746. p. 165. C.) Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν τὰς τῆς μοναχικῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀφίντες μαρμαρυγὰς.

^h Dionys. de *Hierarch. Eccles.* c. vi. p. 386. Ἐνθεν οἱ εἰσὶ καθηγεμόνες ἡμῶν ἱππυμῶν αὐτοὺς ἱερῶν ἡξίωσαν· οἱ μὲν θεραπευτὰς, οἱ δὲ μοναχοὺς ὀνομάζοντες, ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ καθαρᾶς ὑπηρεσίας καὶ θεραπείας, καὶ τῆς ἀμερίστου καὶ ἐνιαίας ζωῆς, κ. τ. λ.

ⁱ See book i. c. i. sect. i.

^k Pallad. *Hist. Lausiac.* c. xii. Ὁ Ἀμμώνιος οὗτος μαθητῆς γεγονὼς τοῦ μεγάλου Παμβῶ ἄμα τρισὶν ἀδελφοῖς ἐτέροις καὶ δυσὶν ἀδελφαῖς, εἰς ἄκρον φιλοθείας ἐλάσαντες, κατελήφασιν τὴν ἔρημον, καὶ ἀμφοτέρως τὰς μονὰς κατὰ ἰδίαν ποιήσαντες τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν, ὡς ἱκανὸν ἀπέχειν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διάστημα.

^l Theodoret. *φιλόθεος ἱστορία*, tom. iii. Opp. p. 757, seqq. edit. Par. 1642. fol.

ancient history; but this was not a name of any particular order, but given to some few for their professing a more than Pythagorean silence: such as Johannes Silentarius, who was first bishop of Colonia, in Armenia, but renounced his bishopric to become a monk in Palestine; where he got the name of *Silentarius*, from his extraordinary silence, as Cyril^m, of Scythopolis, the writer of his Life, informs us. Though it must be noted, that the name *silentarii* is more commonly given to another sort of men, who were civil officers in the emperor's palace, and served both as apparitors to execute public business, and as guards to keep the peace about him; whence they had the name of *Silentarii*, under which title they are spoken of in the Theodosianⁿ Code, which joins them and the Decuriones together; where, in Gothofred's learned notes, the curious reader may find a further account of them. Another name which the historians give to some Egyptian monks, who were deeply concerned in the disputes between Theophilus and Chrysostom, is the title of *μακροί*, or *Longi*; but this was peculiar to four brethren, Dioscorus, Ammonius, Eusebius, and *Euthymius*, who were noted by this name for no other reason, as Sozomen^o observes, but only because they were "tall" of stature. In Sidonius Apollinaris, they are sometimes called *cellulani*, from their living in cells^p; and *insulani*,

^m Apud Papebroch. Acta Sanctor. Maii, xiii. tom. iii. p. 234. Ab eo tempore siluit in cella, neque procedens ad ecclesiam, neque ullum omnino conveniens spatium quatuor annorum, eo excepto, qui ei ministrabat, ac nisi solum Dei dedicationis, &c.

ⁿ Cod. Theod. lib. vi. tit. xxiii. de Decurionibus et Silentariis.

^o Sozom. lib. vi. c. xxx. (p. 241. C 2.) Οὐς ἀδελφοὺς ἀλλήλοις ὄντας, μακροὺς ἐκ τῆς ἡλικίας ὠνόμαζον. [No mention is made of Euthymius.]

^p Sidon. lib. ix. ep. iii. ad Faustum: 'Precum peritus insulanarum, quas de senatu Lirinensium cellularum in urbem transtulisti.'—Ita Eucherius ad Salon. lib. i. 'Insulani tirones.'—Et Faustus de natali S. Maximi, 'Stadium insulanum.' Vid. Savaro, Not. in loc. Sidonii, "Precum peritus insulanarum;"] quibus scilicet in insula Lirinensi institutus est Faustus Regiensis, de quibus carm. xvi. et Hilarius Arelatensis. in Vita S. Honorati, Eucherius de Laudibus Eremitarum, Faustus in Homil. de Natali S. Maximi, et Cæsarius Arel. Hom. xxv. 'insulanæ preces.' Faustus, 'et quia superius memoravimus, quam magnifice insulano illo studio perfectionis vias cucurrit.'—Eucher. ad Salonium, lib. i. 'Quum te illic beatiss. Hilarii insulani tironis, sed jam nunc summi pontificis doctrina formaret.'—'Insulani monachi:' Fulgentii Vita, c. xv.—[Lirinensium Cellularum.] Supr. Epist. xvii. lib. vii. Lirinensium patrum statuta. Carm.

'islanders,' because the famous monastery in the isle of Lerins was the place where most of the French bishops and learned men in those ages had their education. So this was a peculiar name for the monks of Lerins. The monasteries, beside the common names of *μοναστήρια* and *μοναί*, were also sometimes termed *σεμνεῖα*, as Suicerus¹ shows out of Balsamon, and Methodius, and Suidas; though that, anciently, in Eusebius and Philo, signified a church. They were also, called *ἡγουμενεῖα* and *μάνδραι*: whence *hegumenus* and *archimandrita* are names for an abbot, who is the chief father of a monastery, or governor of it. And they are sometimes styled *φροντιστήρια*, 'places of education' and 'schools of learning;' because, as I show in the next chapter, they were anciently made use of to that end, and had their *φροντισταί*, or 'curators,' particularly designed for that purpose.

xvi. cellulos vocat monachos et eremitas.—Ennod. præceptum quum visi sunt omnes episcopi cellulos habere, a cellis quibus se concludebant.—Eusebius de Eremo Lirinensi, 'Hæc nunc habet sanctos senes illos, qui divisus cellulis Ægyptios patres Galliis nostris intulerunt,' etc.

¹ Suicer. Thesaur. tom. ii. p. 947. *Σεμνεῖον* est locus sacer, seu sanctus, quasi dicas sanctuarium. Hesychio est *ιερός οἶκος*, sacra domus. Philo usurpat de loco, in quo monachi τὰ τοῦ σεμνοῦ βίου μυστήρια τελοῦνται, quod et μοναστήριον. Suidas: *Σεμνεῖον* τὸ μοναστήριον, ἐν ᾧ μονούμενοι οἱ ἀσκηταὶ τὰ τοῦ σεμνοῦ βίου μυστήρια τελοῦσι. Methodius in Chronico: Μάρκος δ' εὐαγγελιστὴς πολλὰ μοναστήρια συνεστήσατο, ἅπερ σεμνεῖα τότε προσηγορεύθησαν. Balsamon ad can. xii. Concil. II. Nicæni, p. 519. Ὅν τρόπον δ' δημόσιος οὐ πολυπραγμονεῖται ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ, οὕτως οὐδὲ τὰ ἱερὰ σεμνεῖα· ἡ ἡσυχαστήρια, μοναστήριά τε καὶ λοιπὰ ὑπὸ τινος τῶν τοῦ δημοσίου φροντιστῶν ἀνακρίθησεται.

CHAPTER III.

AN ACCOUNT OF SUCH ANCIENT LAWS AND RULES AS RELATE
TO THE MONASTIC LIFE, CHIEFLY THAT OF THE CŒNO-
BITES.

SECT. I.—*The Curiales not allowed to turn Monks.*

HAVING thus far taken a view of the several sorts of monks and their several titles, I proceed to give a short account of the principal laws and rules, made partly by the joint concurrence of the civil and ecclesiastical power, and partly by the authority of private superiors, for the government of the cœnobites, or such monks as lived in communities, which were chiefly regarded in the Church. And here we must first look to the laws relating to their admission: for all men were not allowed to turn monks at pleasure; because such an indiscriminate permission would have been to the detriment both of Church and State. Upon this account, the civil law forbids any of the Curiales to become monks, unless they parted with the estates to some others that might bear the offices of their country in their stead. To this purpose is that law of Valentinian and Valens in the Theodosian^a Code; which taking notice of some Curiales, who pretended to associate themselves with the monks in Egypt, only to avoid bearing the offices of their country, orders them to be fetched back from the monasteries by force, and to be compelled to do their duty in their civil station; or else to part with their estates to others that

^a Cod. Theod. lib. xii. tit. i. de Decurion. leg. lxxiii. Quidam ignaviæ sectatores, desertis civitatum muneribus, captant solitudines ac secreta, et specie religionis cum costibus Monazonton congregantur. Hos igitur atque hujusmodi intra Ægyptum deprehensos, per Comitem Orientis crui e latebris consulta præceptione mandavimus, atque ad munia patriarum subeunda revocari, aut, pro tenore nostræ sanctionis, familiarium rerum carere illecebris: quas per eos censuimus vindicandas, qui publicarum essent subituri munera functionum.

should officiate for them. This was agreeable to all those ancient laws, which forbade any of the Curiales to be ordained among the clergy, except upon the same condition of quitting their estates to others to bear the offices of their country in their stead: and yet Baronius^b is so offended at this law, that he reckons it was but the *præludium* to a severe persecution, which Valens, shortly after the death of Valentinian, brought upon the monks in the East; when, as St. Jerome^c and Orosius inform us, he, by another law, obliged them to turn soldiers; and ordered such as refused, to be bastinadoed to death. Gothofred^d, by mistake, reckons this law the very same with the former; but Mr. Pagi^e corrects both him and Baronius together, and shows them to be distinct laws, and plainly to refer to different times and things; the one being made while Valentinian was alive; the other by Valens alone, after his death: the one a very severe law, raising a great persecution against the monks; the other laying no greater burden on them than was always laid upon the clergy by other laws, which prohibit the Curiales to be ordained, unless they

^b Baron. ann. 375, n. x. (Venet. 1708. vol. iv. p. 294.) (p. 369.) (p. 375.) Valens imperator, nequitia exardescens, sic oratione Themistii visus est ab ecclesiarum persecutione abstinuisse, ut tamen alia via, novo excogitato prætextu, diram adversus monachos persecutionem conflarit, quum eos exutos monastica professione, e monasteriis, lege lata, ad militiam revocari præcepit hoc ipso anno, quo Valentinianus ex hac vita sublatus est, ut S. Hieron. habet, etc.

^c Hieron. Chronic. an. 376. Multi monachorum Nitriæ per tribunos et milites cæsi. Valens enim, lege data, ut monachi militarent, nolentes fustibus interfici jussit.—Oros. Histor. lib. vii. c. xxxiii. (Bibl. P. Venet. 1773. vol. viii. p. 149. B.) (p. 508. Bibliothec. Patr. tom. vii. edit. Paris. 1589.) Valens illico post fratris obitum, velut effrenata libertatis audacia, legem dedit, ut monachi, hoc est, Christiani, qui ad unum fidei opus, dimissa sæcularium rerum multimoda actione, se redigunt, ad militiam cogerentur. Vastas illas tunc Ægypti solitudines, arenasque diffusas, quas propter sitim ac sterilitatem periculosissimamque serpentum abundantiam, conversatio humana non nosset, magna habitantium monachorum multitudo compleverat. Huc tribuni et milites missi, qui sanctos et veros milites Dei alio nomine persecutionis abstraherent. Interfecta sunt ibi agmina multa sanctorum.

^d Gothofr. not. in Cod. Theod. lib. xii. tit. i. de Decur. leg. lxiii. p. 413. B. Maneat, hanc legem nostram eandem esse cum altera illa, neque aliam ab hac quærendam.

^e Pagi, Critic. Baron. an. 375. n. xii. xiii. edit. Paris. 1689. (p. 542. tot. edit. Antwerp. 1705.)

found proper substitutes to bear the offices of their country in their room. And the reason of these laws, as they referred both to the monks and clergy, was one and the same; that men who, by their estates, were tied to the service of their country, might not exempt their estates from that service, under pretence of entering into a religious life.

SECT. II.—*Nor Servants without their Master's Consent.*

For the same reason, the most ancient laws, both of Church and State, forbid any servant to be admitted into any monastery without his master's leave; because that was to deprive his master of his legal right of service, which, by the original state and condition of his servants, was his due. To this purpose, Valentinian III. has a law at the end of the Theodosian Code, which equally forbids servants to become either clerks or monks^f, against their master's will, to evade the proper bonds and duties of their station. Baronius^g has a sour reflection upon this law also; for he says, "nothing ever prospered with Valentinian after the making of it:" and yet he could not but know that the same thing had been before determined by the Council of Chalcedon^h; and that, at the instance of the Emperor Marcion, who himself drew up the

^f Valent. iii. Novel. xii. Nullus originarius, inquilinus, servus, vel colonus ad clericale munus accedat, neque monachis et monasteriis aggregetur, ut vinculum debitæ conditionis evadat.

^g Baron. an. 452. n. 152. p. 179. (p. 182. C. D. edit. Antwerp. 1658.) (Lucæ, vol. viii. p. 134.) . . . Sed et vetuit curiales clericos ordinare, vel monachos fieri, similiter et originarios, inquilinos, colonos, et servos. Hæc quidem Valentinianus turpiter promulgat: sed quam inique et impie, lata a successore Majoriano, his contraria sanctio demonstravit. . . . Quam male consulatur imperio, dum in ecclesiarum jura insurgunt Imperatores, pluribus sæpe superius est demonstratum, et nunc graviori damno id ipsum Imperatorem contigit experiri, etc.

^h Conc. Chalced. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 609.) 'Ο θεϊότατος καὶ εὐσεβέστατος ἡμῶν δεσπότης πρὸς τὴν ἁγίαν σύνοδον εἶπε· τινὰ ἔστι κεφάλαια, ἅτινα πρὸς τιμὴν τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐλαβείας ὑμῖν ἐφυλάξαμεν, πρέπον ἡγησάμενοι, παρ' ὑμῶν ταῦτα κανονικῶς κατὰ σύνοδον τυπωθῆναι, ἢ νόμοις θεσπισθῆναι ἡμετέροις· καὶ κατὰ κέλυσιν τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη, Βερονικιανὸς ὁ καθωσιωμμένος σηκρητάριος τοῦ θείου κονισιστωρίου τὰ κεφάλαια ἀνέγνω οὕτω . . . (C 6.) μήτε μὲν ἑξουσίαν ἔχειν τοὺς μονάζοντας διχέσθαι ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν μοναστηρίοις δούλους, ἢ ἐναπογράφους, παρὰ γνώμην τῶν δεσποτῶν.

law, and desired the fathers in synod to make a canon of it, as appears from the Acts¹ of that Council. The words of the canon are, "That no one shall be received into any monastery, to continue there as a monk, without the consent of his own master." So little reason was there to charge Valentinian with an innovation in this matter, when an emperor and a general council had determined the same before him; but Justinian cancelled all these former laws by a new edict of his own, which first set servants at liberty^k from their masters, under pretence of betaking themselves to a monastic life: so that what innovation was made in this matter, is justly to be ascribed to him as its proper author.

SECT. III.—*Nor Husbands and Wives without mutual Consent of each other.*

Another caution which the ancients prescribed to be observed in this matter was, "That married persons should never betake themselves to a monastic life without mutual consent of both parties." Thus Ammus and his wife acted by consent; as Socrates and Palladius¹ relate the story. And so Martinianus and Maxima, mentioned by Victor^m; Paullinus,

¹ Conc. Chalced. c. iv. p. 758. (C 7.) Μηδὲνα προσδέχεσθαι ἐν τοῖς μοναστηρίοις δούλον ἐπὶ τῇ μονάσῃ παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἰδίου δεσπότου.

^k Justin. Novel. v. c. ii. Εἰ μὲν τὸν τριετῆ βίον ἅπαντα διαμένουσιν, ἀρίστους ἑαυτοὺς καὶ καρτερικωτάτους τοῖς τε ἄλλοις μοναχοῖς καὶ τῇ ἡγουμένῃ δεικνύοντες, τούτους τῆς μοναχικῆς ἀξιούν στολῆς τε καὶ κουράς· καὶ εἴτε ἐλεύθεροι καθεστήκοιεν, ἀνεπηρέαστους μένειν· εἴτε οἰκίται, μηκέτι παντελῶς ἐνοχλεῖσθαι, μεταβάνας εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ἀπάντων (φαμέν δὲ τὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ) δεσποτείαν, καὶ ἀναρπαζέσθωσαν εἰς ἐλευθερίαν.

¹ Socrat. lib. iv. c. xxiii. (Aug. T. 1746. p. 200. C 12.) Οὐ πολλοῦ παραδραμόντος καιροῦ, ἡ νεόνυμφος καὶ ἀμόλυντος τοιάδε πρὸς τὸν Ἀρμόυν ἐλεξεν· οὐ πρόπον, ἔφη, ἀσκοῦντί σοι σωφροσύνην, ὅρῳ ἐν τοσοῦτῳ οἰκήματι θήλειαν. διὸ εἰ δοκίῃ, ἕκαστος ἰδίῳ τὴν ἄσκησιν ποιησώμεθα· αὐταὶ ἅλιν αἱ συνθηκαὶ ἡρεσκον ἀφορτοίρας· καὶ χωρισθέντες ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, οὕτως τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου δήνυσαν, κ. τ. λ.

^m Vict. Uticens. de Persecut. Vandal. lib. i. (Max. Bibl. V. P. vol. viii. p. 677, at bottom.) (p. 1895. B. C. tom. vii. Biblioth. Patr. edit. Paris. 1589.) Quia Martinianus armifactor erat, et domino suo satis videbatur acceptus, et Maxima universæ domui dominabatur; credidit Vandalus, ut fideles sibi magis memoratos faceret famulos, Martinianum Maximamque conjugali consortio sociare. Martinianus adolescentulorum sæcularium more conjugium adfectabat: Maxima namque jam Deo sacrata, humanas nuptias refutabat. At ubi ventum

bishop of Nola, and Therasia, his wife, by mutual consent. But Paullinus inveighs severely against the contrary practice, blaming Celantia and others, who indiscreetly dissolved their marriage-vow, and thereby exposed their husbands to the sin of adultery, making themselves^a partakers in their guilt, by acting against the rule of the apostle, which says, "The wife hath not power of her own body, but the husband; and, likewise also, the husband hath not power of his own body, but the wife." St. Austin argues^o upon the same ground—that such engagements are not to be made but by mutual consent; and if either party inconsiderately enter into any such vow, they are rather to repent of their rashness than perform their promise. This was his constant sense, as appears from other places^p of his writings: and herein St. Jerome^q, St. Basil^r,

est, ut cubiculi adirentur secreta silentia, et Martinianus nesciens quid de illo decreverat Deus, maritali fiducia quasi cum conjugē cuperet cubitare, vivaci voce ei memorata famula Christi respondit: 'Christo ego, O Martiniane frater! membra mei corporis dedicavi; nec possum humanum sortiri conjugium, habens jam cœlestem et verum sponsum. Sed dabo consilium: si velis, poteris et ipse tibi præstare dum licet, ut cui ego concupivi nubere, delecteris et ipse servire.' Ita factum est, Domino procurante, ut obediens virgini etiam adolescens suam animam lucraretur.

^a Paulin. Ep. xiv. ad Celantiam, inter Epist. Hieronymi. (Bened. fol. vol. i. p. 1101. C.) Tu quasi oblita fœderis nuptialis, pactique hujus ac juris immemor, inconsulto viro vovisti Domino castitatem. Sed periculose promittitur, quod adhuc in alterius potestate est. Et nescio quam sit grata donatio, si unus offerat rem duorum. Multa jam per hujuscemodi ignorantiam et audivimus et vidimus scissa conjugia, quodque recordari piget, occasione castitatis adulterium perpetratum. Nam dum una pars se etiam a licitis abstinet, altera ad illicita delapsa est. Et nescio in tali causa, quis magis accusari, quis amplius culpæ debeat; utrum ille, qui repulsus a conjugē fornicatur; an illa, quæ, repellendo a se virum, eum fornicationi quodammodo objicit.

^o Aug. Ep. xlv. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 376. G.) (tom. ii. opp. p. 159. D. edit. Basil. 1569.) Armentario et Paulinæ. Vovenda talia non sunt a conjugatis, nisi ex consensu et voluntate communi. Et si præpropere factum fuerit, magis est corrigenda temeritas quam persolvenda promissio.

^p Ibid. excix. ad Ecdiciam. (vol. ii. p. 889. B 7.) (ibid. p. 811. B.) Neque corporis tui debito fraudandus fuit (vir tuus) prius quam ad illud bonum, quod superat pudicitiam conjugalem, tuæ voluntati voluntas quoque ejus accederet.

^q Hieron. Ep. xlvi. ad Rusticum. (Vallars. fol. vol. i. p. 892. E 4.) (tom. i. p. 145. A. edit. Francof.) Narravit mihi uxor quondam tua, nunc soror atque conserva, quod, juxta præceptum apostoli, ex consensu abstinueritis vos ab opere nuptiarum, etc.

^r Basil. Regul. Major. q. xii. (Bened. 1830. vol. ii. p. 494.) (tom. ii. edit.

and all the ancients agree, except Theonas in Cassian^a; who, having forsaken his wife to turn monk, is said to have done it with the approbation of the fathers in Scethis; though Cassian himself dares not undertake to excuse it, as knowing it to have been against the general sense and practice of the Catholic Church. Justinian, indeed, gave some encouragement to this unwarrantable practice by a law, wherein he authorizes the deserting party, man or woman, to claim^t their own fortune again, and not be liable to the least punishment for their desertion. But the Church never approved of this law; and it is remarked, even by Bellarmine himself^u, that Gregory the Great wrote against it.

Paris. 1637. p. 551. C.) *Καὶ τοὺς ἐν συζυγίᾳ δὲ γάμου τοιοῦτῃ βίῃ προσερχομένους ἀνακρίνεσθαι δεῖ, εἰ ἐκ συμφώνου τοῦτο ποιοῦσι κατὰ τὴν διαταγὴν τοῦ ἀποστόλου· τοῦ γὰρ ἰδίου σώματος, φησὶν, οὐκ ἐξουσιάζει· καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ πλείωνων μαρτύρων δέχεσθαι τὸν προσερχόμενον· τῆς γὰρ πρὸς Θεὸν ὑπακοῆς οὐδὲν προτιμότερον.*

^a Cassian. Collat. xxi. c. ix. x. (Atrebat. 1628. p. 787.) *Quum ergo his atque hujusmodi verbis muliebris non flecteretur intentio, et in eadem obstinationis duritia permaneret, 'Si ego,' inquit beatus Theonas, 'te abstrahere a morte non possum, nec tu me separabis a Christo. Tutius est autem mihi cum homine, quam cum Deo habere divortium.'* Adspirante itaque gratia Dei, definitionis sue executionem instanter aggressus est, nec intepescere per aliquam moram desiderii sui passus est ardorem; nam confestim omni mundana facultate nudatus, ad monasterium pervolavit. . . . Nemo autem existimet, nos hæc ad provocanda conjugiorum divortia texuisse, qui non solum nuptias minime condemnamus, verum etiam apostolicam sequentes sententiam, dicimus, 'Honorable connubium in omnibus et torus immaculatus,' sed ut lectori initium conversionis, quo tantus ille vir Deo dicatus est, fideliter panderemus. A quo, bona gratia, hoc primum deprecor, ut sive hoc ei placeat sive displiceat, me quoquo modo a calumnia alienum esse concedens, in suo hoc facto, aut laudet aut reprehendat auctorem. Ego autem qui non meam super hac re sententiam promisi, sed rei gestæ historiam simplici narratione complexus sum, æquum est, ut sicut mihi de eorum, qui hoc factum probant, laude nihil vendico, ita eorum, qui id improbant, non pulser invidia.

^t Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. iii. de Episc. et Cler. leg. liii. sect. iii. *"Εἰς τοῦτο θεσπίζομεν· εἴτε ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ μονήρῃ βίῳ ἐλθεῖν βουλευθεῖη, εἴτε γυνὴ τὸν ἀνδρα καταλείπουσα πρὸς ἀσκησιν ἔλθοι, μὴ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ζημίας παρέχειν πρόφασιν. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν οἰκεία πάντως λαμβάνειν· ὥστε τῇ γυναικὶ τὴν προῖκα εἶναι λαβεῖν τὴν αὐτῆς· καὶ τὴν πρὸ γάμου δωρεάν τῷ συνοικήσαντι· τὸ δὲ ἐκ τούτου κέρδος, μὴ κατὰ τὴν ἐκ ῥεπουδίου διάζευξιν ἐκδιδέειν, ἣ μένειν παρὰ τῷ μὴ ἀποταξαμένῳ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ ἐκ θανάτου σύμφωνον· ὅλα δοκοῦντος τοῦ ἀφισταμένου τὸ τῆς μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων διαίτης ἀναχωρεῖν τῷ γε ἐπὶ τῷ συνοικίῳ τιθῆναι, διὰ τὸ τῷ συνοικήσαντι παντελῶς ἀχρηστον εἶναι.*

^u Bellarm. de Monachis, c. xxxviii. *Alter error est in altero extremo, quod*

SECT. IV.—*Nor Children without the Consent of their Parents.*

It was anciently, also, thought unreasonable to admit children into the monastic life, without or against the consent of their parents. The Council of Gangra^v seems to reflect on this practice, as encouraged by Eustathius, the heretic, in a canon which decrees, that “if any children, under pretence of religion, forsook their parents, and did not give them the honour due to them, they should be anathematized.” St. Basil’s directions are conformable to the rule of that Council, that “children should not be received^x into monasteries, unless they were offered by their parents, if their parents were alive.” But Justinian a little enervated the force of this ancient rule by a new^y law, forbidding parents to hinder their children from becoming monks or clerks, and evacuating their wills, if they presumed to disinherit them upon that account. And this seems to have been the first step toward the contrary practice; which some learned writers^z of the Romish Church have been so far from approving, that they have, with the utmost zeal and vehemence, declaimed against it, as repugnant to the laws of reason and Scripture, and the general practice of the primitive Church.

SECT. V.—*Children, though offered by their Parents, not to be retained against their own Consent.*

Nor was it only the parents’ right that was to be considered in this case, but also the right that every person is presumed

nimirum matrimonium etiam consummatum dissolvatur per ingressum in religionem. Ita decrevit Justinianus, Cod. de Episc. et Cler. i. finali, et refert hanc legem Gregorius, lib. ix. epist. xxxix.

^v Conc. Gangrens. c. xvi. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 424.) Εἰ τινα τέκνα γονέων, μάλιστα πιστῶν, ἀναχωροῖ προφάσει θεοσεβείας, καὶ μὴ τὴν καθήκουσαν τιμὴν τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἀπονέμει, προτιμωμένης δηλονότι παρ’ αὐτοῖς τῆς θεοσεβείας, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

^x Basil. Regul. Major. quest. xv. (Benedict. 1839. vol. ii. p. 496. D 8.) Τὰ παῖδια ὑπὸ γονεῖς ὄντα, παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων προσαγόμενα, ἐπὶ πολλῶν μαρτύρων δεχόμενοι, ὥστε μὴ δοῦναι ἀφορμὴν τοῖς θέλουσιν ἀφορμὴν, ἀλλὰ πᾶν ἄδικον στόμα τῶν λαλούντων καθ’ ἡμῶν βλασφημίαν ἐπισχεθῆναι.

^y Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. iii. de Episc. leg. lv. Ut non liceat parentibus impedire, quo minus liberi eorum volentes monachi aut clerici fiant, aut eam ob solam causam exheredare, etc.

^z Aërod. de Patrio Jure ad Filium, tot.

to have in himself. For if a parent offered a child before he was capable of giving his own consent, the act was of no force, unless the child confirmed it voluntarily, when he came to years of discretion—which the second Council of Toledo reckons to be about the age of eighteen, decreeing, that “all such as were entered in their infancy, by their parents^a, into the clerical or monastic state, should be instructed in the bishop’s house, till they came to that age, and then they should be interrogated, whether they intended to lead a single life or marry; that, accordingly, they might now resolve either to continue in their present state, or betake themselves to a secular life again;” which, by the decree of this Council, they had still liberty to do. And virgins had the same liberty till forty, by an edict of the Emperors Leo and Majorian^b at the end of the Theodosian Code. But the fourth Council of Toledo^c was more severe in this respect to infant-monks; for there it was decreed, an. 633, that “whether their parents’ devotion, or their own profession, made them monks, both should be equally binding, and there should be no permission

^a Conc. Tolet. II. c. i. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1733.) De his, quos voluntas parentum a primis infantie annis in clericatus officio vel monachali posuit, pariter statuimus observandum, ut mox cum detonsi vel ministerio electorum contraditi fuerint, in domo ecclesie, sub episcopali presentia, a preposito sibi debeant erudiri. At ubi octavum decimum etatis sue compleverint annum, coram totius cleri plebisque conspectu, voluntas eorum de expetendo conjugio ab episcopo perscrutetur, etc.

^b Leo, Novel. viii. Ne per hujusmodi impietatem parentum egestas et opprobrium personis nobilibus irrogetur, et, quod precipue submovendum est, irrisionibus execrandis omnipotentis Dei contrahatur offensio, edictali lege sancimus, filias, quas pater materve a seculari permixtione translatas Christiane fidei servare precepta continuata virginitate consueverint, in beatæ vitæ proposito permanentes, non ante suscepto honorato capitis velamine consecrari, quam xl. anno etatis emensæ talibus infulis inoffensa meruerunt observatione decorari, et multi temporis series et cœlestis consuetudo servitii ad perfidam voluntatem novis desideriis aditum non relinquant, qui, ante definitum temporis spatium, sanctimoniale puellam aliis adulti sexus sui votis calentem memoratorum quiscumque parentum velari fecerit atque permiserit, tertia bonorum parte mul-tetur, eadem poena constringi etiam, quæ illa parentibus destituta ut intra prædictæ etatis annos voluerit consecrari.

^c Conc. Tolet. IV. c. xlix. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1717.) Monachum aut paterna devotio, aut propria professio facit. Quicquid horum fuerit, alligatum tenebit. Proinde his ad mundum reverti intercludimus aditum, et omnem ad seculum interdicimus regressum.

to return to a secular life again." This, as Spalatensis^d rightly observes, was the first canon that ever was made to retain children in monasteries, who were only offered by their parents, without requiring their own consent at years of discretion.

SECT. VI.—*Of the Tonsure and Habit of Monks.*

The manner of admission was generally by some change of their habit and dress, not to signify any religious mystery, but only to express their gravity and contempt of the world. And, in this, the sober part of them were always careful to observe a decent mean betwixt vanity and lightness on the one hand, and hypocritical affectations on the other. Long hair was always thought an indecency in men, and savouring of secular vanity; and, therefore, they polled every monk at his admission, to distinguish him from the seculars; but they never shaved any, for fear they should look too like the priests of Isis. This, then, was the ancient tonsure, in opposition to both those extremes. Long hair they reckoned an effeminate dress, and against the rule of the apostle; therefore, Epiphanius^e blames the Mesopotamian monks for wearing long hair against the rule of the Catholic Church; and St. Austin^f censures such, under the name of *criniti fratres*, 'the long-haired brethren.' St. Jerome, according to his custom, expresses himself with satire and indignation against them. For, writing

^d Spalat. de Repub. lib. ii. c. xii. n. xxix. Immo eo progressi sunt homines, humana in hoc sapientes, ut pro monachis veris et obligatis monachali vitæ, habendos censuerint interdum et decreverint eos quoque, qui nullo propriæ voluntatis arbitrio, propriæ electione, sed solo parentum voto solaque eorum obligatione, pueri in monasteriis esse, monachalemque habitum gestare inveniuntur.

^e Epiph. Hæres. lxxx. n. vi. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 1073. A 8.) 'Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλω τύπῳ προελήφθησαν οἱ αὐτοὶ τίμοι ἡμῶν ἀδελφοί, οἱ κατὰ Μεσοποταμίαν ἐν μοναστηρίοις ὑπάρχοντες, εἴτουν Μάνδραϊς καλουμέναις, κόμας γυναικικὰς προβαλλόμενοι, καὶ σάκκῳ προφανεῖ ἐπεριδόμενοι· . . ἄλλότριόν ἐστι τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας σάκκος προφανής, καὶ κόμη ἐκτεινομένη ἀπὸ τοῦ κηρύγματος τῶν ἀποστόλων.

^f Aug. de Oper. Monach. c. xxxi. (Bened. vol. vi. p. 501. A 9.) (tom. iii. p. 802. edit. Basil. 1569.) Vercor in hoc vitium plura dicere, propter quosdam crinitos fratres, quorum præter hoc multa et pæne omnia veneramur.

to Eustochium^g, he “bids her beware of such monks as affected to walk in chains, and wear long hair, and goats’ beards, and black cloaks, and go barefoot in the midst of winter; for these were but arguments and tokens of a devil.” From which invective, it may be easily collected, that such sort of affectations in habit and dress were not approved then by wise men in the Church. But, on the other hand, the ancient tonsure was not a shaven crown; for St. Jerome^h, St. Ambroseⁱ, and others, equally inveigh against this as a ceremony of the priests of Isis: it was only an obligation on the monks and clergy to wear decent and short hair, as it is evident from all the canons that appoint it^k. As to their habit and clothing, their rules were the same, that it should be decent and grave, as became their profession; not light and airy, nor slovenly and affected. The monks of Tabennesus, in Thebais, which lived under the institution of Pachomius, seem to have been the only monks in those days which were confined to any particular habits. Cassian^l has a whole book, among his

^g Hieron. Ep. xxii. ad Eustochium, c. xii. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 112, at top.) *Viros fuge, quos videris catenatos; quibus feminei contra Apostolum Paulum crines, hircorum barba, nigrum pallium, et nudi in patientia frigoris pedes. Hæc omnia argumenta sunt diaboli.* (Tom. i. p. 93. F. edit. Francof. 1684.)

^h Hieron. in Ezech. c. xlv. (Benedict. vol. iii. p. 1029.) (tom. v. p. 464. C. cit. edit.) *Quod sequitur, ‘Caput suum non radent, neque comam nutrient, sed tondentes attondebunt capita sua,’ perspicue demonstratur, nec rasis capitibus, sicut sacerdotes cultoresque Isidis atque Serapis, nos esse debere; nec rursum comam demittere, quod proprie luxuriosorum est, barbarorumque et militantium, sed ut honestus habitus sacerdotum facie demonstretur.*

ⁱ Ambros. Epist. xxxvi. ad Sabin. (Paris. 1836. vol. iv. p. 367.) (Ep. xxx. tom. v. p. 128. C. edit. Colon. 1616.) *Cum ipsi capita et supercilia sua radant, si quando Isidis suscipiunt sacra, si forte Christianus vir attentior sacrosanctæ religioni vestem mutaverit, indignum facinus appellant.*

^k Conc. Carth. IV. c. xlv. *Clericus nec comam nutriat, nec barbam (radat).* — Conc. Agath. c. xx. (tom. iv. Conc. p. 1386.) *Clerici qui comam nutriunt, ab archidiacono, etiamsi noluerint, inviti detondeantur.* — Conc. Tolet. IV. c. xli. (tom. v. Conc. p. 1716.) *Omnes clerici, vel lectores, sicut Levitæ et Sacerdotes, detonso superius toto capite, inferius solam circuli coronam relinquant: non sicut huc usque in Galliciæ partibus facere lectores videntur, qui prolixis, ut laici, comis, in solo capitis apice modicum circulum tondent. Ritus enim iste in Hispania huc usque hæreticorum fuit. Unde oportet, ut pro amputando ecclesiæ scandalo, hoc signum dedecoris auferatur, ut una sit tonsura, vel habitus, sicut totius Hispaniæ est usus.*

^l Cassian. lib. i. de Habitu Monach.

Institutes, to describe them, where he speaks of their “cingula, cuculli, colobia, redimicula, palliola or mafortes, melotes, their sheep-skins, their caligæ, and sandals;” all which, they that are curious in this matter, may find there particularly described. But, he owns, these habits were not in use^m among the Western monks; and some of them, particularly the cowl and the sheepskins, would have exposed them only to derision to have worn them. St. Jerome often speaks of the habits of monks, but he never once intimates that it was any particular garb differing from others, save only in this; that it was a cheaper, coarser, meaner raimentⁿ than others wore, expressing their humility and contempt of the world without any singularity or affectation. For, as to the affecting of black cloaks, and appearing in chains, we have heard him already express himself severely against them. And he is no less satirical^o against those who wore cowls and sackcloth for their outward garment; because these were vain singularities, which religious persons ought to avoid, and rather observe a becoming mien in their habit^p, between gaiety and slovenliness, without any notable distinction, to draw the eyes of the world upon them. Palladius takes notice of some who loved to walk in chains; but, he says^q, Apollo, the famous Egyptian

^m Cassian. lib. i. de Habitu Monach. c. xi. Nam neque caligis nos, neque colobiis seu una tunica esse contentos hiemis permittit asperitas et parvissimi cuculli velamen; vel melotis gestio derisum potius quam ædificationem ullam videntibus comparabit.

ⁿ Hieron. Ep. iv. ad Rusticum. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 936.) Sordidæ vestes candidæ mentis indicia sunt. Vilis tunica contemtum sæculi probet.—Id. Ep. xiii. ad Paulin. p. 319. Tunicam mutas cum animo, nec pleno marsupio gloriosas sordes appetis; etc.—Id. Ep. xv. ad Marcellam de Laud. Asellæ. Tunica fuscior induta, se repente Domino consecravit.

^o Hieron. Epist. xxii. ad Eustochium. (vol. i. p. 111.) Sunt qui ciliciis vestiuntur et cucullis fabrefactis: ut ad infantiam redeant, imitantur noctuas et bubones.

^p Ibid. (p. 110. D.) Vestis sit nec satis munda nec sordida, et nulla diversitate nobilis; ne ad te obviam prætereuntium turba consistat, aut digito demonstreris.

^q Pallad. Histor. Lausiac. c. lii. (in Biblioth. Patr. Græc. Lat. tom. ii. p. 985. C.) Ἐμίμετρο δὲ πολλὰ τοὺς τὰ σιδηρὰ φέροντας καὶ τοὺς κομῶντας· οὗτοι γὰρ ἐνδεκνύουσι, φησί, καὶ ἀνθρωπαρέσκειαν θηρῶσι· δέον αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον νηστείας ἐκλῦειν τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ἐν κρυπτῷ τὸ καλὸν πράττειν· οἱ δὲ οὐ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἑαυτοὺς φανεροὺς καθιστῶσι.

monk, was used to inveigh severely against them. And Cassian justly blames some others as having more zeal than knowledge, because they, literally interpreting that saying of our Saviour, "He that taketh not up his cross, and followeth me, is not worthy of me," made themselves wooden crosses, and carried them continually about their necks; which, as he rightly^r observes, was "not to edify, but raise the laughter of all spectators." Such affectations were generally condemned by the ancients, and it was only the ignorant or superstitious that approved them. So that, upon the whole matter, it appears that the western monks used only a common habit, the philosophic *pallium*, which many other Christians in those times did; whence, as I have noted^s in another place, the heathens called Christians "Greeks and impostors." And, sometimes, the looser sort of Christians gave monks the same name for the same reason, as St. Jerome^t seems to intimate, when he says, "If a man did not wear silk, he was reckoned a monk; if he did not appear in gay clothing, he was presently termed a Greek and impostor." And Salvian^u reflects on the African people, and especially those of Carthage, for the same treatment of them. For, he says, "They could scarce ever see a man with short hair, and a pale face, and habited in a *pallium*, that is, a monk, without bestowing some reviling and reproachful language on him." These words of Salvian, I take to be an exact description of their ancient habit and tonsure.

SECT. VII.—*No solemn Vow or Profession required of them.*

As to any solemn vow or profession required at their admission, we find no such thing, for it was not yet the practice of

^r Cassian. Collat. viii. c. iii. (Atrebat. 1628. p. 467.) Quod quidam districtissimi monachorum, 'habentes quidem zelum Dei, sed non secundum scientiam,' simpliciter intelligentes, fecerunt sibi cruces ligneas, easque jugiter humeris circumferentes, non ædificationem sed risum cunctis videntibus intulerunt.

^s Book i. chap. ii. sect. iv.

^t Hieron. Ep. xxiii. ad Marcellam. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 176.) Nos quia serica veste non utimur, monachi judicamur. Si tunica non canduerit, statim illud e trivio, Impostor et Græcus est.

^u Salvian. de Gubern. lib. viii. (Bibl. V. P. Galland. vol. x. p. 50. D 5.) Inter Africæ civitates, et maxime intra Carthaginis muros, palliatum et pallidum, et recisis comarum fluentium júbis usque ad cutem tonsum videre, tam infelix ille populus quam infidelis sine convicio atque execratione vix poterat.

those ages ; but, whatever was done in that kind, was only a private transaction between God and themselves. St. Basil^v says plainly, that “there was no express promise of celibacy taken of any, but they seemed only to promise it tacitly by becoming monks.” He advises, indeed, that “a profession should be required of them for the future ;” but that implies, that as yet no such promise had been exacted before. There were some monks that lived in a married state, as appears from what has been alleged from Athanasius and St. Austin in the foregoing^w chapter : and it is certain a promise of celibacy could not be exacted of them. And for others that lived in communities, their way of admission was not upon any explicit promise, but a triennial probation, during which time they were inured to the exercises of the monastic life in the greatest severity ; and if, after that term was expired, they liked to continue the same exercises, they were then admitted, without any further ceremony or solemnity, into the community, to cohabit as proper members of it. This was the method prescribed by the rule of Pachomius, the father of the monks of Tebennesus ; from which all others took their model, as the reader may find in Palladius^x and Sozomen^y, where the rule is at large recited.

SECT. VIII.—*What meant by their Renunciation of the World.*

There was as yet no solemn vow of poverty required neither, though it was customary for men voluntarily to renounce the world, by disposing of their own estates to charitable uses, before they entered into a community where they were to enjoy all things in common. Thus, Hilarion divided all his sub-

^v Basil. Ep. Can. c. xix. (Balsamon. Paris. 1620. p. 954.) Ἄνδρῶν δὲ ὁμολογίαν οὐκ ἔγνωμεν, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τινες ἑαυτοὺς τῷ τάγματι τῶν μοναζόντων ἑγκατηρίθμησαν· οἱ κατὰ τὸ σωπώμενον δοκοῦσι παραδέχεσθαι τὴν ἀγαμίαν· πλὴν καὶ ἐπ’ ἐκείνων, ἐκείνο ἡγοῦμαι προηγέσθαι προσήκειν, ἐρωτᾶσθαι αὐτοὺς, καὶ λαμβάνεσθαι τὴν παρ’ αὐτῶν ὁμολογίαν ἐναργῆ.

^w See chap. ii. sect. vi.

^x Pallad. Histor. Lausiaca. c. xxxviii. p. 956. C. Τὸν μὲν τοι εἰσελθόντα εἰσάπαξ συμμείναι αὐτοῖς· ἐπὶ τριετίαν, εἰς ἀγῶνα ἀδύτων αὐτὸν οὐ δέξῃ· ἀλλ’ ἐργατικώτερα ἔργα ποιήσας, οὕτως εἰς τὸ στάδιον ἐμβαίνειτω μετὰ τὴν τριετίαν.

^y Sozom. lib. iii. c. xiv. p. 105.

stance between his brethren and the poor, reserving nothing to himself, as St. Jerome* and Sozomen report of him. And Paullinus, a rich senator's son, with his wife, Therasia, by mutual consent, disposed of both of their estates (which were very great) to the poor, and then betook themselves to a monastic life at Nola, where Paullinus, after he was made bishop of the place, continued the same voluntary poverty still; insomuch, that St. Austin* says of him, that when the Goths were ravaging and plundering the town, he made this prayer to God: *Domine, ne excrucier propter aurum et argentum: ubi enim sint omnia mea, Tu scis*—‘Lord, let not the barbarians torture me for my silver or gold, for Thou knowest where all my treasure is.’ Such instances of voluntary poverty are every where obvious in ancient history: but then one thing they were very careful to avoid in those early times; that is, that when they had once renounced their own estates, they did not afterward seek to enrich themselves, or their monasteries, by begging or accepting the estates of others. It was a remarkable answer to this purpose, which Isaac Syrus, bishop of Ninive^b, is said to have given to his monks, when they desired him to receive some lands that were offered him for the use of his monastery. He replied, *Monachus qui in terra possessiones quærit, monachus non est*—‘A monk that seeks for possessions in the earth, is not a monk.’ The Western monks were not always precise to this rule, as appears

* Hieron. Vit. Hilarionis, c. iii. (Vallars. vol. ii. p. 15.) (p. 157. C. tom. i. edit. Francof.) *Reversus est cum quibusdam Monachis ad patriam, et parentibus jam defunctis, partem pauperibus largitus est, nihil sibi omnino reservans.*—Sozomen. lib. iii. c. xiv. (Aug. Taur. p. 105. C 6.) *Καταλαβὼν δὲ τελευτήσαντας τοὺς πατέρας, εἰς τοὺς ἀδελφούς καὶ τοὺς δεομένους τὴν οὐσίαν διένειμεν.*

* Augustin. de Civit. Dei, lib. i. c. x. (Bened. vol. vii. p. 11. D 6.) (tom. v. p. 51. C. edit. Basil. 1569.) *Paullinus noster, Nolensis episcopus, ex opulentissimo divite, voluntate pauperrimus, et copiosissime sanctus, quando et ipsam Nola Barbari vastaverunt, cum ab eis teneretur, sic in corde suo, ut ab eo postea cognovimus, precabatur, ‘Domine, non excrucier,’ etc.*

^b Vid. Cave, Histor. Litter. (Lond. 1743. vol. i. p. 519.) (vol. ii. p. 185, edit. London. 1698.) (p. 110, edit. Genev. 1699.) *Isaac, natione Syrus, urbis Ninivis episcopus . . . mihi certe in nullo magis memorabilis, quam quod monachos suos ipsum humiliter hortantes, ut in usum monasterii possessiones, quæ oblatæ erant, acciperent, simplici hoc responso refellit: ‘Monachus qui in terra possessiones quærit, monachus non est.’*

from the complaints of St. Jerome^c and Cassian^d, and some imperial laws^e made to restrain their avarice. But the monks of Egypt were generally just to their own pretensions; their monasteries had no lands or revenues belonging to them; nor would they have any, nor suffer any monk to enjoy more than was necessary for his daily subsistence. For they thought it a contradiction to their profession, that men who made a show of renouncing the world, should grow rich in monasteries, who perhaps were poor before they came thither; and, therefore, if ever they received any donation, it was not for their own use, but the use of the poor. Nay, they would not suffer any monk to enjoy any thing to call it his own, but, in a community, they would have all things in common; and, therefore, St. Jerome^f tells a remarkable story of one of the monks of Nitria,

^c Hieron. Ep. iv. ad Rustic. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 943. B.) (tom. i. edit. Francof. p. 30. G.) Vidi ego quosdam, qui postquam renunciavere sæculo, vestimentis duntaxat et vocis professione, non rebus, nihil de pristina conversatione mutarunt. Res familiaris magis aucta quam imminuta. Eadem ministeria servulorum, idem apparatus convivii. In vitro et patella fictili, aurum comeditur; et inter turbas et examina ministrorum nomen sibi vendicant solitarii.—Id. Ep. ii. ad Nepot. p. 9. C. Nonnulli sunt ditiores monachi, quam fuerant seculares; et clerici, qui possideant opes sub Christo paupere, quas sub locuplete et fallace diabolo non habuerant; ut suspiret eos ecclesia divites, quos mundus antea tenuit mendicos.

^d Cassian. lib. iv. c. xv. (Atrebat. 1628. p. 80.) Ad hæc nos miserabiles quid dicemus, qui in cœnobiis commorantes, ac sub Abbatis cura et sollicitudine constituti, peculiares circumferimus claves, omnique professionis nostræ verecundia et confusione calcata, etiam annulos, quibus recondita præsignemus, in digitis palam gestare nos non pudet, quibus non solum cistellæ vel sportæ, sed ne arcæ quidem, vel armaria, ad ea quæ congerimus, vel quæ egressi de sæculo reservavimus, condenda sufficiunt. Quique ita nonnunquam pro vilissimis nullisque rebus accendimur, eas duntaxat velut proprias vendicantes, ut si quis vel digito quicquam ex his contrectare præsumserit, tanta contra eum iracundia suppleamur, ut commotionem cordis nostri ne a labiis quidem, ac tota corporis indignatione, revocare possimus.

^e Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. leg. xx. Ecclesiasticæ, aut ex ecclesiasticis, vel qui Continentium se volunt nomine nuncupari, viduarum ac pupillarum domos non adeant: sed publicis exterminentur judiciis, si posthac eos ad fines earum vel propinqui putaverint deferendos. Censemus etiam, ut memorati nihil de ejus mulieris, cui se privatim sub prætextu religionis adjunxerint, liberalitate quacumque, vel extremo judicio possint adipisci: et omne in tantum inefficax sit, quod alicui horum ab his fuerit derelictum, ut nec per subjectam personam valeant aliquid, vel donatione, vel testamento, percipere.

^f Hieron. Ep. xxii. ad Eustoch. c. xiv. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 118.) Quod ante

in Egypt, how he was punished for hoarding up but a hundred shillings as his own property, which he had saved out of his daily labour. At his death, when the thing came to be discovered, a council of all the monks was called, to advise what should be done with the money : and they were about five thousand who met at this consultation. Some said it should be distributed among the poor ; others, that it should be given to the Church ; and others, that it should be remitted to his parents : but Macarius, and Pambo, and Isidore, and the rest of those called fathers among them, decreed that it should be buried with him in his grave, saying, “Thy money perish with thee.” So little regard had those ancient monks for any thing more than what was necessary for their daily sustenance !

SECT. IX.—*Of the Difference between the Renouncing and the Communicative Life.*

Some, indeed, did not thus renounce all property, but kept their estates in their own hands, and yet enjoyed no more of them than if they had actually passed them over to others ; for they distributed their whole yearly revenue constantly to the poor, and such charitable uses as men’s daily needs required. Of this sort Palladius ^s and Sozomen ^h mention one

non plures annos Nitriæ gestum sit, referemus. Quidam ex fratribus parciore magis quam avarior, nesciens triginta argenteis Dominum venditum, centum solidos, quos lina texendo adquisierat, moriens dereliquit. Initum est inter Monachos consilium (nam in eodem loco circiter quinque millia divisim cellulis habitabant) quid facto opus esset. Alii pauperibus distribuendos esse dicebant ; alii dandos Ecclesiæ ; nonnulli parentibus remittendos : Macarius vero, et Pambo, et Isidorus, et cæteri quos Patres vocant, Sancto in eis loquente Spiritu, decreverunt infodiendos esse cum domino suo, dicentes, ‘Pecunia tua tecum sit in perditionem.’

^s Pallad. Histor. Lausiac. c. xiv. (tom. ii. Biblioth. Patr. Græc. Lat. p. 916.) ‘Απολλώνιος τις ὀνόματι ἀπὸ πραγματευτῶν ἀποταξάμενος καὶ οἰκήσας τὸ ὄρος τῆς Νιτρίας, μήτε τίχνην τὸ λοιπὸν μαθεῖν δυνάμενος, μήτε ἐπὶ ἀσκησιν γραφικῆν τῷ παραβιβηκέναι τὴν ἡλικίαν, ζήσας ἐν τῷ ὄρει εἰκοσι ἔτη, ταύτην ἔσχεν τὴν ἀσκησιν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χρημάτων καὶ τῶν οἰκείων πόνων παντοῖα ἱατρικὰ καὶ κελλαρικὰ ἀγοράζων ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, πάσῃ τῇ ἀδελφότητι εἰς τὰς νόσους ἐπήρκει, κ. τ. λ.

^h Sozom. lib. vi. c. xxix. (Aug. T. 1746. p. 238, at bottom.) ‘Απολλώνιος, τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἱμπορίαν μετιών, ἤδη πρὸς γῆρας ἱλαύνων, ἐπὶ τὴν Σκῆτιν ἦλθε λογισάμενος δι’ ὥς οὔτε γράφειν, οὔτε ἄλλην τινα τέχνην μαθεῖν οἷός τί

Apollonius, who kept his estate in his own possession, but expended the annual income in providing physic and other necessities for the sick monks, as there was occasion. Palladius, also¹, speaks of two brothers, Pacesius and Esaias, sons of a rich merchant, who, betaking themselves to a monastic life, disposed of their estates in these different ways: the one gave away his whole estate at once to churches and prisons, and such monasteries as needed relief, and then, betaking himself to a small trade for his own subsistence, he spent the rest of his life in labour and prayer; but the other kept his estate in his own possession, and therewith, first building a monastery, and taking to himself a few associates, he entertained all strangers travelling that way, took care of the sick, entertained the aged, relieved the poor; and, on every Saturday and Lord's day, spread three or four tables for the refreshment of such as needed. Palladius calls this rightly *κοινωνικὸν βίον*, 'the communicative life,' and the other *ἀποταξαμένου*

ἔστι διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, παντοδαπῶν φαρμάκων εἶδη καὶ ἰδιοσμάτων ἐπιτηδεῖων τοῖς κάμνουσιν, ἐξ οἰκείων χρημάτων ὠνούμενος, ἀνὰ ἐκάστην θύραν μοναστικὴν περιγίει μέχρις ἐννάτης ὥρας, ἐφορῶν τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἐπιτηδεῖαν δὲ ταύτην αὐτῷ τὴν ἀσκησιν εὐρῶν, ὥδε ἐπολιτεύσατο· μέλλων δὲ τελευτᾶν, ἄλλω παραδοὺς αἱ εἶχεν, ἐνετείλατο τὰ αὐτὰ ποιεῖν.

¹ Pallad. Histor. Lausiac. c. xv. 'Ἐτερός τις Πακήσιος καὶ Ἡσαίας οὕτω καλούμενοι ἀδελφοὶ ὑπῆρχον πατρὸς ἐμπορίου Σπανοδρόμου· οἵτινες τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν τελευτήσαντος ἡμερίσαντο τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἐν κινήτοις, αἱ ἔσχον ἐν μὲν νομίμασι πεντακισχιλίοις, ἐν ἱματίοις δὲ καὶ οἰκέταις τὰ εὐρεθέντα οὗτοι μετ' ἀλλήλων ἐσκέψαντο, καὶ συμβουλευόντες ἑαυτοῖς ἔλεγον πρὸς ἀλλήλους, 'Ἐπὶ ποίαν μέθοδον ἔλθωμεν βίου, ἀδελφεῖ; ἴαν ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμπορίαν, ἣν μετῆλθεν ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐτέροις ἔχομεν καταλείψαι τοὺς πόνοους ἡμῶν· ἴσως δὲ καὶ κινδύνους περιπεσοῦμεθα πάντως ἢ ληστροῖς ἢ θαλαττοῖς· δεῦρο οὖν ἀδελφεῖ, ἐπὶ τὸν μονήρη βίον ἔλθωμεν, ἵνα καὶ τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν κερδήσωμεν, καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν μὴ ἀπολείσωμεν· ἤρρεσεν οὖν ἀμφοτέροις ὁ σκοπὸς τοῦ μονήρους βίου· εὐρίθησαν οὖν ἄλλος κατ' ἄλλο διαφωνοῦντες· μερισάμενοι δὲ τὰ χρήματα, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα, τοῦ μὲν σκοποῦ εἶχοντο ἕκαστος τοῦ ἀρέσαι ὁψ, ἐνηλλαγμένην δὲ τῇ πολιτείᾳ· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πάντα διασκορπίσας ἔδωκεν ἀσκητηρίοις, καὶ ἐκκλησίαις, καὶ φυλακαῖς· καὶ τεχνόδριον ἔμαθιν, ὅθεν τὸν ἄρτον πορίσεται, καὶ τῇ ἀσκήσει προσέσχεν, καὶ τῇ προσευχῇ· ὁ δὲ ἕτερος τούτου μὴδὲν διασκορπίσας, ἀλλὰ ποιήσας ἑαυτῷ μοναστήριον καὶ προσλαβόμενος ἀδελφοὺς ὀλίγους, πάντα ξένου ἐξεξιούτο, πάντα ἀρρώστον ἰεράρηνεν, πάντα γέροντα περιεκράτει, πάντι πέννιτι παρείχεν, κατὰ σάββατον καὶ κυριακὴν τρεῖς ἢ τέσσαρας τράπεζας ἰστών, τοὺς λιπομένους ἐδεξιούτο· . . . τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον κατανάλωσεν.

βίον, 'the life of a renouncer.' And adds¹, that "The question being put by some brethren to Pambo, the famous Egyptian, concerning these two brothers, 'whether of them took the better course,' he replied, 'They were both equally perfect, and acceptable in the sight of God: the one, imitating the hospitality of Abraham; and the other, the zeal of Elias.'"

SECT. X.—*All Monks anciently maintained by their own Labour.*

Hence it appears, that the ancient monks had no regard to estates and possessions: for, one way or other, they discharged themselves of the burden of them. And then, since monasteries had no standing revenues, all monks whatever were obliged to exercise themselves in bodily labour, partly to maintain themselves without being burdensome to others; and partly, to keep their souls well guarded, and (as it were) out of the way of Satan's strongest temptations. For Cassian notes it^k as a very wise saying of the old Egyptian fathers, that "a labouring monk was but tempted by one devil; but an idle one was exposed to the devastation of a legion." And, therefore, St. Jerome, writing to his friend, Rusticus, the monk, bids him be sure to exercise himself in some¹ honest labour; that the devil might always find him employed. This, he tells him, was the custom of the Egyptian monasteries, to admit none without working with their own hands, as well to supply their bodily wants, as to preserve their souls from danger. They had, then, no idle mendicants among them, as Duarenus

J Pallad. *Hist. Lausinc.* c. xv. Φιλονεικίας οὖν ἐμπιστοῦσης ἐπὶ τῇ διαφορῇ πολιτείᾳ τούτων τῶν μακαρίων τῇ ἀδελφότητι, μάλιστα, ἐπὶ τοῖς διαφοροῖς ἱπαινίοις, ἀπέρχονται πρὸς τὸν μακάριον καὶ ἅγιον Παμβῶ, καὶ ἀνατίθενται αὐτῷ τὴν περὶ τούτων ἐπίκρισιν, ἀξιοῦντες μαθεῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀμείνων πολιτείαν· ὃ δὲ λέγει αὐτοῖς· Ἀμφότεροι τέλειοί εἰσι πρὸς τὸν Κύριον· ὃ μὲν γάρ Ἀβραμαῖον ἐξετέλεσιν ἔργον δεξιούμενος πάντας· ὃ δὲ τοῦ προφήτου Ἠλίου τὸ ἀκαμπές τοῦ ζήλου τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν εὐαρεστήσεως ἐνεδείξατο.

^k Cassian. *Institut.* lib. x. c. xxiii. (Atrebat. 1628. p. 237.) Hæc est apud Ægyptum antiquis patribus sancita sententia, 'Operantem monachum uno dæmone pulsari; otiosum vero innumeris spiritibus devastari.'

¹ Hieron. *Ep.* iv. ad Rustic. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 940.) Fac et aliquid operis, ut te semper diabolus inveniat occupatum. Ægyptiorum monasteria hunc morem tenent, ut nullum absque operis labore suscipiant, non tam propter victus necessitatem quam propter animæ salutem.

himself^m rightly observes. They looked upon a monk that did not work, as no better than a covetous defrauder; for so Socratesⁿ tells us the Egyptian fathers were used to express themselves concerning such as eat other men's bread for nought. We have already heard out of Bede^o how the monks of Bangor, two thousand in number, maintained themselves with their own labour: and Bishop Usher has collected^p a great many other instances of the same nature, in relation to the first monasteries of Ireland and Britain. It would be endless to produce all the passages of ancient writers that relate to this matter; therefore, I shall content myself to refer the reader to the places themselves cited^q in the margin, and

^m Duaren. de Ministr. et Benefic. lib. i. c. xx. Nec ita otio dediti erant, more pseudomonachorum nostri temporis, ut nihil in commune conferrent, et se homines esse, id est, ad societatem hominum juvandam natos non recordarentur.

ⁿ Socrat. lib. iv. c. xxiii. (Aug. Taur. 1746. p. 201. D 10.) Μοναχός, εἰ μὴ ἐργάζοιτο, ἐπίσης τῷ πλεονέκτῃ κρίνεται.

^o Bed. lib. ii. c. ii. See chap. ii. sect. xiii. note (r).

^p Usher, Religion of the Ancient Irish, c. vi.

^q Epiphan. Hæres. lxxx. n. vi. (Colon. vol. i. p. 1072. C.) Καὶ γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἱερίων, καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ τοῦ κηρύγματος τοῦ λόγου, μιμούμενοι τὸν ἄγιον αὐτῶν μετὰ τὸν Θεὸν ἐν Χριστῷ πατέρα, φημί δὲ Παῦλον τὸν ἅγιον ἀπόστολον, καὶ αὐτοὶ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντες, ἀλλ' οἱ πλείους, ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶν ἐργαζόμενοι, οἷαν δ' ἀναλόγως συμπρέπουσαν τῷ ἀξιώματι, καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς φροντίδος ἐνδελεχεῖα εὐροῖεν τέχνην, ὅπως μετὰ τοῦ λόγου καὶ τοῦ κηρύγματος ἡ συνειδήσις χαίρῃ, καὶ διὰ χειρῶν ἰδίων καρποφοροῦσα, καὶ αὐτῇ ἐπαρκουμένη, τοῖς τε ἀδελφοῖς, καὶ ἐνδομέμοις, τὴν μετὰ χεῖρας οἰκονομίαν.—Chrysostom. de Compunct. Cordis, lib. i. c. vi. (Benedict. vol. i. p. 132. C 5.) "Ὅτε καὶ πρῶην ἐγὼ ἐγνώκειν, τὴν πόλιν ἀφείς, ἐπὶ τὰς σκηναὶς τῶν μοναχῶν ἰλθεῖν, πολλὰς ἤμην τοῦτο ἱερυνῶν καὶ πολυπραγμονῶν, πόθεν ἡ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἔσται χορηγία . . . εἰ μὴ τις ὁ εἰς ἔργον ἐμβάλλων χαλεπὸν, οἶον, σκάπτειν, ἡ ξυλοφορεῖν, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπηρετεῖν καὶ ὅλως, ὁ περὶ τῆς ἀναπαύσεως λόγος ἦν πολλὸς ἡμῖν.—Hieron. Epist. lxxvii. ad Marcum Coledensem (tom. ii. p. 211. G. edit. Francof.) Nihil alicui præripui, nihil otiosus accipio. Manu quotidie et proprio sudore quaerimus cibum, scientes ab apostolo scriptum esse, 'Qui autem non operatur, nec manducet.'—Cassian. Institut. lib. x. c. xxiii. Vid. sub lit. (t) in textu.—Justin. Novel. cxxxiii. c. vi. Δεῖ διπλοῦν τοῦτο ἔργον τοῖς μοναχοῖς καθεστάναι, ἡ ταῖς θεαῖς ἐνασχολεῖσθαι γραφαῖς, ἡ τὰ μοναχοῖς πρίποντα (ὑπὲρ καλεῖν εἰώθασιν ἐργόχειρα) μελετᾶν τε καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι: διάνοια γὰρ, μάτην σχολάζουσα, οὐδὲν ἂν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀποτίκει.—Id. Cod. lib. xi. tit. xxv. de Mendicantibus Validis. Cunctis, quos in publicum questum incerta mendicitas vocaverit, inspectis, exploretur in singulis et integritas corporum et robor annorum: atque inertibus et absque ulla debilitate miserandis necessitas

only observe one thing further, that anciently monks, by the labour of their hands, did not only provide themselves of sufficient maintenance, but had superfluities also to relieve the necessities of others. Sozomen¹, says Serapion, presided over a monastery of ten thousand monks, near Arsinoe, in Egypt, who all thus laboured with their own hands, going to reap in the fields in the time of harvest; so that they had enough and to spare for the use of the poor: which is confirmed by St. Austin², who, speaking of the labour of the monks of his own time, assures us they many times sent away whole ships laden with necessaries, to supply the need of such countries as were exceeding barren and poor. He means the deserts of Libya; of which Cassian speaks, telling us, that “the fathers in Egypt would never suffer their monks to receive any thing by way of maintenance³ from others; but they had sufficient out of their labour, not only to entertain strangers and travellers that came to visit them, but also to send abundance of provisions into the famished parts of Libya, and to supply the wants of men in

inferatur, ut eorum quidem quos tenet conditio servilis, proditor studiosus et diligens dominium consequatur: eorum vero, quos natalium sola libertas persequitur, colonatu perpetuo fulciatur, quisquis hujusmodi lenitudinem prodiderit ac probaverit: salva dominis in eos actione, qui vel latebram forte fugitivis vel mendicitatis subeundæ consilium præstiterunt.—Pallad. *Hist. Lausiac.* cc. vii. x. xx. xxviii. xxx. xxxix. lxxvi. lxxxix. xcvi. cxii.—Moschus, *Prat. Spirit.* cc. xxii. cxiv. clx. clxi. clxxxiii. exciv.

¹ Sozom. lib. vi. c. xxviii. (p. 236. D.) *Σεραπίων περὶ τὸν Ἀρσενούτην διέτριβεν, ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους ὑφ' αὐτὸν ἔχων πάντας δὲ ἤγεν ἐξ οἰκείων ἰδρώτων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πορίζεσθαι, καὶ ἄλλοις δεομένοις χορηγεῖν ὥρα δὲ θέρους ἐπὶ μισθῷ ἀμῶντες, ἀρκοῦντα αὐτοῖς σίτον ἀπετίθεντο, καὶ ἄλλοις μοναχοῖς μετεδίδουν.*

² Aug. de *Moribus Eccles.* c. xxxi. (Bened. vol. i. p. 711. B.) (tom. i. p. 771. D.) *Quidquid necessario victui redundat, (nam redundat plurimum ex operibus manuum et epularum restrictione) tanta cura egentibus distribuitur, quanta non ab ipsis, qui distribuunt, comparatum est. Nullo modo namque satagunt, ut hæc sibi abundant; sed omni modo agunt, ut non apud se remaneat quod abundaverit; usque adeo ut oneratas etiam naves in ea loca mittant, quæ inopes incolunt.*

³ Cassian. *Instit.* lib. x. c. xxii. (p. 233.) *Non solum a nullo quidquam ad usum victus sui accipere patiuntur, sed etiam de laboribus suis non tantum supervenientes et peregrinos reficiunt, verum etiam per loca Libyæ, quæ sterilitate ac fame laborant, nec non etiam per civitates his qui squalore carcerum contabescunt, immanem conferentes dirigunt alimoniam victusque substantiam, de fructu manuum suarum, rationabile ac verum sacrificium Domino tali oblatione se offerre credentes.*

prison in other places ; reckoning that hereby they offered a reasonable and true sacrifice to God of the fruit of their own hands by such an oblation." It seems they did not then think that working was inconsistent with the other duties of a monk, but one necessary part of his office and station : and St. Austin wrote a whole book^u to prove this to be their duty ; wherein he takes occasion to answer all the plausible objections that have ever been made to the contrary.

SECT. XI.—*Proper Officers appointed in Monasteries for this purpose, viz. Decani, Centenarii, Patres, &c.*

Now the better to promote this and all the other duties, the monasteries were commonly divided into several parts, and proper officers appointed over them. Every ten monks were subject to one, who was called the *decanus*, or 'dean,' from his presiding over ten ; and every hundred had another officer, called *centenarius*, from presiding over a hundred. Above these, were the *patres*, or 'fathers' of the monasteries, as St. Jerome and St. Austin commonly term them ; which, in other writers, are called *abbates*, 'abbots,' from the Greek 'Αββᾶς, a 'father ;' and *hegumeni*, 'presidents ;' and archimandrites, from *mandra*, 'a sheepfold,'—they being, as it were, the keepers or rulers of these sacred folds in the Church. The business of the deans was to exact every man's daily task, and

^u Aug. de Opere Monach. c. xvii. (Bened. vol. vi. p. 489. D.) Quid agant, qui operari corporaliter nolunt, cui rei vacent scire desidero. Orationibus, inquit, et psalmis, et lectioni, et verbo Dei. Sancta plane vita et Christi suavitate laudabilis : sed si ab his avocandi non sumus, nec manducandum est, nec ipsæ escæ quotidie præparandæ, ut possint apponi et adsumi. Si autem ad ista vacare servos Dei, certis intervallis temporum, ipsius infirmitatis necessitas cogit, cur non et apostolicis præceptis observandis aliquas partes temporum deputamus ? Citius enim exauditur una obedientis oratio, quam decem millia contemptoris. Cantica vero divina cantare, etiam manibus operantes facile possunt, et ipsum laborem tamquam divino celeusmate consolari. An ignoramus opifices, quibus vanitatibus et plerumque etiam turpitudinibus theatricarum fabularum donent corda et linguas suas, cum manus ab opere non recedant ? Quid ergo impedit servum Dei, manibus operantem, in lege Domini meditari, et psallere nomini Domini altissimi : ita sane ut ad ea discenda, quæ memoriter recolat, habeat seposita tempora ? Ad hoc enim et illa bona opera fidelium, subsidio splendorem necessarium deesse non debent, ut horæ, quibus ad erudiendum animum ita vacatur, ut illa opera corporalia geri non possint, non opprimant egestate, etc.

bring it to the *œconomus*, or 'steward of the house,' who himself gave a monthly account to the father of them all, as St. Jerome^v and St. Austin^w inform us.

SECT. XII.—*The Power of the Fathers or Abbots very great in point of Discipline over the rest.*

The fathers were commonly of the order of presbyters, both for the performance of divine offices and the exercise of discipline among them: and their power was very considerable; for though it was not absolute and unlimited, yet it was seldom or never disputed by their inferiors, "it being," as St. Jerome observes^x, "a prime part of their confederation to obey their superiors, and do whatever they commanded them;" and, in case of wilful transgression, they had power to inflict both spiritual and corporal punishments on them. Their spiritual punishments were the censures of the Church, suspension from the eucharist, and excommunication: for these powers were lodged in their hands, as appears from several passages in Cassian, who often speaks^y of the abbots casting

^v Hieron. Ep. xxii. ad Eustoch. c. xv. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 120. C 2.) Opus diei statum est: quod Decano redditum, fertur ad Œconomum, qui et ipse per singulos menses Patri omnium cum magno tremore reddit rationem.

^w Augustin. de Moribus Eccles. Cathol. c. xxxi. (Bened. vol. i. p. 710. E 3.) Operantur manibus ea, quibus et corpus pasci possit. . . . Opus autem suum tradunt eis quos 'decanos' vocant, eo quod sint denis prepositi, ut neminem illorum cura sui corporis tangat, neque in cibo, neque in vestimento, neque si quid aliud opus est, vel quotidianæ necessitati, vel mutatæ (ut adsolet) valetudini. Illi autem decani cum magna sollicitudine omnia disponentes, et præsto facientes quidquid illa vita propter imbecillitatem corporis postulat, traditionem [rationem] tamen etiam ipsi reddunt uni, quem 'patrem' appellant. Hi vero patres non solum sanctissimi moribus, sed etiam divina doctrina excellentissimi, omnibus rebus excelsi, nulla superbia consulunt iis, quos filios vocant, magna sua in jubendo auctoritate, magna illorum in obtemperando voluntate.

^x Hieron. Ep. xxii. ad Eustoch. c. xv. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 119. C.) Prima apud eos confederatio est, obedire majoribus, et quicquid jusserint facere.

^y Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. c. xvi. p. 37. Si quis pro admissio quolibet delicto fuerit ab oratione suspensus, nullus cum eo prorsus orandi habebat licentiam, antequam submissa in terram poenitentia reconciliatio ejus et admissi venia, coram fratribus cunctis, publice fuerit ab abbate concessa.—Id. lib. iv. c. xvi. p. 81. Tam diu prostratus in terram veniam postulabit, donec orationum consummetur solemnitas, impetraturus eam, quum jussus fuerit abbatis judicio de solo surgere.—Ibid. c. xx. p. 87. In septimana cujusdam fratris, quum præteriens œconomus tria lenticulæ grana vidisset jacere in terra, quæ hebdoma-

the monks out of the Church, and forbidding the rest to pray with them, till they had done a very submissive penance prostrate upon the ground, and had been reconciled and absolved by the abbot publicly before all the brethren. He particularly notes of Paphnutius, abbot of Scethis*, that he struck a monk's name out of the diptychs of the Church, and could scarce be prevailed with to let him be mentioned in the oblation for those that are at rest in the Lord; because he had murdered himself at the instigation of Satan, who appeared to him in the form of an angel of light, persuading him to throw himself into a deep well, with confidence that no harm could befall him for the great merit of his labours and virtues. Socrates^a speaks of the like power in Arsenius, who used it, he says, with this discretion, that he never excommunicated the junior monks, but only the seniors, because the juniors were likely to become more refractory by it, and condemn his discipline; but the seniors were quickly amended by it. The reader may find some other instances in Palladius^b to the

dario festinanti, dum ea præparat coctioni, inter manus cum aqua, qua diluebantur, elapsa sunt, confestim super hoc abbatem consuluit: a quo velut intervorsor neglectorque sacri peculii judicatus, ab oratione suspensus est: cuius negligentis reatus non aliter ei remissus est, nisi eum publica penitentia diluisset, etc.—Conf. Collat. xviii. c. xv. tot.

^a Cassian. Collat. ii. c. v. (Atrebat. p. 332.) Vix a presbytero abbate Paphnutio potuit obtineri, ut non inter Biothanatos reputatus, etiam memoria et oblatione Pausantium judicaretur indignus.

^b Socrat. lib. iv. c. xxiii. (Aug. T. p. 221. A 10.) (p. 233. B. edit. Amstelod.) Ἀρσένιος ἄλλος τοὺς τῶν νέων παιδαντας οὐκ ἀφώριζεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς προκόψαντας· λίγων ὅτι ὁ νέος ἀφορισθεὶς, καταφρονήτης γίνεται· ὁ δὲ προκόψας, τῆς ἐκ τοῦ ἀφορισμοῦ δούνης ταχείαν λαμβάνει τὴν αἴσθησιν.

^b Pallad. Histor. Lausiæ. c. xl. Ἐν τούτῳ μοναστηρίῳ τῶν γυναικῶν συνέβη πρᾶγμα τοιοῦτον· ῥάπτῃς κοσμικῆς περάσας κατ' ἄγνοιαν ἐζήτηε ἐρίον· ἐξελοῦσα δὲ μία νεωτέρα τῶν παρθένων λόγῳ ἐαυτῆς (ἔρμος γὰρ ἴστιν ὁ τόπος) συνέτυχεν αὐτῇ ἀκουσίως, καὶ δίδωκεν αὐτῇ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, ὅτι ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν ῥάπτῃς ἡμετέρους· ἄλλη ἑωρακυῖα τὴν συντυχίαν ταύτην, Χρόνου παρελθόντος, γενομένης μάχης, ἐξ ὑποβολῆς τοῦ διαβόλου, ἀπὸ πολλῆς πονηρίας καὶ ζήσεως θυμοῦ ἐσυκοφάντησεν ταύτην ἐπὶ τῆς ἀδελφότητος τὴν συντυχίαν· ἥ συνέδραμον ὀλίγαι οὐ πολλῇ κακίᾳ φερόμεναι· ἀπολυπηθεῖσα δὲ ἐκείνῃ ὡς τοιαύτην ὑποστᾶσα συκοφαντίαν, τὴν μηδὲ εἰς ἔννοιαν αὐτῆς ἀνελθοῦσαν, καὶ μὴ ἐνεγκοῦσα τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔβαλεν ἐαυτὴν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν λάθρα, καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν οὕτως. Εἰς συναίσθησιν δὲ ἔλθοῦσα ἡ συκοφαντήσασα, καὶ ἑωρακυῖα ὅτι ἀπὸ πονηρίας ἐσυκοφάντησεν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐργάσατο τὸ αἶγος τῆς ἀδελφότητος, λαθοῦσα ἐαυτὴν ἀπήγγεστο, καὶ αὕτη μὴ ἐνεγκοῦσα

same purpose. As to their corporal punishments, Cassian^c tells us they were these two—whipping and expulsion: and he particularly enumerates the crimes for which they were inflicted. Palladius, also, mentions the *flagellum monachorum*: for, he says^d, in the church of Mount Nitria, there were three whips hanged upon three palm-trees—one for the offending monks, another for the correcting of thieves, and a third for the punishment of strangers whom they entertained in an hospital adjoining. But, as yet we read nothing of voluntary whipping of themselves, by way of exercise; that is a later invention of the modern monks, whom Spondanus^e and Prateolus^f themselves cannot forbear ranking among heretics: and a late French writer^g has more fully exposed them in a discourse on purpose, intituled, “*Historia Flagellantium*,” to which I refer the curious reader.

τὸ πᾶγμα· ἐξεληθόντος δὲ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου, ἀνήγγειλαν ταῦτα αἱ λοιπαὶ παρθένοι· ἐκέλευεν οὖν τούτων μηδεμιᾶ προσφορὰν ἐπιτελεσθῆναι· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ὡς συνειδυίας καὶ μὴ εἰρηνευσάσας τὴν συκοφαντῶσαν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον πιστευσάσας τὰ εἰρημένα, ἐπταετίαν ἀφώρισεν, ἀκοινωνήτους ποιήσας.

^c Cassian. Collat. ii. c. xvi. † Vel plagis emendantur, vel expulsionem purgantur.

^d Pallad. Histor. Lausiaca. c. vi. Ἐν τῇ ὁρεὶ τούτῃ Νιτρίας, ἐκκλησία μία ἐστὶ μέγιστη· ἐν ταύτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ τρεῖς φοίνικες ἰσθᾶσιν, ἕκαστος ἔχων μάστιγα ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῦ κρεμαμένην· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἰσθιν εἰς ἐπιστροφὴν τῶν μοναχῶν τῶν πταίωντων· ὁ δὲ, εἰς τιμωρίαν ληστῶν, ἵανγε ἐμπέσωσι ποτί· ὁ δὲ, εἰς διόρθωσιν τῶν περιτυγχανόντων καὶ ἐμπεπτωκότων οἰοσδήποτε σφάλμασιν· ὡς πάντας τοὺς πταίοντας, καὶ διελεγχομένους, καὶ ὑπευθύνους πληγῶν καθιστώτας, περιλαμβάνειν τὸν φοίνικα, καὶ λαμβάνοντας κατὰ νότου ῥητὰς οὕτως ἀπολύεσθαι.

^e Spondan. an. 1349, n. ii. Surrexit hoc ipso anno, et in sequentem propagata est, nova quædam secta Flagellatorum sive Flagellantium dicta, vel etiam Cruciferorum, quod et præeuntibus crucibus procederent, et cruces singuli manu gestarent, crucibusque rubris insignirentur in vestibus, capitiis et capillis a fronte et a tergo. Qui ex Hungaria ortum ducentes, brevi per totam Germaniam superiorem et inferiorem, Poloniam, Galliam, Angliam aliasque regiones turmatim sese diffuderunt, viri pariter ac mulieres nudis umbilico tenus corporibus; his palam de die, sed fere histrionice, semel clam de nocte, nodosis et aculeatis funiculis ad sanguinem usque flagellantes sese et invicem, divinamque clementiam miserabilibus vocibus sua quique lingua implorantes, seseque in terram, in modum crucifixi, prosternentes; epistola quadam divinitus missa ad hæc se invitatos jactantes, etc.

^f Prateol. Elench. Hæret. lib. vi. c. viii.

^g Historia Flagellantium, Paris. 1700, 8vo.

SECT. XIII.—*Allowed also some peculiar Privileges in the Church.*

The abbots, or fathers, were also of great repute in the Church: for many times they were called to councils, and allowed to sit and vote there, in the quality of presbyters; as Benedict, in the Council of Rome, under Boniface II., an 531; which I relate upon the authority of Dr. Cave^h, who has it from Antonius Scipio, in his “Elogium Abbatum Cassinensium.” The like privilege we find allowed in the Council of Constantinople, under Flavian, an. 448, where twenty-three archimandrites subscribe, with thirty bishops, to the condemnation of Eutyches; as appears from the fragments of that Council, related in the Council of Chalcedonⁱ. But it is justly noted by learned men^k as a new thing, to find abbesses, as well as abbots, subscribing in the Council of Becanfeld, in Kent, an. 694, and that before both presbyters and temporal lords, as the author of the Saxon Chronicle^l reports it. For

^h Cave, *Histor. Litter.* (Oxon. 1740. p. 512.) (vol. i. p. 402. London. 1688.) Anno 531, a Bonifacio II. Romam ad synodum evocatus est, eo majorem synodo auctoritatem presentia sua conciliaturus; quod ex bibliothecæ Vaticanæ codice refert Antonius Scipio, monachus Cassinensis.

ⁱ Concil. Chalced. act. i. (tom. iv. p. 231. D. p. 232, tot.)

^k Cave, *Histor. Litt.* (Oxon. vol. i. p. 610.) (vol. ii. p. 240. Lond.) (p. 142. Genev. 1699.) Decreto synodico subscribunt, idque ante presbyteros, proceresque sæculares, abbatissæ: exemplo plane novo, et hactenus, quod sciam, inaudito.

^l Chron. Anglico-Saxon. an. 694, p. 48. C. vid. apud Spelm. Concil. tom. i. p. 190.

Ego Withredus, auxilio Christi, his legibus constitutis pro me et Werburga regina, itemque pro filio nostro Alirico, subscripsi.

Ego Berthwald gratia Dei archiepiscopus, his legibus a nobis constitutis subscripsi.

Signum manus Ethelbarti pro se et fratre suo, Eadlerto.

Signum manus Tobie, episcopi.

Signum manus Mildredæ, abbatissæ.

Signum manus Ethelridæ, abbatissæ.

Signum manus Aete, abbatissæ.

Signum manus Wilnodæ, abbatissæ.

Signum manus Herelwidæ, abbatissæ.

Signum manus Redempti, presbyteri.

Signum manus Eastwaldi, presbyteri, etc.

this is the first time we meet with any such thing in the records of the ancient Church.

SECT. XIV.—*Yet always subordinate to the Power of Bishops.*

But, though such power and privileges were granted to abbots, yet neither they nor their monasteries were as yet exempt from the jurisdiction of bishops; for, by the ancient laws, both ecclesiastical and civil, no monastery was to be erected in any place without the leave of the bishop of the diocese. This was one of those things which the Emperor Marcian proposed to the Council of Chalcedon; and, at his request, it was there enacted into a canon, "That no one should build^m either monastery or oratory without the consent of the bishop of the city or country where it was to be erected." And, by Justinian's lawⁿ, the bishop was to make a sort of consecration of the ground before they went to building. It is further provided, in the fore-mentioned canon, that all monks shall be subject to the bishop of the diocese, and give attendance to their own proper duties of fasting and prayer, not intermeddling themselves either in ecclesiastical or secular affairs, except upon great and urgent necessity; and that by the permission of the bishop of the city or diocese to which they belonged. But I have already had occasion to speak of this matter more fully in another^o place; I shall, therefore, here only observe two or three mistakes committed by some modern authors in their descants upon the words of Bede, which are

^m Conc. Chalced. can. iv. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 758. B.) "Ἐδοξε μηδένα μηδαμοῦ οἰκοδομεῖν, μηδὲ συνιστᾶν μοναστήριον, ἢ εὐκτήριον οἶκον, παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισκόπου.

ⁿ Justin. Novel. v. c. i. 'Ἐκεῖνο τοίνυν πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ῥητέον, ὥστε κατὰ πάντα χρόνον, καὶ ἐν ἀπάσῃ τῇ γῇ τῆς ἡμετέρας βασιλείας, εἰ ποτέ τις οἰκοδομεῖν εὐαγὲς μοναστήριον βούλοιοτο, μὴ πρότερον ἄδειαν εἶναι τοῦτο πράττειν, πρὶν ἂν τὸν θεοφιλέστατον τῶν τόπων ἐπίσκοπον προσκαλέσονται· ὁ δὲ χεῖρας τε ἀνατείνοιεν εἰς οὐρανὸν, καὶ διὰ τῆς εὐχῆς τὸν τόπον ἀνιερῶσαι Θεῷ, πηξάμενος ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας σύμβολον σωτηρίας (φαμέν δὲ τὸν προσκύνητον καὶ τίμιον ὄντως σταυρὸν) οὕτω τε ἄρξηται τῆς οἰκοδομίας, καλὸν δὲ τινα τοῦτον καὶ πρέποντα θεμέλιον ἀποθέμενος.—Id. Novel. cxxxi. c. vii. Εἰ τις βουληθεὶ οἰκοδομήσαι σεβάσμιον εὐκτήριον ἢ μοναστήριον, μὴ ἄλλως ἀρχέσθω τοῦ οἰκοδομήματος, εἰ μὴ ὁ τῶν τόπων ὑσώτατος ἐπίσκοπος εὐχὴν ἐκείσε ποιήσει, καὶ τὸν τίμιον πῆξι σταυρὸν.

^o Book iii. chap. iv. § ii.

commonly alleged to prove the contrary. In one place, Bede^p, speaking of the Isle of Huy, and the monastery founded there by Columba, says, "The island was always governed by a presbyter-abbot, under whose power the whole province, and the bishops also, were subjected after an unusual manner, pursuant to the example of the first founder, who was not a bishop, but only a presbyter and a monk." Carolus à Sancto Paulo^q unluckily mistakes this island for Hibernia; and so makes all the bishops of Ireland subject to one abbot. Others mistake the province for all Scotland, and so make the same false deduction in reference to that; whereas, in truth, Bede is speaking only of one small part of Scotland, the country of the Northern Picts, who were converted by Columba, in the time of King Bridius, who gave him the Isle of Huy to build a monastery in; whence that province of the Northern Picts became subject to the abbot of that monastery. But that this subjection was in spirituals Bede says not, but it seems to have been an acknowledgment of some civil jurisdiction over the bishops; which may very well consist with their superiority in spirituals, as the learned bishop of Worcester^r shows at large, in his discourse of the Culdees, among his Antiquities of the British Churches. Another passage in Bede, which has been grossly mistaken, is where he speaks of the Council of Herudford, an. 673. In one of the canons of this Council, according to some corrupt printed copies of Bede, there is this decree: "That the bishops^s who are monks shall not wander

^p Bed. *Hist.* lib. iii. c. iv. (Lond. 1838. p. 163, at bottom.) *Habere autem solet ipsa insula rectorem semper abbatem presbyterum, cujus juri et omnis provincia, et ipsi etiam episcopi, ordine inusitato, debeant esse subjecti, juxta exemplum primi doctoris illius, qui non episcopus, sed presbyter, extitit et monachus.*

^q Carol. a S. Paulo, *Geogr. Sacr.* lib. vi. p. 170. edit. Amstel. 1703. (p. 167. edit. Amstel. 1711.) *His obstare videtur, quantum ad Armacham Beda hæc de Hibernia scribens, 'Habere solet ipsa insula,' etc.*

^r Bishop Lloyd's *Historical Account of Church Government*, chap. vii. p. 180. [De voce Culdei sive Coudei conf. Spelmani *Glossar. Archæolog.* p. 156. *Griechov.*]

^s Bed. *Hist.* lib. iv. c. v. (p. 259.) *Ut ipsi [episcopi] monachi non migrent de loco in locum, hoc est, de monasterio ad monasterium, nisi per demissionem proprii abbatis; sed in ea permaneant obedientia, quam tempore sue conversionis promiserunt.*

from one monastery to another without leave of their abbot ; but continue in that obedience which they promised at the time of their conversion." But this is nothing but a mere mistake of the first editors of Bede, who, not minding the abbreviations of the manuscript, read *episcopi monachi*, instead of *ipsi monachi*, as some later editions rightly have it. So that there is nothing said in this place, either for the exemption of monasteries, or in derogation of the episcopal power, as some seem wilfully to have mistaken. Yet, I deny not but that, before this time, there might be some monasteries exempt : for Habertus^t is of opinion, that the third Council of Arles, an. 455, granted an exemption to Faustus, abbot of the monastery of Lerins, which, he thinks, was the first that was ever granted. But, from that time, the bishops of Rome took occasion to exempt monasteries in the West, as other patriarchs did in the East ; whence such monasteries, by the later Greeks, are called " patriarchal monasteries," as being exempt from episcopal visitations, and only subject to patriarchal jurisdiction.

SECT. XV.—*The Spiritual Exercises of Monks : 1. Perpetual Repentance.*

But I return to the ancient monks, and having given an account of their bodily exercises, I proceed to speak of those that were spiritual ; for the improvement of the spiritual life was the thing originally aimed at by men's retiring from the world. Here they thought they should have more leisure and better opportunities for the great business of repentance ; upon which account, the life of a monk is, by St. Jerome^u and others, so often styled the life of a mourner. And, in allusion to this, the isle of Canopus, near Alexandria, formerly a place of great lewdness, was, upon the translation and settlement of the monks of Tabennesus there, called *insula Metanœæ*, 'the

^t Habert. Archierat. p. 597. Ceteris sui sunt limites : nullus Romano, qui ab Arelatensis synodi tertii tempore, an. 404, in qua prima omnium exemptio monasterio Lirinensi concessa est, innumeris toto orbe monasteriis immunitatem similem concessit.

^u Hieron. Epist. liii. ad Ripar. (Benedict. Venet. 1766. vol. ii. p. 400. B 10.) Monachus non docentis, sed plangentis habet officium.

isle of Repentance;’ as may be collected from St. Jerome, who speaks of its changing its name upon the building of a monastery there^w: and so both Valesius and others understand it^x.

SECT. XVI.—2. *Extraordinary Fasting.*

To their extraordinary repentance they usually joined extraordinary fasting; for the Egyptian monks kept every day a fast till nine o’clock, that is, till three in the afternoon, except on Saturdays and the Lord’s day, and the fifty days of Pentecost, or other days when any brother came to visit them; for then they had their relaxations, as we learn from Cassian and St. Jerome. The fifty days of Pentecost they kept always festival, in compliance with the public rules and practice of the Catholic Church, whose custom was^y, as Tertullian says, to keep all the time between Easter and Whitsuntide festival in memory of our Saviour’s resurrection. Therefore, St. Jerome^z, speaking of their daily fasts, says, “They fasted every day alike throughout the year, except in Lent, when their fasts were a little more strict, that is, not only till nine o’clock, but till evening; and in Pentecost, when they turned their suppers into dinners, in compliance with the custom of the Church.” Cassian^a often speaks of their daily fasts till nine; but, then,

^w Hieron. Prolog. in Regul. Pachomii. In Monasterio Metanœæ, quod de Canopo in pœnitentiam felici nominis conversione mutatum est, etc.

^x Vales. Not. in Sozom. lib. iii. c. xiv. (Aug. Taur. p. 104.) In insula Canopo fuit Monasterium insigne Tabernensium. Ex quo factum est, ut Canopus, qui antea ob luxum ac delicias infamis fuerat, Insula Metanœæ vocaretur, translatis illuc a Theophilo vel Cyrillo monachis, qui religiosam ac pœnitentium similem vitam illic agebant.

^y Tertull. de Coron. Milit. c. iii. (Oberthür, vol. i. p. 207.) Die dominico jejuniū nefas ducimus, vel de geniculis adorare. Eadem immunitate a die paschæ in Pentecosten usque gaudemus.

^z Hieron. Epist. xxii. ad Eustoch. c. xv. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 120. D 6.) Jejunium totius anni æquale est, excepta Quadragesima, in qua sola conceditur districtius vivere. A Pentecoste cœnæ mutantur in prandia: quo et traditioni ecclesiasticæ satisfiat, et ventrem cibo non onerent duplicato.

^a Cassian. Collat. ii. c. xxv. (Atrebat. p. 349.) Nonnumquam hora nona, soluta jam statione jejunii supervenientibus fratribus, necesse est eorum obtentu, aut adjici aliquid ad statutam solitamque mensuram, aut certe humanitatem, quam jubemur omnibus exhibere, penitus abdicari.—Collat. xxvi. Si nullus advenierit, hunc quoque velut de canonico modo debitum nobis libere præsumemus; qua parcitate nec stomachus vespere poterit adgravari; quippe hora nona

he excepts likewise the time of Pentecost^b, for the same reason assigned by St. Jerome; and Saturdays and Sundays also^c, because both these days were always festival in the Eastern Church, being days of solemn assembly, on which they received the eucharist at morning service. Some, indeed, exercised themselves with greater austerities, fasting two, three, four, or five days together; but these were not generally approved. St. Jerome^d and Cassian^e both express themselves against

uno paximacio jam præmisso; quod plerumque his, qui districtiorem abstinentiam se tenere credentes, totam refectionem ad vesperam differunt, evenire consuevit.—Ibid. xix. c. xvi. p. 762. Hoc abbas Joannes, quum horæ nonæ refectionem imminere sensisset, Collationem fine conclusit.—Ibid. xxi. c. xxiii. p. 798. Ut et diebus festivis statutæ consuetudinis solemnitas conservetur, et saluberrimus parcimoniæ modus minime transcendatur, sufficit, ut indulgentiam remissionis eo usque progredi patiamur, ut cibus, qui hora diei nona fuerat capiendus, paullo citius, id est, sexta hora, pro festivitate temporis capiat, etc.

^b Cassian. Collat. xxi. c. xi. p. 788. Abbas Theonas quum, diebus Quinquagesimæ, nos in nostra cellula visitasset, vespertina orationum solemnitate transacta, humi paullulum consistentes, cœpimus diligentius percontari, cur apud eos tanta observantia caveretur, ne quis penitus totis Quinquagesimæ diebus, vel genua in oratione curvaret, vel usque ad horam nonam jejuna præsumeret, etc.—Ibid. c. xx. p. 795. Post ascensionem Servatoris nostri, quæ quadragesimo resurrectionis ejus acta est die, apostoli reversi de monte Oliveti, in quo se ad patrem pergens præbuit intuendum, sicut etiam Actuum Apostolorum lectio contestatur, ingressi Hierosolymam, decem diebus adventum Spiritus Sancti exspectasse referunt; quibus expletis, quinquagesima eum die cum gaudio susceperunt, et ita est per hæc festivitatis hujus numerus evidenter impletus. Quem in veteri quoque testamento legimus figuraliter adumbratum, in quo, consummatis hebdomadibus septem, primitiarum panis per sacerdotes Domino jubebatur offerri, qui veracissime per apostolorum prædicationem, qua in illa die concionati leguntur ad populum, oblatus Domino comprobatur, verus scilicet primitiarum panis, qui novæ doctrinæ institutione prolatus, quinque millibus virorum escæ suæ munere satiat, primitivum de Judæis Christianorum populum Domino consecravit. Et idcirco hi quoque decem dies, cum superioribus quadraginta pari solemnitate sunt ac letitia celebrandi. Cujus festivitatis traditio, per apostolicos viros ad nos usque transmissa, eodem tenore servanda est. Ideo namque in istis diebus nec in genua in oratione curvantur, quia inflexio genuum velut pœnitentiæ ac luctus indicium est. Unde etiam per omnia eandem in illis solemnitatem, quam die dominica custodimus, in qua majores nostri, nec jejunium agendum, nec genu esse flectendum, ob reverentiam resurrectionis dominicæ, tradiderunt.

^c Cassian. Collat. iii. c. i. †.

^d Hieron. Epist. iv. ad Rustic. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 943.) (tom. i. p. 30. H. edit. Francof. 1684.) Sunt qui humore cellarum, immoderatisque jejuniis, tædio solitudinis, ac nimia lectione, dum diebus ac noctibus auribus suis personant,

such immoderate fasts; and Cassian^f particularly notes it as a wise saying of Macarius, the famous Egyptian, that “a monk should so fast and keep under his body as if he were to live a hundred years; but so kill and mortify the affections of his soul, as if he were to die the next moment.” By which it appears, that they did not think excessive abstinence of any use, but rather a disservice to religion; and, therefore, St. Austin observes, that the ancient rules^g imposed no absolute necessity in this matter upon them, but left it to every man’s power and every man’s will to fast at discretion; no one condemning others, that could not imitate his own austerities, but always remembering that the Scripture had, above all things, recommended charity to men. The rule of Pachomius was said to be given him by an angel; and there one of the angel’s directions to him was, that he should permit every man to eat, and drink, and labour, according^h to his strength, and neither

vertuntur in melancholiam, et Hippocratis magis fomentis quam nostris monitis indigent.—Id. Ep. vii. ad Lætam, (p. 687. A.) Displacent mihi, in teneris maxime ætatibus, longa et immoderata jejunia, in quibus junguntur hebdomades, et oleum in cibo, ac poma vetantur. Experimento didici, asellum in via, cum lassus fuerit, diverticula querere. . . . Hoc in perpetuum jejunum præceptum sit, ut longo itineri vires perpetes superent: ne in prima mansione currentes, corruamus in mediis.

^e Cassian. Institut. lib. v. c. ix. (Atrebat. 1628. p. 117.) Tantum debet unusquisque sibi frugalitatis indicare, quantum corporeæ obliuationis pugna deposcit. Utilis quidem et omnimodo observanda est canonica jejuniorum custodia; sed nisi hanc frugi [temperanter] fuerit ciborum refectio subsequuta, ad integritatis calcem non poterit pervenire. Longorum namque jejuniorum inedia, saturitate corporis subsequente, lassitudinem potius temporalem, quam puritatem castitatis acquirit. Integritas mentis ventris coheret inediæ. Non habet perpetuam castimonie puritatem, quisquis non jugem temperantissæ æqualitatem tenere contentus est. Quamvis districta jejunia, succedente superflua remissione, vacuantur, et in gastrimargiæ vitium protinus collabuntur. Melior est rationabilis cum moderatione quotidiana refectio, quam per intervalla arduum longumque jejunium. Novit immoderata inedia non modo mentis labefactare constantiam, sed etiam orationum efficaciam reddere lassitudine corporis enervatam.

^f Ibid. lib. v. c. xli.

^g Augustin. de Moribus Eccles. Cathol. c. xxxiii. (Bened. vol. i. p. 712. B.) Inter hæc nemo urgetur in aspera, quæ ferre non potest; nulli quod recusat imponitur; nec ideo condemnatur a cæteris, quod in eis se imitandis fatetur invalidum, etc.

^h Pachom. Reg. apud Pallad. Histor. Lausiæ. c. xxxviii. Συγχωρήσεις ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν φαγεῖν καὶ πίνειν καὶ πρὸς τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν ἰσθμίων.

forbid them to fast nor to eat. Accordingly, Palladius¹ tells us, there were among his monks, in Tabennesus, some that ate at seven o'clock, others at nine, others at ten, others not till even; some after two days, others after three, four, or five days: but all was matter of choice, not compulsion.

SECT. XVII.—3. *Extraordinary Devotions.*

Their fastings were accompanied with extraordinary and frequent returns of devotion. The monks of Palestine had six or seven canonical hours of prayer, so those in Mesopotamia and other parts of the east. These were, morning prayer, at the first hour of the day; then the third, sixth, and ninth hours; and, after that, the eleventh hour, which Cassian¹ calls the *lucernaris hora*, or 'evening prayer.' Besides which, they had their constant vigils, or nocturnal meetings, of which Cassian gives a particular account in one whole book² of his Institutions: but he says, the monks of Egypt were not tied to all these canonical hours, but only met twice a-day for public devotion,—that is, in their night assemblies, which was their morning prayer; and at nine o'clock, which was their evening prayer: but then the whole day was spent in devotion notwithstanding; for in their private cells¹, whilst

τῶν ἀνάλογα καὶ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν ἐγχείρησον, καὶ μήτε νηστεῦσαι κωλύσῃς, μήτε φαγεῖν.

¹ Pallad. *ibid.* c. xxxix. Εἰσὶν οἱ εἰσερχόμενοι ἄπονοι ἔκτην ὥραν, καὶ ἑσθιοντες· οἱ ἀσθενέστεροι εἰσέρχονται ὥραν ἐβδόμην, ἄλλοι ογδόην, ἄλλοι ἐνάτην, ἕτεροι δεκάτην, ἄλλοι ἑσπέραν βαθεῖαν· ἄλλοι διὰ δύο· ἕτεροι διὰ τριῶν· ἄλλοι διὰ πέντε.

² Cassian. *lib.* iii. c. iii. p. 45, at bottom. In his horis etiam ille evangelicus paterfamilias operarios conduxit in vineam suam. Ita enim ille primo mane conduxisse describitur: quod tempus designat matutinam nostram solemnitatem: deinde tertia, inde sexta, post hæc nona, ad extremum undecima, in qua lucernalis hora signatur.

³ *Ibid.* Institut. *lib.* ii. de Canonico Nocturnarum Orationum et Psalmorum Modo.

¹ *Ibid.* *lib.* iii. c. ii. p. 41. Apud illos hæc officia, quæ Domino solve, per distinctiones horarum et temporis intervalla, cum admonitione compulsoris adigimur, per totum diei spatium jugiter cum operis adjectione spontaneè celebrantur. Ita namque ab eis incessanter operatio manuum privatim per cellulas exercebatur, ut Psalmorum quoque vel ceterarum Scripturarum meditatio numquam penitus omittatur. Cui preces et orationes per singula miscentes, in his

they were at work, they were always repeating the Psalms, and other parts of Holy Scripture, and intermixing prayers and supplications continually with their labour; which Cassian prefers before the observation of so many canonical hours, as being a more free and voluntary oblation. Some observed a course of constant devotion without intermission: as has been noted before^m concerning the monks of Constantinople, and those of Lisieuxⁿ, founded by Columbanus, who were used to divide themselves into several classes, or choirs, to succeed and relieve one another in their continued stations. And Cassian tells us, that “the first monks^o of Egypt were used to observe such a perpetual watch, to guard themselves against the assaults and incursions of midnight devils: for they durst not all betake themselves to sleep at once, but while some slept, others kept watch by turns, and exercised themselves in singing psalms, reading, and prayer.” Whence, we may infer, that, though all monks then did not observe precisely the canonical hours, yet they were no less constant to their devotions than those that did; and their intermixing prayers with their labour, or worshipping by turns, was equivalent to so many canonical hours, or rather did exceed it. St. Jerome seems, also, to say^p, that the Egyptian monks had a sermon

officiis, quæ nos statuto tempore celebramus, totum diei tempus absumunt. Quamobrem exceptis vespertinis horis ac nocturnis congregationibus, nulla apud eos per diem publica solemnitas absque die sabbati vel dominica celebratur, in quibus hora tertia sacræ communionis obtentu conveniunt. Plus enim est id, quod incessanter offertur, quam quod per temporis intervalla persolvitur; et gratius est voluntarium munus, quam functiones, quæ canonica compulsione redduntur.

^m Chap. ii. sect. x.

ⁿ Ibid. sect. xiii.

^o Cassian. Collat. vii. c. xxiii. (p. 450.) Ita dæmonum atrocitas grassabatur, et frequentes ac visibiles sentiebantur aggressus, ut non auderent omnes pariter noctibus obdormire, sed vicissim aliis degustantibus somnum, alii vigiliis celebrantes, psalmis et orationibus seu lectionibus inhærebant.

^p Hieron. Epist. xxii. ad Eustoch. c. xv. (tom. i. p. 95. E.) (Vallars. vol. i. p. 119.) Post horam nonam in commune concurritur, Psalmi resonant, Scripturæ recitantur ex more. Et completis orationibus, cunctisque residentibus, medius, quem Patrem vocant, incipit disputare: quo loquente tantum silentium fit, ut nemo alium respicere, nemo audeat exscreare. Dicentis laus in fletu est audientium. Tacite volvuntur per ora lacrymæ, et ne in singultus quidem erumpit dolor. Quum vero de regno Christi, et de futura beatitudine, et de

made by the abbot every day after evening prayer ; for thus he describes their devotions:—"At nine o'clock they meet together, then the Psalms are sung, and the Scriptures are read : and prayers being ended, they all sit down, and the father begins to discourse to them, when they hear with the profoundest silence and veneration. His words make a deep impression on them, their eyes overflow with tears, and the speaker's commendation is the weeping of his hearers. Yet no one's grief expresses itself in an indecent strain ; but, when he comes to discourse of the kingdom of Christ, and future happiness, and the glory of the world to come, then one may observe how each of them, with a moderate sigh, and eyes lift up to heaven, says within himself, 'Oh that I had wings like a dove; for then would I flee away and be at rest!'" This was their continual exercise of public devotion every day. Their private vacancies and intervals of labour were also spent in reading and prayer ; for they daily learned some portion of Scripture, and more especially made it their meditation on the Lord's day, as St. Jerome^a observes of them in the forementioned place : insomuch, that many of them became so expert and well versed in the Holy Scripture, that they could repeat it by heart ; which is particularly noted of Hilarion, by Sozomen, and St. Jerome^r, and of Ammonius, Marcus Junior, Eros, Serapion, Solomon, and some others, by Palladius^s.

gloria cœperit annuntiare ventura, videas cunctos moderato suspirio, et oculis ad cœlum levatis, intra se dicere, 'Quis dabit mihi pennas, sicut columbæ ! et volabo et requiescam.'

^a Hieron. Epist. xxii. ad Eustoch. c. xv. (p. 120.) (tom. i. p. 95. G.) Dominicis diebus orationi tantum et lectionibus vacant : quod quidem et omni tempore, completis opusculis, faciunt. Quotidie aliquid de Scripturis discitur.

^r Sozom. lib. iii. c. xiv. 'Επίβολος ἀκριβής τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν.—Hieron. Vita Hilar. c. vii. (tom. i. p. 157. H.) Scripturas sanctas memoriter tenens, post orationes et psalmos, quasi Deo præsente, recitabat.

^s Pallad. Histor. Lausiac. c. xii. de Vita Ammonii. Παλαιὰν καὶ καινὴν γραφὴν ἀπεστήθισεν.—Cap. xxi. de Vit. Abbatis Marci. Μακάριος οὗτος νεώτερος ὢν παλαιὰν καὶ καινὴν γραφὴν ἀπεστήθισεν.—Id. c. xxii. de Vita Eronis. 'Εκείνος δὲ μὴδ' ὅλως γευσάμενος πιεζὸς βαδίζων ἀπεστήθισεν ψαλμοὺς δεκάπεντε, ἔπειτα τὸν μέγαν, εἰτα τὴν πρὸς 'Εβραίους ἐπιστολὴν, εἰτα 'Ἡσαΐαν, καὶ μέρος 'Ιερεμίου τῶν προφητειῶν, εἰτα Λουκᾶν τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν, ἔπειτα τὰς παροιμίας.—Cap. lxxxiii. de Vita Serapionis. Εὐγράμματος δὲ ὡν ἀπεστήθισεν πάσας τὰς θείας γραφάς.—Cap. xevi. de Vita

And, by this means, they were qualified to entertain their souls with spiritual exercises, singing of David's Psalms, and repeating other parts of Scripture, even at their bodily labours; which practice is often mentioned with great commendation by Palladius^t, Cassian^u, and St. Jerome, who takes occasion, upon this account, to extol the quiet retirement of Christ's little village of Bethlehem above the noisy pomp and ambitious greatness of Rome, where so much time was spent in seeing and being seen, in receiving visits and paying them, in praises and detractions,—things disagreeable to the life of a monk; whereas, at Bethlehem^v there was nothing to be heard but psalms—one could not go into the field, but he should hear the ploughman singing his hallelujahs, the sweating mower solacing himself with hymns, and the vinedresser tuning David's Psalms. Thus, the ancient monks joined their bodily and spiritual exercise together, and made their common labour become acts of devotion to God. Their times of eating and refreshment were managed after the same manner. In some places, they had the Scriptures read at table, which Cassian says was first brought up^w in the monasteries of Cap-

Abbatis Salomonis. Ὅς ἔλεγεν ἔχειν πεντηκοστὸν ἔτος ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ, ἐπαρκίσας ἑαυτῷ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων τῶν χειρῶν, καὶ ἐκμαθῶν πᾶσαν ἁγίαν γραφήν.

^t Pallad. Histor. Lausiac. c. xxxix. Ὁ μὲν ἐργάζεται γῆν γεωργῶν ἄλλος κῆπον, ἄλλος χαλκίον, ἄλλος ἀρτοκοπίον, ἄλλος τεκτονεῖον, ἄλλος γραφεῖον, ἄλλος βυρσεῖον, ἄλλος πλίκων σπυρίδας τὰς μεγάλας, ἄλλος τὰ λεγόμενα μαλάκια, τὰ σπυριδάλια τὰ μικρά· ἀποστηθίζουσι δὲ πάσας τὰς γραφάς.

^u Cassian. Institut. lib. xi. c. xv. (p. 252.) Memini cujusdam senis, cum in eremo Seyti [Sceti?] commorarer; qui quum ad cellam cujusdam fratris gratia visitationis adveniens ostio approximasset, audissetque eum obmurmurantem intrinsecus, paululum substitit, cognoscere volens, quidnam de Scripturis legeret, vel sicut est moris, operans memoriter recenseret. Quumque piissimus explorator aure diligenter adplicita curiosius auscultaret, ita eum reperit hujus spiritus (κενοδοξίας) impugnatione pellectum, ut in ecclesia facere se crederet exhortatorium plebi sermonem, etc. (Bibl. Max. V. P. vol. vii. p. 62.)

^v Hieron. Epist. xviii. ad Marcell. (p. 84. G. edit. Francof.)

^w Cassian. Institut. lib. iv. c. xvii. (p. 83.) Illud, ut reficientibus fratribus sacrae lectiones recitentur,—non de typo Ægyptiorum processisset, sed de Cappadocum noverimus. Quos nulli dubium est, non tam spiritalis exercitationis causa, quam compescendæ superflue otiosæque confabulationis gratia, et maxime contentionum, quæ plerumque solent in conviviis generari, hoc statuere voluisse, videntes eas aliter apud se non posse cohiberi. Apud Ægyptios enim

padocia, to prevent idle discourse and contentions; but, in Egypt, they had no need of that remedy, for they were taught to eat their meat in silence: but, when supper was ended, St. Jerome^x says, they sung a hymn, and so returned to their cells. St. Chrysostom^y, also, takes notice of this, and recommends it to secular men, as proper for their imitation; reciting the hymn which they used, which is in these words: "Blessed God! that hast fed me from my youth; that givest food unto all flesh; fill our hearts with joy and gladness; that we, having always what is sufficient for us, may abound unto every good work, through Jesus Christ, our Lord, to whom, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, be glory, honour, and power, for ever. Amen. Glory be to thee, O Lord! glory be to thee, O Holy! glory be to thee, O King! who hast given us food for refreshment: fill our hearts with thy Holy Spirit, that we may be found acceptable in thy sight, and not be ashamed, when Thou renderest to every man according to his works." Thus, their ordinary refreshments, that is, their suppers (for dinners, he says, they had none,) were sanctified with the word of God and prayer. And to express their humility, and avoid all contention about precedency and greatness, they served one another mutually at table, all of them taking their weekly turns; whence, in Cassian^z and St. Jerome^a they are called

vel maxime Tabennensiotas, tantum silentium ab omnibus exhibetur, ut quum in unum tanta numerositas fratrum refectionis obtentu conederit, nullus nec mutire quidem audeat, præter eum, qui suæ decanæ præest. (Bibl. M. V. P. p. 29.)

^x Hieron. Epist. xxii. ad Eustoch. c. xv. (p. 95. F. edit. cit.) (Vallars. vol. i. p. 120. A 10.)

^y Chrysost. Hom. lvi. in Matth. (Benedict. vol. vii. p. 561. A 2.) (p. 606. C. edit. Francof.) Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τρέφων με ἐκ νεότητός μου, ὁ διδὼς τροφήν πάσῃ σαρκί· πλήρωσον χαρὰς καὶ εὐφροσύνης τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν, ἵνα πάντοτε πᾶσαν ἀντάρκιαν ἔχοντες περισσεύωμεν εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, μεθ' οὗ σοὶ δόξα, τιμὴ, κράτος σὺν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν· δόξα σοι Κύριε, δόξα σοι Ἄγιε, δόξα σοι Βασιλεῦ, ὅτι ἔδωκας ἡμῖν βρώματα εἰς εὐφροσύνην· πλησον ἡμᾶς Πνεύματος Ἁγίου, ἵνα εὐρεθῶμεν ἐνώπιόν σου εὐαρεστοῦντες, καὶ μὴ αἰσχυρόμενοι, ὅτε ἀποδίδως ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ.

^z Cassian. Institut. lib. iv. c. xix. (Atreb. p. 86.) Per Mesopotamiam, Palæstinam, et Cappadociam, ac totum Orientem, singulis hebdomadibus vicissim

hebdomadarii, 'weeks-men,' from their weekly service. On the Lord's day, they were more intent upon their devotions, and spent it wholly upon reading and prayer: for no other employment, St. Jerome^b says, was ever allowed among them on that day. Then every one received the communion, unless he was under some censure and suspension from it. And not only on Sundays, but on Saturdays also, it was customary for the Egyptian monks, and others of the East, to communicate: for the first and last days of the week were so appointed by Pachomius, the father of the Egyptian monks, to be communion days among them, as appears from his rule^c in Sozomen and Palladius; and Cassian frequently^d speaks of it as their constant practice. Some were more strict, and let no day pass without receiving the eucharist: Palladius^e says, the Egyptian monks, under Apollo, observed this rule; for Apollo was used to instil this notion into his disciples, that a monk, if he had opportunity, ought to communicate every day; and, accordingly, he, with his fraternity, communicated every day at nine, or three o'clock in the afternoon, which was the time

fratres ad hæc officia sibi reddenda succedunt, ita ut, secundum cœnobii multitudinem, ministrorum quoque numerus deputetur.

^a Hieron. Prolog. ad Reg. Pachom.—It. Epist. xxii. ad Eustoch. c. xv. (p. 95. E.) (Vallars. vol. i. p. 118.) *Posthæc concilium solvitur; et unaquæque decuria cum suo Parente pergit ad mensas, quibus per singulas hebdomadas vicissim ministrant.*

^b Hieronym. (p. 120. D.) *Dominicis diebus orationi tantum et lectionibus vacant.*

^c Sozom. lib. iii. c. xiv. (Aug. T. 1746. p. 103, at bottom.) *Τῇ δὲ πρώτῃ καὶ τελευταίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἐβδομάδος, ἐπὶ κοινωνίᾳ τῶν θείων μυστηρίων, τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ προσιώντας, τὰς ζώνας λύνειν, καὶ τὰς διφθέρας ἀποτίθισθαι.—Pallad. Histor. Lausiac. c. xxxviii. Εἰσίνοντες εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν μυστηρίων τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ σάββατον καὶ κυριακὴν τὰς ζώνας λύεωσαν.*

^d Cassian. Collat. xix. c. xv. *Quum duobus ferme hebdomadibus ita se omni contentioni carnis ac spiritus subjecisset, ut die sabbati vel dominico, non ad percipiendam communionem sacram, sed ad prosternendum se in limine ecclesie atque ad veniam simpliciter postulandam matutinus accurreret, etc.—Collat. xxiii. c. xxi. p. 852. Nec tamen ex eo debemus nos a dominica communione suspendere, quia nos agnoscimus peccatores, sed ad eam magis ac magis est propter animæ medicinam et purificationem spiritus avide festinandum.*

^e Pallad. Histor. Lausiac. c. lii. p. 985. A. *"Ὅτι οἱ αἱ δυνατὸν τοὺς μοναχοὺς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν τῶν μυστηρίων κοινωνεῖν.*

of their solemn assembly, before they went to their ordinary refreshment. Palladius^f mentions one instance more of their devotion, which was only occasional, viz. their psalmody at the reception of any brethren; for that, it seems, was the first entertainment they gave them, to conduct them, with singing of psalms, to their habitation; which has no relation to the processions of modern ages, but seems to be done in imitation of our Saviour's entrance and reception into Jerusalem.

SECT. XVIII.—*Of Laws excluding Monks from Offices both Ecclesiastical and Civil.*

These were the spiritual exercises of the ancient monks, whose life was a life of repentance, fasting, and devotion, which, joined with continual bodily labour, kept them always virtuously and honestly employed; and their laws did not allow them either to wander about as mendicants, or to interest themselves in civil or ecclesiastical offices, or any public affairs relating to Church or State. There are three canons in the Council of Chalcedon to this purpose. One indifferently^g forbids both clergymen and monks to take to farm any estate or office, or involve themselves in secular affairs, except they be unavoidably required by the law to take upon them the guardianship of minors. Another^h obliges monks particularly to live in their retirement, and to give themselves only to fasting and prayer, and not to leave their monasteries to engage themselves either in ecclesiastical or secular affairs, except the bishop of the city, upon some urgent occasion, permit them so

^f Ibid. p. 984. A. 'Ἰδοὺ ἤκουσιν οἱ ἀδελφοί, περὶ ὧν ὁ πατὴρ πρὸς τριῶν ἡμερῶν προεῖρηκεν ἡμῖν, ὅτι μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἕξουσιν πρὸς ἡμᾶς τρεῖς ἀδελφοὶ ἀπὸ 'Ιεροσολύμων ἐρχόμενοι· καὶ οἱ μὲν προῆγον ἡμᾶς, οἱ δὲ ἡκολούθουν ὀπισθεν ἡμῶν ψάλλοντες, ἄχρις οὗ πλησίον αὐτῶν ἐφθάσαμεν.

^g Conc. Chalced. c. iii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 755. E 2.) 'Ὡμισεν ἡ ἀγία σύνοδος, μηδένα τοῦ λοιποῦ, μὴ ἐπίσκοπον, μὴ κληρικόν, μὴ μονάζοντα, ἢ μισθοῦσθαι κτήματα, ἢ πράγματα, ἢ ἐπεισάγειν ἐαυτὸν κοσμητικῆς διοικήσεως· πλὴν εἰ μή που ἐκ νόμων καλοῖτο εἰς ἀφελικῶν ἀπαραίτητον ἐπιτροπὴν.

^h Conc. Chalced. c. iv. (p. 757. B 8.) Τοὺς δὲ καθ' ἐκαστὴν πόλιν καὶ χώραν μονάζοντας ὑποτετάχθαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀσπάξασθαι, καὶ προσίχειν μόνῃ τῇ νηστείᾳ καὶ τῇ ποσευχῇ, ἐν οἷς τόποις ἀπετάξαντο προσκαρτεροῦντας· μήτε δὲ ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς, μήτε βιωτικοῖς παρενοχλεῖν πράγμασιν, ἢ ἐπικοινωνεῖν, καταλιμπάνοντας τὰ ἴδια μοναστήρια· εἰ μή ποτε ἄρα ἐπιτραπέειν διὰ χρείαν ἀναγκαίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισκόπου.

to do. And a third canon¹ forbids both monks and clergy to take upon them any office, civil or military, anathematizing such as are guilty, and do not return to their first choice; so that monks were wholly excluded, then, from secular offices. And though some were called to ecclesiastical employments, yet, then, they were obliged to quit their monastery, and betake themselves wholly to a clerical life, only retaining so much of the former as would consist with the indispensable duties of the sacred function. Of these cases I have particularly spoken¹ in the foregoing chapter; but, of monks continuing in their cloisters, and taking upon them, at the same time, the offices of the Church, which did not concern their own monastery, we have scarce any instance in ancient history. Pope Pelagius, as he is cited by Gratian^k, would not permit a monk to be a defensor, though that was but a low office in the Church; because it was contrary to the state of a monastic life, which was to be spent in retirement, prayer, and bodily labour; whereas the office of a defensor was wholly taken up in hearing of causes and other acts of a public and litigious nature, which were things inconsistent with one another. Until a monk, therefore, had first bid adieu to his monastery, he was not to be promoted to any such office in the Church.

SECT. XIX.—*No Monks anciently encroaching on the Duties or Rights of the Secular Clergy.*

Much less were they, then, permitted to encroach upon the duties, or rights and privileges, of the secular clergy; for we find no complaints of this nature in ancient history, as too frequently in after ages; for the generality of monks being only laymen, and refusing any other subsistence or revenues but what arose out of their own labour, as I have fully proved

¹ Ibid. c. vii. Τοὺς ἀπαξ ἐν κλήρῳ κατελεγμένους, ἢ καὶ μονάσαντας, ὠρίσαμεν, μήτε ἐπὶ στρατείαν, μήτε ἐπὶ ἀξίαν κοσμικὴν ἔρχεσθαι· ἢ τοῦτο τολμῶντας, καὶ μὴ μεταμελουμένους, ὥστε ἐπιστρέφαι ἐπὶ τοῦτο, ὃ διὰ Θεὸν πρότερον εἶλοντο, ἀναθεματίζεσθαι.

^j Chap. ii. sect. viii.

^k Gratian. Caus. xvi. quæst. i. c. xx. Omnimoda est illius habitus et istius officii diversitas. Illic enim quies, oratio, labor manuum: at hic causarum cognitio, conventiones, actus, publica litigia, &c.

before, they could have no temptation then to intermeddle either with the business and duties, or the maintenance and revenues, of the clergy. And, for such of them as were ordained presbyters or deacons, they were either only to serve their own monastery; or else such as were taken out of monasteries by the bishops, and thenceforth reckoned among the secular clergy of the Church. Valesius, indeed, is willing to have it thought otherwise; for, he says¹, in the latter end of the fourth century it was very usual for monks to perform the offices of the clergy; and he alleges for proof the example of Eusebius Vercellensis and the Church of St. Austin, which I have considered before^m, and shown that they proved no more, but that some bishops and their clergy took up a way of living in common, in imitation of the monastic life, which is nothing to monks in cloisters, intruding themselves into parochial cures. The only instance that looks any thing this way, is what Sozomenⁿ relates of the church built by Ruffinus, the great statesman, under Arcadius, at a place called Quercus, in the suburbs of Chalcedon; where, after he had built his church, he says, he placed some monks near it, whence the clergy of the church were supplied. But this may mean no more, but that when there wanted clergy in that church, they were to be chosen out of that neighbouring monastery; which, indeed, was then no unusual thing in the Church. But that monks living in a monastery should perform divine offices in other churches beside that of their own monastery, is not agreeable to ancient rules and practice; and, therefore, we meet with no instances of that kind, nor of tithes being received by the monks, unless it was for the use of the poor; of

¹ Vales. Not. in Sozom. lib. viii. c. xvii. (Aug. Taur. 1746. p. 322.) Nemo ut novum mirari debet, quod monachi in ecclesia clericorum munus obissee dicuntur. Id enim eo tempore usitatum fuit, ut ex Ambrosio discimus in laudatione Eusebii Vercellensis episcopi, et ex Possidio in Vita Beati Augustini, ubi dicit, eum monachos intra ecclesiam instituisse.

^m See chap. ii. sect. viii.

ⁿ Sozom. lib. viii. c. xvii. (p. 322. C 9.) . . ἦκεν εἰς Δρῦν Ὁ Χαλκηδόνος δὲ τοῦτο προάσκειον, Ῥουφίνου τοῦ ὑπατικοῦ νῦν ἐκώνουμον, ἐν ᾧ βασιλείᾳ ἐστι, καὶ μεγάλη ἐκκλησία, ἣν αὐτὸς Ῥουφίνος ἐπὶ τιμῇ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου τῶν ἀποστόλων ἰδίματο, καὶ Ἀποστολεῖον ἐξ αὐτῶν ὠνόμασε πλησίον δι μοναχοῦς συνῆκεσεν [συνῆκισεν] οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸν κλήρον ἐπλήρουν.

which there is one instance in Cassian^o, and besides that I do not remember any other. Their way of living upon their own labour made them not solicitous to receive any thing from other men; and, therefore, some of them would not receive maintenance from their own parents, as Cassian^p relates of Antony, lest they should seem to live upon any thing that was not the work of their own hands.

SECT. XX.—*Not allowed at first to dwell in Cities, but confined to the Wilderness.*

Beside all this, there was another reason, then, why monks could not ordinarily attend parochial cures, had they been otherwise qualified for them; for, by the laws of their first institution, in all parts of the East, their habitation was not to be in cities or places of public concourse, but in deserts and private retirements, where they might be sequestered from the noise of the world, and live in quiet and solitude, as their name seemed to imply. Whence St. Jerome, writing to Rusticus, the monk, inveighs against those who were desirous^a to live in cities, which was contrary to that singularity they made profession of. And, giving instructions to Paulinus, he says, “If you desire to be really what you are in name, that is, a solitary, or one that lives alone, what have you^r to do in cities, which are not habitations for solitaries, but the multitude?” And it is observed both by him, and Sozomen^s, of

^o Cassian. Collat. xxi. c. ii. (p. 780.) Delector, o filii carissimi, pia vestrorum munerum largitate, et devotionem hujus oblationis, cujus dispensatio mihi credita est, gratanter amplector, quia fideliter primitias vestras ac decimas indigentium usibus profuturas velut sacrificium Domino bonæ suavitatis offeritis, etc.

^p Ibid. xxiv. c. xii. (p. 868.) ‘Qui,’ inquit apostolus, ‘non operatur, nec manducet.’ His Beatus Antonius adversus quemdam usus verbis, etiam nos magisterii sui informavit exemplo, ut parentum perniciosissima blandimenta, et omnium qui victui necessariam subministrant agapen, insuper omnem habitationis gratiam devitemus, etc.

^a Hieron. Ep. iv. ad Rustic. (p. 29, edit. Francof.) (Vallars. vol. i. p. 937. C 10.) Quid desideramus urbium frequentiam, qui de singularitate censemur?

^r Ibid. xiii. ad Paulin. (p. 67. C.) (vol. i. p. 322. D 6.) Si cupis esse quod diceris, monachus, id est solus, quid facis in urbibus, quæ utique non sunt solorum habitacula, sed multorum?

^s Sozom. lib. i. c. xiii. (Aug. T. 1746. p. 26. E 4.) Τοὺς μὲν ἐχθρὰς ἔλεγε

Antonius, that he was used to say, "The wilderness was as natural to a monk as water to a fish; and, therefore, a monk in a city was quite out of his element, like a fish upon dry land." By which it appears, that the monastic life, in the first design, was to exclude men from having any thing to do in cities and places of public concourse: and there are laws in both the codes to the same purpose. Theodosius enacted, that all that made profession of the monastic^t life, should be obliged, by the civil magistrate, to betake themselves to the wilderness and deserts as their proper habitation. Baronius, by mistake, reckons^u this law a punishment, and next to a persecution of the monks; but Gothofred^v and Mr. Pagi^w, with better judgment, correct his error, and observe with more truth, that it was so far from being a punishment, that it was only obliging them to live according to the rules of their first institution. Leo and Anthemius^x, and after them

τὴν ὑγρὰν οὐσίαν τρέφειν· μοναχοῖς δὲ κόσμον φέρειν τὴν ἐρημον· ἐπίσης τε τοὺς μὲν ξηρὰς ἀπτομένους τὸ ζῆν ἀπολιμπάνειν, τοὺς δὲ τὴν μοναστικὴν σεμνότητα ἀπολλύειν τοῖς ἀστεσι προσιόντας.

^t Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. iii. de Monachis, leg. i. Quicunque sub professione monachi reperiuntur, deserta loca et vastas solitudines sequi atque habitare jubeantur.

^u Baron. an. 390, n. xlviii. Quicunque sub professione, etc. Hac statuta lege cogitur improbus hæresiarcha (Jovinianus) ab urbe recedere.

^v Gothofred. tom. i. in Cod. Theod. xvi. tit. iii. leg. i. vid. seq. not. (w).

^w Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 390, n. xi. (Lucæ, 1740. vol. vi. p. 89.) (p. 580, edit. Antverp. 1705.) Lex i. Codicis Theod. de Monachis, lata non est occasione Jovinianistarum, qui, e monasteriis ejecti, in urbibus tamen cum habitu monastico vagabantur. Nam præterquam quod, ut inquit Gothofredus in hujus legis commentario, hæc lex ad Orientem pertinet, (ubi Tatianus, cui ea inscribitur, præfectus prætorio erat) non agitur in ea de monasterio ejectis, verum de quibuscumque, 'qui sub professione monachi reperiuntur,' id est, de omnibus qui monasticam vitam profitebantur, interim tamen civitates frequentabant, ut ostendit lex secunda ejusdem Codicis de Monachis, qua post biennium memorata lex abrogatur. Quare hac lege monachi quicumque, non pœnæ loco ad deserta loca et solitudines conferre sese jubentur, ut credidit Baronius; verum pro vitæ suæ instituto eo redire. Denique pertinet hæc lex ad monachos, sive eremitas, cujusmodi in Ægypti potissimum Syriæque solitudinibus, aliisve agebant, deserta loca et vastas solitudines sequentes. Qua de re plura Gothofredus in hujus legis commentario.

^x Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. iii. de Episc. leg. xxix. Οἱ ἐν τοῖς μοναστηρίοις διατρίβοντες μὴ ἐχέτωσαν ἐξουσίαν ἐξέλαι τῶν μοναστηρίων, ἢ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀντιοχείῳ, ἢ καὶ ἐν ἑτέραις πόλεσιν ἀναστρέφεισθαι, ὑπεξαιρουμένων μόνων τῶν καλουμένων ἀποκρισάριων, οἷς ἀδειαν παρέχουμεν θίβλουσι, διὰ μόνως

Justinian, made laws to the same purpose, forbidding the Eastern monks to appear in cities; but, if they had any business of concern to be transacted there, they should do it by their *apocrisarii* or *responsales*, that is, their 'proctors' or 'syndics,' which every monastery was allowed for that purpose.

SECT. XXI.—*What Exceptions that Rule admitted of.*

Not but that, in some extraordinary cases, they took liberty to dispense with this rule, when a just occasion required their appearance;—as in times of common danger to the faith; or great persecutions; or when it seemed necessary for them to interpose with the magistrate, and intercede for criminals in special cases. Thus St. Jerome⁷ observes of Antonius, that he came to Alexandria, at the request of Athanasius, to give testimony and countenance to the Catholic faith, and to confute the Arian heresy. Theodoret makes the like observation⁸

ἀναγκαίως ἀποκρισίους ἐξίνααι. — It. Novel. cxliii. c. xlii. Προνοεῖν τοὺς δαιοτάτους τῶν τόπων ἐπισκόπους, ἵνα μήτε μοναχοὶ μήτε μονάστριαι εἰς τὰς πόλεις περιέρχωνται· ἀλλ' εἰ τινα ἀναγκαίαν ἀπόκρισιν ἔχοιεν, διὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἀποκρισαρίων ταύτην πραττέωσαν, ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις αὐτοὶ μένοντες μοναστηρίοις.

⁷ Hieron. Ep. xxxiii. ad Castrut. (tom. i. p. 133. C. edit. Francof.) (Vallars. vol. i. p. 410. C 6.) Beatus Antonius, quum a Sancto Athanasio, Alexandriæ piscopo, propter confutationem hæreticorum, in urbem Alexandriam esset accitus, etc.

⁸ Theod. lib. iv. c. xxvi. (Aug. T. p. 163.) Τοῦτον (Ἀφραάτην) ἄνωθεν ἐκ τῆς βασιλείου στοᾶς διακύπτων ὁ βασιλεὺς, εἶδε σιτῆραν τε ἀναβεβλημένον, καὶ ἐν γήρᾳ βαθεῖ συντόνως βαδίζοντα· καὶ τινος εἰρηκότος, ὡς Ἀφραάτης οὗτος, οὗ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐξήμνηται πληθος, ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν, Ποῖ σὺ βαδίεις, εἰπέ· ὁ δὲ σοφῶς ἕμα καὶ προσφόρως, Ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς, ἔφη, προσευζόμενος βασιλείας. Ἀλλ' οἶκοι σε μένειν χρή, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔφη, καὶ ἔνδον κατὰ τὸν μοναδικὸν προσεύχεσθαι νόμον. Ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐκείνος ἀνὴρ, Εὐ μάλα, ἔφη, λέγεις, ὦ βασιλεῦ· τοῦτό με δρᾶν εἶδ'· καὶ τοῦτο δρῶν μέχρι καὶ νῦν διετέλεσα, ἕως εἰρήνης ἀπίλαυε τοῦ Σωτῆρος τὰ πρόβατα· ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολλὸν ὑπομεμέννηκε θόρυβον, καὶ πολλὰς ἐπικρίμαται κίνδυνος μὴ θηριάλωτα γίνηται, πάντα κινεῖν πρὸς ἀνάγκη καὶ διασώζειν τὰ θρίμματα. εἰπέ γάρ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἰ κόρη τις ἐτύγχανον ὦν, ἔνδον ἐν θαλάμῳ καθήμενη καὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἐπιμελουμένη, εἰτ' ἰθυσάμην ἐμπροσθοῦσαν φλόγα, καὶ τὴν πατρῴαν οἰκίαν ἐμπιπραμένην, τί με ταύτην δρᾶσαι προσήκειν, εἰπέ μοι; ἔνδον καθῆσθαι καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐμπιπραμένην περιορᾶν, καὶ τῆς φλογὸς προσμένειν τὴν ἐμβολήν; ἢ τῷ θαλάμῳ χαίρειν ἐποῦσαν διαθίειν ἄνω καὶ κάτω, καὶ ὑδροφορεῖν καὶ σβεννύναι τὴν φλόγα; δῆλον, ὅτι τοῦτο ἔρεῖς. τοῦτο γὰρ κόρης ἀγχίνου τε

upon the behaviour of Aphraates and Julian, two Syrian monks, who left their cells in the desert to live in Antioch, when their presence was thought necessary to support the Catholic doctrine, and its professors, in the time of the Arian persecution, under Valens. And of Aphraates he tells this remarkable story, "That Valens, once observing him to pass the streets in haste, though he was an old man, asked him, 'whither he was going with so much speed?' To whom he replied, 'I am going, sir, to pray for your empire.' 'But,' said Valens, 'it would more have become you to do that at home, in your retirement, according to the laws of your solitary life.' 'Yes, sir,' said Aphraates, 'you say very true: I ought so to do, and I always did so, as long as my Saviour's sheep were in peace; but, now that they are disquieted and brought into great danger, very necessity compels me to take another course for their safety, that they may not be torn in pieces by wild beasts. Were I a virgin, confined to a single room, it would not become me to sit still when I saw my father's house on fire, but to run abroad, fetch water and extinguish the flame. Now, this is our case: you, sir, have set fire to the house of our common Father, and we have left our cells with no small concern, and are come abroad to put it out.'" Thus bravely did Aphraates answer Valens, and apologize for his appearing in the city in the time of common danger, when Valens himself was the occasion of it. Nor was it only in defence of religion they thus made a public appearance, but sometimes they thought it necessary to come and intercede with the emperors and judges for condemned criminals; as Sozomen^a observes of Antonius, that he was frequently com-

καὶ φρενήρους. τοῦτο δρῶ νῦν, ὦ βασιλεῦ· σοῦ γὰρ εἰς τὴν πατρίαν ἡμῶν οἰκίαν ἐμβαλόντος τὴν φλόγα, περιθίομεν κατασβεῖσαι ταύτην πευρώμενοι.— Ibid. c. xxvii. Καταλιπὼν τὴν ἔρημον, ἅπαν ἐκεῖνο περιέριε τὸ ἄστυ, διδάσκων ἅπαντας, ὡς τῆς ἀποστολικῆς διδασκαλίας κήρυξ ἐστὶν Ἀθανάσιος, καὶ ὡς ἀντίπαλοι τῆς ἀληθείας οἱ τῆς Ἀρείου συμμορίας· οὕτως ᾔδεσαν οἱ θεῖοι ἄνδρες ἐκεῖνοι, τὰ πρόσφορα ἐκάστω προσαρμόττειν καιρῷ, καὶ πηνίκα δὲ προτιμᾶν τὰς πόλεις τῆς ἐρημίας.

^a Sozom. lib. i. c. xiii. (p. 26. D 8.) Παροδυρόμενοι αὐτῷ πολλοὶ, ἐβιάζοντο πρεσβεῦν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐν τέλει. . . . εἰ δὲ βιασθεὶς ποτὲ εἰς πόλιν ἦλθεν ἐπικουρῆσαι διομένους, διαθείς θρον χάριν παρεγένετο, αὐτίκα ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον ἐπανήει.

pelled, by the complaints and lamentations of the distressed, to come and interpose his good offices with the princes and magistrates for them; and, as soon as he had done, he returned to the wilderness again. The reader may find a more remarkable instance of this kind in one of St. Chrysostom's Homilies^b to the people of Antioch, where he relates how the city was delivered from imminent ruin (being under the displeasure of Theodosius, for having demolished the imperial statues, and committing other crimes of a high nature) by the intercession of the neighbouring monks, who left their tabernacles and caves in the mountains, and came into the city, (when other philosophers, for fear, were fled out of it,) and interceding with the judges, prevailed with them to spare the criminals; telling them, that "the images of the emperor might easily be restored to their pristine beauty, and be set up again; but if they slew the images of God, it would be impossible to raise them up again, since it was beyond the art of man to join body and soul together; and, if they would not hearken to their intercession, they should execute them too: for, if it must be so, they were resolved to die with them." After this manner

^b Chrysost. Hom. xvii. ad Popul. Antioch. p. 215. (p. 192. D. edit. Francof.) (Benedict. vol. ii. p. 172. A 7.) Ἐτεσι τοσούτοις ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν καλύβαις συγκεκλεισμένοι, οὐδενὸς παρακαλέσαντος, οὐδενὸς συμβουλευσαντος, ἐκπιδὴ τοσοῦτον νέφος εἶδον τὴν πόλιν περιϊστάμενον, καταλιπόντες αὐτῶν τὰς σκηνάς, καὶ τὰ σπήλαια, πάντοθεν συνέρρυσαν, καθάπερ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τινὲς ἄγγελοι παραγενόμενοι. . . ὅτι καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν αὐτοῖς προσελθόντες μετὰ παρρησίας διελέχθησαν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπευθύνων, καὶ τὸ αἷμα παρσκευάσαντο πάντες ἐκχεῖν, καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποθίσθαι, ὥστε τοὺς ἀλόντας τῶν προσδοκωμένων ἱξαρπάσαι δεινῶν· καὶ οὐκ ἔφησαν ἀποστῆσεσθαι πρότερον, ἕως ἂν ἡ φείσωνται τοῦ δήμου τῆς πόλεως οἱ δικάζοντες, ἢ κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν ὑπευθύνων αὐτοὺς πρὸς βασιλεία πέμψωσι. Θεοφιλὴς γάρ ἐστι, φησὶν, ὁ κρατῶν τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης, πιστὸς, ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ ζῶν· ἡμεῖς οὖν αὐτὸν καταλλάξομεν πάντως· οὐκ ἐπιτρέφομεν ὑμῖν, οὐδὲ συγχωρήσομεν αἰμάξαι ξίφος, οὐδὲ ἀποτεμεῖν κεφαλὴν· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀνάσχοιθε, καὶ ἡμεῖς μετ' αὐτῶν ἀποθανοῦμεθα πάντως· δεινὰ μὲν τὰ τετολημμένα καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁμολογοῦμεν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπερβαίνει τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως φιλανθρωπίαν ἢ τῶν γεγεννημένων παρανομία. Λέγεται τις ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ ἕτερον ῥῆμα γέμον φιλοσοφίας εἰπεῖν, ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἀνδρίαντες οἱ κατενεχθέντες ἀνίστησαν πάλιν, καὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀπέλαβον σχῆμα, καὶ τὸ γεγεννημένον διόρθωσιν ἔσχε ταχίστην· ὑμεῖς δὲ ἂν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν εἰκόνα ἀποκτείνητε, πῶς οὐνήσεσθε πάλιν ἀνακαλίσσασθαι τὸ πεπλημμελημένον; πῶς ἀναστήσαι τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους, καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τοῖς σώμασιν ἀποδοῦναι;

they were used to intercede with the judges for criminals in some such special cases as this before us ; and they commonly did this with such prevalency, that they seldom failed in their petition, the magistracy expressing a particular reverence to them upon such occasions. But afterward this thing grew into abuse, and they would not be content to petition, but would sometimes come in great bodies or troops, *per drungos*, and by force deliver criminals after sentence of condemnation was passed upon them. To repress which tumultuous way of proceeding, Arcadius, the emperor, was forced to publish a law^c, strictly forbidding both the monks and clergy to attempt any such thing, and commanding all bishops to prosecute the authors of such disorders, if any monks happened to be so engaged in their districts, under pain of his royal displeasure.

SECT. XXII.—*Whether Monks might betake themselves to a Secular Life again.*

There remains but one inquiry more to be made concerning this order of men, which is, whether such as made profession of the monastic life were afterward at liberty to alter their state as they thought convenient, and turn seculars again? To which it may be answered, that they were under no public vow to the contrary ; many men embraced the life, who never intended to continue all their days in it. Julian himself was once in the monastic habit, to please his cousin, Constantius, who began to suspect his inclination toward the philosophy of the Gentiles. Socrates says of him, that he assumed^d the tonsure, and feigned the life of a monk in public, whilst he privately resorted to the lectures of Libanius, the sophist. And Orosius observes the same^e of Constans, the son of Constantine, who usurped the empire in Britain in the time of

^c Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xl. de Pœnis, leg. xvi. Addictos supplicio et pro criminum immanitate damnatos, nulli clericorum, vel monachorum (eorum etiam quos cœnobitas vocant) per vim atque usurpationem vindicare liceat, ac tenere, etc.

^d Socrat. lib. iii. c. i. 'Εν χρώτι κειράμενος τὸν τῶν μοναχῶν ὑπεκρίνετο βίον.

^e Oros. lib. vii. c. xl. Constantinus Constantem filium suum, proh dolor, ex monacho Cæsarem factum . . . in Hispanias misit.

Honorius, that he was first a monk before his father made him Caesar, and sent him into Spain to promote his interest there. These men had no need of the Pope's dispensation to set them at liberty from their vow, for it does not appear that they were ever under any such obligation. Monasteries were anciently schools of learning, and places of pious and religious education of youth; which, though Bellarmine^f thinks fit to deny it, is evidently proved from St. Chrysostom's third book^g against the defamers of the monastic life, which is chiefly spent in advising parents to send their children to be educated in monasteries as the safest places of good education; not with a design to oblige them always to continue in the monastic life, but only to train them up, and settle them securely in the ways of virtue. And, to the same purpose, it is observed by Palladius, that the monks of Mount Nitria^h had a *xenodochium*, or "hospital," where for a week they entertained any one that came to them without working; if he continued longer, they set him either to work at some bodily labour or to study; and, so employed, he might continue a year, or two, or three, among them, till he saw his own time to depart from them. This Palladiusⁱ calls *ἄσκησις γραφικὴ*, "the exercise of letters,"

^f Bellarmin. de Monachis, lib. ii. c. vi. (Ingolstadt. 1601. vol. ii. p. 441. C 3.) (p. 144. A. edit. Colon. 1615.) Secundo dicit (Melanchthon) monasteria olim fuisse scholas sacrarum litterarum et aliarum disciplinarum. At Basilus in Constitutionibus Monasticis, Cassianus de Institutis Coenobiorum, Hieronymus in Epistola ad Rusticum et in alia ad Paulinum de Institutione Monachi, Augustinus, lib. i. de Moribus Ecclesiæ, c. xxxi. alique veteres, dum describunt instituta monasteriorum, meminerunt orationis, jejuniorum, psalmodiæ, continentiæ, obedientiæ, paupertatis: de scholis litterarum et dialecticæ aliarumque disciplinarum ne verbum quidem.

^g Chrysostom. Advers. Vituperatores Vitæ Monasticæ, lib. iii. tom. iv. c. xi. et passim.

^h Pallad. Histor. Lausiac. c. vi. Πρόσκειται τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ξενοδοχεῖον, εἰς δὲ τὸν ἀπελθόντα ξένον δεξιῶνται πάντα τὸν χρόνον, κἂν ἐπὶ διετίαν ἢ τριετίαν μείναι θελήσῃ, μέχρις οὗ αὐθαίρετος ἀναχωρῆσαι θελήσῃ· συγχωρήσαντες αὐτῷ ἐπὶ ἑβδομάδα μίαν ἐν ἀργίᾳ διάξει, τὰς λοιπὰς ἡμέρας περισπῶσιν αὐτὸν λοιπὸν ἐν ἔργοις, ἢ ἐν κήπῳ, ἢ ἐν ἀρτοκοπείῳ, ἢ ἐν μαγειρείῳ· εἰ δὲ ἀξιώλογός τις εἴη, διδῶσιν αὐτῷ βιβλίον ἀναγινώσκειν.

ⁱ Pallad. Histor. Lausiac. c. xiv. Ἀπολλωνίος τις ὀνόματι ἀπὸ πραγματευτῶν ἀποταξάμενος, καὶ οἰκήσας τὸ ὄρος τῆς Νιτρίας, μήτε τέχνην τὸ λοιπὸν μαθεῖν δυνάμενος, μήτε ἐπὶ ἄσκησιν γραφικὴν, τῷ παραβεβηκέναι τὴν ἡλικίαν, ζῆσας ἐν τῷ ὄρει εἰκοσι ἔτη, ταύτην ἔσχε τὴν ἄσκησιν, κ. τ. λ.

in opposition to that of bodily labour ; so that men might enter a monastery for the sake of study, and leave it again when they pleased, if they laid upon themselves no further obligation. And they who tied up themselves stricter, and entered the monastic life with a design to continue in it, were never under any vow, unless a private resolution might be esteemed such, which might be altered at pleasure, especially if any unforeseen case or accident seemed to require a change in their way of living. As Cassian^k tells us of one in Egypt, who, despairing to obtain the gift of continency, was preparing to enter into a married state, and return to a secular life again. The rule of Pachomius, by which the Egyptian monks were governed, has nothing of any vow at their entrance, nor any punishment for such as deserted their station afterward. And there was one piece of discipline among the Egyptians, which I have mentioned before, that seems plainly to intimate that they were under no solemn vow ; for one of their punishments was expulsion out of the monastery, which is inconsistent with a vow of continuing in a monastery for ever. So that, at first, the monastic life seems to have been a matter of free choice, not only at men's first entrance, but in their progress and continuance also ; and men might quit it without any other punishment, unless it were a note of inconstancy fixed upon them.

SECT. XXIII.—*Marriage of Monks anciently not annulled.*

However, this is certain, that monks who betook themselves to a married state were not anciently obliged by any law to dissolve their marriage, and put away their wives, under pretence of any preceding obligation, according to the new rules of the Council of Trent^l, which pronounces such marriages

^k Cassian. Collat. ii. c. xiii. (p. 341.) Ut quia monachus esse non posset, nec refrenare stimulos carnis, et impugnationis remedia consequi jam valeret, uxorem duceret, ac relicto monasterio reverteretur ad sæculum.

^l Concil. Trident. sess. xxiv. can. ix. (Labbe, vol. xiv. p. 875.) Si quis dixerit, clericos in sacris ordinibus constitutos, vel regulares, castitatem solemniter professos, posse matrimonium contrahere, contractumque validum esse, non obstante lege ecclesiastica, vel voto ; et oppositum nihil aliud esse, quam damnare matrimonium, posseque omnes contrahere matrimonium qui non sentiunt se castitatis, etiamsi eam voverint, habere donum, anathema sit ; quum Deus

null and void. In St. Austin's time, some virgins and widows were under the obligation of a vow; yet, if they married after that, he says, "they were not to be separated^m from their husbands as adulteresses, for their marriage was true marriage, and not adultery, as some falsely argued." He says, "they offended highly in breaking their vow, but yet their marriage was valid; and, in that case, to separate them from their husbands, was only to make their husbands adulterers in marrying others whilst their wives were living." By parity of reason, then, the marriage of monks must be esteemed valid also, even supposing them under an equal obligation; and, upon this account, we find no instances of dissolving marriages in such cases left upon record in ancient history.

SECT. XXIV.—*What Punishments ordinarily inflicted on Deserters.*

Yet, in process of time, because monks were presumed to be under some private obligation by assuming this way of living, some punishments were thought of as proper to be inflicted on such as relinquished their station, and returned to a secular life again. By the first Council of Orleans, a monk that had entered himselfⁿ in a monastery, if he afterwards married a wife, was for ever after incapable of holy orders, but no other censure is passed upon him. St. Austin was for inflicting the same punishment on such as left their monastery without their own bishop's leave, as appears from

id recte petentibus non deneget, nec patiatur nos supra id quod possumus, tentari.

^m August. de Bono Viduit. c. x. (Benedict. vol. vi. p. 375. F 2.) (tom. iv. p. 1024. Basil. 1569.) Qui dicunt talium nuptias non esse nuptias, sed potius adulteria, non mihi videntur satis acute ac diligenter considerare quid dicant: fallit eos quippe similitudo veritatis. (p. 376. C.) Fit autem per hanc minus consideratam opinionem, qua putant lapsarum a sancto proposito feminarum, si nupserint, non esse conjugia, non parvum malum, ut a maritis separentur uxores, quasi adulteræ sint, non uxores: et quum volunt eas separatas reddere continentiae, faciunt maritos earum adulteros veros, quum suis uxoribus vivos alteras duxerint.

ⁿ Concil. Aurel. I. c. xxi. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1408.) Monachus-si in monasterio conversus, vel pallium comprobatus fuerit accepisse, et postea uxori fuerit sociatus, tantæ prævaricationis reus numquam ecclesiastici gradus officium sortiatur.

his letter to Aurelius^o, bishop of Carthage, upon that subject. The civil law likewise excludes deserters from the privilege of ordination; for, by a law of Honorius^p, they were to be delivered up to the *curia*, or "civil court of the city," there to serve all their lives; by which means they were rendered incapable of any office in the Church, because curial and clerical offices were inconsistent with one another, as has been shown at large^q in another place. Justinian added another punishment, that if they were possessed of any substance, it should all be forfeited to the monastery^r which they deserted, while they themselves should be obliged to serve personally among the officials of the judge of the province where they lived; for by this time monasteries began to have estates and possessions in some places, though the most exact rules of the Egyptian monks were against it. The censures of the Church were likewise inflicted on deserting monks in the fifth century. Spalatensis^s thinks the first council that ever decreed excommunication against them, was the fourth Council of Toledo^t,

^o August. Epist. lxxvi. ad Aurel. (Benedict. vol. ii. p. 148. A.) *Ipsis facilis lapsus, et ordini clericorum fit indignissima injuria, si desertores monasteriorum ad militiam clericatus eligantur, quum ex his qui in monasterio permanent, non tamen nisi probatiores atque meliores in clerum assumere soleamus.*

^p Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. leg. xxxix. *Si qui professum sacre religionis sponte dereliquerit, continuo sibi eum curia vindicet: ut liber illi ultra ad ecclesiam recursus esse non possit; et pro hominum qualitate et quantitate patrimonii, vel ordini suo, vel collegio civitatis adjungatur.*

^q Book iv. chap. iv. sect. iv.

^r Justin. Novel. v. c. vi. *Εἰ ἀπολιπὼν τὸ μοναστήριον εἰς τινα ἔλθοι στρατείαν, ἢ ἕτερον βίου σχῆμα, τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον ἀπομένουσης, αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ταξιωτάταις τοῦ λαμπροτάτου τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἀρχοντος τετάσσεται, καὶ τοῦτο ἔξει τῆς μεταβολῆς τὸν καρπὸν· καὶ ὅγε τὴν θείαν λειτουργίαν ὑπεριδὼν, δικαστήριον χθαμαλοῦ προσκαρτερίτω δουλείῃς.* — It. Cod. lib. i. tit. iii. leg. lvi. sect. ii. *Si qui eorum, de quibus præsentem legem posuimus, sanctimoniale vitam elegerint, ad sæcularem autem conversationem postea remeaverint; jubemus omnes eorum res ad jura ejusdem ecclesie vel monasterii, a quo recesserint, pertinere.*

^s Spalat. de Repub. lib. ii. c. xii. n. xlviii. *Postea monachos desertores a se penitus monachismum abdicantes coeperunt, aliqui apostatas vocare, et in eos excommunicationes fulminare. Quod ego primum observo in Concilio quarto Toletano.*

^t Conc. Tolet. IV. c. lv. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1718.) *Qui detonsi a parentibus fuerint, aut sponte sua, amissis parentibus, seipso religioni devoverunt, et postea habitum sæcularem sumserunt, et iidem a sacerdote comprehensi ad*

under Honorius, an. 633. But he did not advert to a former canon of the Council of Chalcedon, made near two hundred years before, which decreed that neither virgins consecrated to God, nor monks^u, should marry, and such as did so should be excommunicated: only the bishop of the place might moderate the censure; that is, if I rightly understand that canon, which is by some mistaken, he might shorten the term of their penance, at his discretion, which was the only way of granting indulgences in the primitive Church. And from hence, again, it appears, that when it was thought a crime for a monk to marry, yet they did not think it a nullity when done, or presume to void it upon that score, but only oblige him to do penance for such a term as the bishop should think fit to impose upon him. And I suppose the Canons of St. Basil^w, and the Council of Trullo^x, which speak of a penance of seven years or more, are to be understood with this limitation.

I have now put together all that I could think material to be said upon this subject of the monastic life; and some, perhaps, will think I have said too much, and others too little, upon it. But I content myself to have said so much as seemed necessary to my own design, which was to give an account of ancient customs, and explain several laws and rules of the Church. They whose curiosity leads them further, may easily have recourse to Cassian's Institutions and Collations, and Palladius's *Historia Lausiaca*, and Theodoret's *Philotheus*, or "Religious History," books written particularly upon this subject by professed admirers of the monastic life. My me-

cultum religionis, acta prius pœnitentia, revocentur. Quod si reverti non possunt vere, ut apostatæ anathematis sententiæ subiciantur.

^u Conc. Chalced. c. xvi. (tom. iv. Conc. p. 763.) Παρθένον ἐαυτὴν ἀναθεῖσαν τῷ δεσπότῃ Θεῷ, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ μονάζοντα, μὴ ἐξεῖναι γάμψ προσομλεῖν· εἰ δὲ γε εὐρεθεῖεν τοῦτο ποιῶντες, ἔστωσαν ἀκοινωνήτοι· ὥρισamen δὲ ἔχειν τὴν αὐθεντίαν τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς φιλανθρωπίας τὸν κατὰ τόπον ἐπίσκοπον.

^w Basil. Can. lx. (Balsamon. Paris. 1620. p. 993.) Παρθένος ὁμολογήσασα, καὶ ἐκπεσοῦσα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, τὸν χρόνον τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς μοιχείας ἀμαρτήματος ἐν τῇ οἰκονομίᾳ τῆς καθ' ἐαυτὴν ζωῆς πληρώσει· τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν βίων μοναζόντων, ἐπαγγελλομένων, καὶ ἐκπιπτόντων.

^x Concil. Trull. c. xliv. (Labbe, vol. vi. p. 1163.) Μοναχὸς ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ ἀλοῦς, ἢ πρὸς γάμου κοινωνίαν καὶ συμβίωσιν γυναῖκα ἀγαγόμενος, τοῖς τῶν πορνευόντων ἐπιτιμίοις κατὰ τοὺς κανόνας ὑποβληθήσεται.

thod now leads me to say something briefly of the virgins and widows, that were also reckoned among the ascetics of the Church.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CASE AND STATE OF VIRGINS AND WIDOWS IN THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

SECT. I. — *Of the Distinction between Ecclesiastical and Monastical Virgins.*

As I have shown before, that there were ascetics in the Church long before there were any monks; so it must here be noted that there were virgins who made public and open profession of virginity before the monastic life or name was known in the world. This appears from the writings of Cyprian and Tertullian, who speak of virgins dedicating themselves to Christ before there were any monasteries to receive them. These, for distinction's sake, are sometimes called ecclesiastical virgins by the writers of the following ages, Sozomen^a and others, to distinguish them from such as embraced the monastic life, after monasteries began to multiply in the world. The ecclesiastical virgins were commonly enrolled in the canon, or *matricula*, of the Church; that is, in the catalogue of ecclesiastics, as we learn from Socrates^b, who speaks of them under that title; and hence they were sometimes called *canonicæ*, “canonical virgins,” from their being registered in the canon or books of the Church. They differed from the monastic virgins chiefly in this, that they lived privately in their fathers' houses, and had their maintenance from their fathers, or, in

^a Sozom. lib. viii. c. xxiii. (Aug. T. 1746. p. 331. B 7.) Ὑπὸ μετριότητος τρόπων καὶ φιλοσοφίας αἰεὶ λανθάνειν ἐπετήδευεν (Νικαρέτην) ὥς μήτε εἰς ἀξίωμα διακόνου σπουδάζσαι προελθεῖν, μήτε προτρεπομένου πολλαῖς Ἰωάννου εἰσεῖσθαι ποτὲ παρθένων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἡγεῖσθαι.

^b Socrat. lib. i. c. xvii. (R. p. 41. C.) Καὶ τὰς παρθένους τὰς ἀναγεγραμμένας ἐν τῷ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν κανόνι, ἐπὶ ἐστίασιν προτρεπομένη, δι' ἑαυτῆς λειτουργοῦσα, τὰ ὅψα ταῖς τραπέζαις προσέφερε.

cases of necessity, from the Church; but the other lived in communities, and upon their own labour, as we learn from the third Council of Carthage^c and the writings of St. Austin^d. Spalatensis long ago observed^e this difference; and it is since acknowledged by Albaspinæus^f, Valesius^g, Cotelerius^h, and other learned men of the Romish Church; so that it is now out of dispute, that, as the ascetics for the first three hundred years were not monks, so neither were the sacred virgins of the Church monastical virgins, or nuns confined to a cloister, as in after ages.

^c Conc. Carth. III. can. xxxiii. *Ut virgines sacræ, si parentibus, a quibus custodiebantur, privatæ fuerint, episcopi providentia vel presbyteri, si episcopus absens est, in monasterio virginum gravioribus feminis commendentur, etc.*

^d Augustin. de Moribus Eccles. c. xxxi. (Bened. vol. i. p. 711. C 8.) *Lanificio corpus exercent atque sustentant, vestesque ipsas fratribus tradunt, ab iis invicem quod victui opus est resumentes.*

^e Spalat. de Repub. lib. c. xi. n. xxv. *Ego invenio olim virgines Deo sacratas, et vere ac proprie virginitatem professas, etiam in propriis domibus habitasse; et nihilominus habitum monachalem gestasse, et perfecte regulas monasticas servasse.*

^f Albaspin. Not. in Concil. Illiber. can. xiii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 992.) *Virgines, quæ Deo se voverant, a ceteris non removebantur, aut claustris includebantur, ut ex hoc canone et in divo Cypriano et Tertulliano de 'virginibus velandis' licet colligere.*

^g Vales. Not. in Sozom. lib. viii. c. xxiii. (p. 331.) *Virgines 'ecclesiasticæ' dicuntur ad distinctionem earum, quæ debebant in monasteriis, quæ monachæ dicuntur in epistola Siricii Papæ. Hæ virgines locum separatam habebant in ecclesia, tabulis conclusum, ut docet Ambrosius in sermone ad Virginem Lapsam. Oblationes item offerebant, et communicabant seorsum a reliqua multitudine, ut colligitur ex cap. 25 Concilii Triburiensis. Ecclesiasticæ porro dicebantur, eo quod adscriptæ essent albo seu matriculæ ecclesiæ: *κατάλογον παρθένων*, et *τάγμα*, vocat Basilii in Epistola Canonica ad Amphilochium.*

^h Coteler. Not. in Constitut. Apost. lib. viii. c. xiii. (vol. i. p. 405.) *Οἱ ἀσκηταί*, non monachi ascetæ; sed laici, in severioribus pietatis officiis sese exercentes: quales semper inter Christianos extitisse, dubitari non debet; ut et ecclesiasticas virgines nequaquam moniales ascetrias. Nam opus, quod notis imus illustratum, ante exortum vitæ monasticæ conscriptum fuit: unde in eo nulla illius mentio, multa habenda, si per tempora licuisset. Vocabulorum autem *ἀσκήσεως* et *ἀσκητῶν* in austeriori vita, absque monachatu tamen, exempla sunt obvia.

SECT. II.—*Whether they were under any Profession of perpetual Virginity.*

If it be inquired how these were distinguished from other virgins that were merely secular,—I conceive it was by some sort of profession of their intention to continue in that state all their lives; but whether that was a solemn vow, or a simple profession, is not agreed among learned writers. The learned editorⁱ of St. Cyprian reckons they were under no obligation of any formal vow in the age of Cyprian, but yet were some way bound by the resolution and purpose of their own mind, and the public profession of virginity; and in this he seems to speak not only the common sense of Protestant writers, but the sense of that ancient author^k who says, “They dedicated themselves to Christ, yet so as that if either they would not or could not persevere, it was better for them to marry than to burn, or to be cast into fire for their offences,” as his words may be literally translated. From whence it may be collected, that then the profession of virginity was not so strict as to make marrying after be thought a crime worthy of ecclesiastical censure.

SECT. III.—*When first made liable to the Censures of the Church for marrying against their Profession.*

But in the following ages the censures of the Church were inflicted on them. The Council of Ancyra^l determined universally against all such as having professed virginity, afterward went against their profession, that they should be subjected to the same term of penance as digamists were used to be; that is, a year or two, as we learn from one of the canons of

ⁱ Fell. Not. in Cypr. Ep. iv. Animi proposito et publica virginitatis professione, non voto astrictæ.

^k Cypr. Ep. lxii. al. iv. ad Pompon. (Paris. 1726. p. 102.) Si ex fide se Christo dicaverunt, pudicæ et castæ sine ulla fabula perseverent; et ita fortes et stabiles præmium virginitatis expectent. Si autem perseverare nolunt, vel non possunt; melius est ut nubant, quam in ignem delectis suis cadant.

^l Conc. Ancyra. c. xix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1464.) “Ὅσοι παρθενίαν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι ἀθετοῦσι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, τὸν τῶν διγάμων ὄρον ἐκπληροῦντων.

St. Basil^m. The Council of Chalcedonⁿ orders them to be excommunicated if they married, but leaves the term of their penance to the bishop's discretion. The Council of Valence, in France, is still more severe, forbidding^o them to be admitted immediately to penance; and, when they were admitted, unless they made full and reasonable satisfaction to God, their restoration to communion was still to be deferred. Now, from these canons, to mention no more, it evidently appears that in the following ages next after the time of Cyprian, that is, in the fourth and fifth centuries, the censures of the Church were severer against the marriage of professed virgins than they were before; and they seem to have risen in proportion to the esteem and value which men began to set upon celibacy and the monastic life.

SECT. IV.—*The Marriage of professed Virgins never declared Null.*

Yet two things are very observable amidst all the severity and rigour of those ages. First, that there never was any Church decree for rescinding or pronouncing null such marriages. The Emperor Jovian, indeed, as Sozomen^p relates, made it a capital crime, by law, for any one to commit a rape upon a devoted virgin, or so much as to solicit her to forsake her present state of life, and forego her resolution and purpose; which law is still extant in both the Codes^q. But then, as

^m Basil. Ep. can. iv. (Balsamon. Paris. 1620. p. 932. B 3.) Περὶ τριγάμων καὶ πολυγάμων τὸν αὐτὸν ὥρισamen κανόνα, ὃν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν διγάμων, ἀναλόγως· ἐνιαυτὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ διγάμων· ἄλλοι δὲ δύο ἔτη· τοὺς δὲ τριγάμους ἔν τρισὶ καὶ τετράσιν πολλάκις ἔτισιν ἀφορίζουσιν.

ⁿ Conc. Chalced. c. xvi. (tom. iv. Conc. p. 763.) Vid. supra not.

^o Conc. Valentin. can. ii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 905.) De puellis, quæ se Deo voverunt, si ad terrenas nuptias sponte transierint, id custodiendum esse decrevimus, ut pœnitentia his nec statim detur: et cum data fuerit, nisi plene satisfecerint Deo, in quantum ratio poposcerit, eandem communio differatur.

^p Sozom. lib. vi. c. iii. (Aug. Taur. 1746. p. 204.) Προσεφώνησε δὲ καὶ Σεκούνδῳ, τῷ τότε τὴν ὑπαρχον ἐξουσίαν διέποντι, γενικὴν νομοθεσίαν, εἰς κεφαλὴν τιμωρεῖσθαι παρακελευομένην τὸν ἱερὰν παρθένον μνάσθαι πρὸς γάμον περῶμενον, ἥ καὶ ἀκολάστως μόνον προσβλέποντα, μήτι γε διαπάζειν ἐπιχειροῦντα.

^q Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. iii. leg. v. Si quis, non dicam rapere, sed attentare tantum jungendi causa matrimonii, sacratissimas virgines ausus fuerit, capitali

Valesius himself rightly observes, this law was only made against ravishers, and such as solicited those virgins to marry against their own will; but, if a virgin did voluntarily quit her purpose and station, and then marry after that, there was nothing in this law^r to prohibit her, much less to punish her for so doing. And for the laws of the Church, though they appointed a spiritual punishment, yet they did not cancel or disannul the act, but confirmed and ratified such marriages, though done against the rules then prevailing in the Church. Of which, the testimony of St. Austin^s, alleged before in the last chapter, sect. xxiii., is abundant proof; not to mention the silence of all ancient laws in the case, which speak of no other punishment beside excommunication, and penance as the consequent of that, in order to be received into the communion of the Church again. Epiphanius^t is very express and particular in the case, that if any professing virginity fell from their state by fornication, they had better marry publicly, according to the laws, and then submit themselves to a course of penance, in order to obtain the communion of the Church again, rather than live perpetually exposed to the secret darts of the devil; which, I think, he would not have said, had it then been the custom of the Church to disannul the marriages of professed virgins, under pretence of any preceding vow or obligation.

poena feriat.—Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xxv. de Raptu Sanctimonialium, leg. ii. Si quis, non dicam rapere, sed vel attentare matrimonii jungendi causa, *sacratas* virgines, vel invitas, ausus fuerit, capitali sententia ferietur.

^r Vales. Not. in Sozom. lib. vi. c. iii. (Aug. Taur. p. 204.) Lex Joviani adversus raptore virginum lata est: sed si Sanctimonialis relicto proposito postea nubere voluisset, non prohibebatur hac lege.

^s Aug. de Bono Viduit. c. viii. ix. x.

^t Epiph. Hæres. lxi. Apost. Num. vii. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 512. C 9.) Κρεῖττον τοῖνυν ἔχειν ἁμαρτίαν μίαν, καὶ μὴ περισσοτέρας· κρεῖττον πεινῶντα ἀπὸ δρόμου φανερώς ἑαυτῷ λαβεῖν γυναῖκα κατὰ νόμον, καὶ ἀπὸ παρθενίας πολλῶ χρόνῳ μετανοήσαντα, εἰσαχθῆναι πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὡς κακῶς ἐργασάμενον, ὡς παραπεισόντα, καὶ κλασθέντα, καὶ χρεῖαν ἔχοντα ἐπιδήματος, καὶ μὴ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν βέλεσι κρυφίοις κατατιτρώσκεισθαι, καὶ πονηρίας ὑπὸ διαβόλου αὐτῷ ἐπιφερομένης.

SECT. V.—*Liberty granted by some Laws to marry, if they were consecrated before the Age of Forty.*

The other thing proper to be considered in this case is, that by the Imperial laws great liberty and indulgence was granted to all virgins that were consecrated before the age of forty. For, though some canons^u allowed them to be consecrated at twenty-five, and others^w at sixteen or seventeen, which were reckoned to be years of discretion; yet time quickly showed that neither of those terms were so conveniently fixed as they might be: and, therefore, other canons required virgins to be forty years old^x before they were veiled; as may be seen particularly in the French and Spanish Councils of Agde and Saragossa. And the Imperial laws not only required that age in consecrated virgins, but further decreed, “that if any virgin was veiled before that age, either by the violence or hatred of her parents (which was a case that often happened), she should have liberty to marry:” as appears from the Novel of Leo and Majorian^y, at the end of the Theodosian Code, which says, “that no virgin in such circumstances should be judged sacrilegious, who by her honest marriage declared, that either she never intended to take upon her any such vow; or, at

^u Conc. Carth. III. c. iv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1167.) Placuit, ut ante viginti quinque annos ætatis nec diaconi ordinentur, nec virgines consecrentur.

^w Basil. Ep. Can. c. xviii. (Balsamon. Paris. 1620. p. 953. A.) Τὰς ὁμολογίας τότε ἐγκρίνομεν, ἀφ’ οὐπερ ἂν ἡ ἡλικία τὴν τοῦ λόγου συμπλήρωσιν ἔχῃ· οὐ γὰρ τὰς παιδικὰς φωνὰς πάντως κυρίας ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἡγείσθαι προσήκει· ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑπὲρ τὰ δεκαῖξ ἢ δεκαεπτὰ γενομένην ἔτη, κυρίαν οὖσαν τοῦ λογισμοῦ, ἀνακριθεῖσαν ἐπὶ πλείον, εἰτα παραμείναςαν καὶ λιπαροῦσαν διὰ ἱκεσιῶν πρὸς τὸ παραδεχθῆναι, τότε ἐγκαταλέγεσθαι χρὴ ταῖς παρθένοις, καὶ τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς τοιαύτης κυροῦν, καὶ τὴν ἀβίτησιν αὐτῆς ἀπαραιτήτως κολάζειν.

^x Conc. Agath. can. xix. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1386.) Sanctimoniales, quamlibet vitæ earum et mores probati sint, ante annum ætatis suæ quadragesimum non velentur.—Conc. Cæsaraugust. c. viii. (tom. ii. p. 1010.) Lectum est, non velandas esse virgines, quæ se Deo voverint, nisi quadraginta annorum probata ætate, quam sacerdos comprobaverit.

^y Leo et Majorian. Novel. viii. Neque enim sacrilega judicanda est, quæ se hoc ante noluisse, aut certe non posse complere adpetiti conjugii honestate prodiderit: cum Christianæ religionis instituta atque doctrina melius esse censuerit virginem nubere, quam impatientiæ ardore naturali professæ pudicitie non servare virtutem.

least, was not able to fulfil it; forasmuch as the doctrine and institutes of the Christian religion have declared, that it is better for a virgin to marry than to burn, and forfeit her virtue by leading an unchaste life, after she has made profession of virginity." Now, if these two things be rightly considered, first, that the consecration of a virgin was not to be reputed valid till she was forty years of age; and, secondly, that if she married after her consecration at that age, yet her marriage was then reputed valid, and never disannulled, there will appear a very wide difference between the practice of the ancient Church and that of the Church of Rome in this matter: for which reason I have spoken distinctly of this profession of virgins, both to explain the nature of their vow, and show the measures of its obligation.

SECT. VI.—*Of their Habit, and Form, and Manner of Consecration.*

As to their consecration itself, it had some things very peculiar in it; for it was usually performed publicly in the church, and that with some solemnity, by the bishop himself, or, at least, some presbyter particularly deputed by the bishop for that purpose. For, by the ancient canons, this act, among others, was reserved to the office of the supreme minister of the Church; and, therefore, a presbyter, without his commission or leave, was not to intermeddle in it. The sixth canon in the African Code^a seems universally to prohibit presbyters these three things—the making of chrism, the public reconciliation of penitents, and the consecration of virgins. But this last point is to be interpreted by what is said in the third Council of Carthage, that a presbyter is not to consecrate a virgin without^a the bishop's leave; which implies, that he might do it by his direction: and so Ferrandus, in his Abbreviation^b, understands it. So that this was one of those things

^a Cod. Afric. c. vi. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1051.) Χρίσματος ποίησις, καὶ κορῶν καθιέρωσις, ἀπὸ πρεσβυτέρων μὴ γένηται· μήτε δὲ καταλλάξαι τινὰ εἰς δημοσίαν λειτουργίαν πρεσβυτέρῳ ἐξεῖναι, τοῦτο πᾶσιν ἀρέσκει.

^a Conc. Carth. III. c. xxxvi. (tom. ii. p. 1172.)

^b Ferrand. Breviatio Canon. c. xci. (Bibl. Max. V. P. vol. ix. p. 483,) (ap. Justell. Biblioth. Jur. Canon. p. 451.) Ut presbyter inconsulto episcopo virgines non consecret, chrisma vero numquam conficiat.

which bishops thought fit to reserve to themselves in those times, and did not allow their presbyters, without special direction, to perform it. Whence, I conclude, it was a thing esteemed of some weight, and the bishop's character was concerned in it, to use an exact caution in the consecrating of virgins, as St. Ambrose^c words it, that nothing might be done rashly, to the dishonour of the Church. Now, when a virgin had signified her purpose to the bishop, and her desire of the usual consecration, she was wont to come and make a public profession of her resolution in the church; and then the bishop, or presbyter appointed at the altar, put upon her the accustomed habit of sacred virgins, by which they were known and distinguished from all others. The matter is thus represented by St. Ambrose, who, speaking of his sister, Marcellina, who was consecrated at Rome by Liberius, says, "that on Christmas-day^d, in St. Peter's Church, she signified the profession of virginity, by the change of her habit, Liberius making an exhortation or discourse of her, suitable to the occasion, containing the duty of virgins," which the reader may find there recorded. This change of habit is frequently^e mentioned in the ancient Councils; and the civil law also takes notice of it, forbidding^f all mimics and lewd women the public use of such habit as was worn by virgins consecrated to God: which implies plainly, that such virgins were known by some particular habit peculiar to themselves. One part of this was

^c Ambros. de Virgin. lib. iii. (p. 124, edit. Basil. 1567.) Neque ego abnuo, sacerdotalis esse cautionis debere, ut non temere puella veletur.

^d Ibid. lib. iii. ineunte. Vid. etiam Ambros. ad Virginem Lapsam, c. v. tot.

^e Conc. Carth. IV. c. xii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1200.) Sanctimonialis virgo, quum ad consecrationem suo episcopo offertur, in talibus vestibus applicetur, qualibus semper usura est, professioni et sanctimonie aptis.—Ibid. can. civ. Si quæ viduæ, quantumlibet adhuc in minoribus annis positæ, et matura ætate a viro relictæ, se devoverunt Domino, et veste laicali abjecta, sub testimonio episcopi et ecclesie religioso habitu apparuerint, etc.—Conc. Arausic. I. c. xxvii. (tom. iii. Conc. p. 1451.) Viduitatis servandæ professionem, coram episcopo in secretario habitam, imposita ab episcopo veste viduali indicandam.

^f Lex Arcadii in Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. iv. de Episc. Audient. leg. iv. Mimæ et quæ ludibrio corporis sui quæstum faciunt, publice habitu earum virginum, quæ Deo dicatæ sunt, non utantur.—Vid. Cod. Theod. lib. xv. tit. vii. lege xii.

a veil, called the *sacrum velamen*; whence the phrase, *velare virginem*, 'to veil a virgin,' is the same as consecrating her to God, in some ancient writers, though I must note, that Tertullian's book, *De Velandis Virginibus*, is not so to be understood; for he writes not of devoted virgins, but of all virgins in general, persuading them to use the grave habit of matrons, that is, to go veiled, according to the apostle's direction. Whence, we must say, that the veil of consecrated virgins had some note of distinction from the common veil of others; and thereupon the name of sacred affixed to it, because it was a token or indication of their resolution. Optatus particularly observes this of another part of their habit, which he calls their purple and golden mitre. He says, "They did not use it for any sacrament or mystery, but only as a badge of distinction, and to signify to whose service they belonged, that no one might pretend to ravish, or so much as court them." And, therefore, he blames^b the Donatists for their blind and mad zeal in making the virgins of Christ do penance, and cast away their veils, and change their mitres, which were only innocent tokens of their profession. Eusebius takes notice of the same habit, under the name of coronet; for, speaking of one Ennathas, a virgin of Scythopolis, in Palestine, who suffered martyrdom in the Diocletian persecution, he says of her¹,

§ Innoc. Ep. ii. ad Victric. c. xiii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1252.) Hæc vero quæ necdum sacro velamine tectæ, tamen in proposito virginali semper manere promiserant, licet velatæ non sint, si forte nupserint, his agenda aliquanto tempore pœnitentia est, quia sponsio earum a Deo tenebatur.—Gelas. Epist. ix. ad Episc. Lucanæ, c. xii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1191.) Devotis Deo virginibus, nisi aut in Epiphaniarum die, aut in Albis Paschalibus, aut in apostolorum natalitiis, sacrum minime velamen imponant, etc.

^b Optat. contr. Parmen. lib. vi. (Oberthür, 1789. vol. i. p. 102.) (p. 115, edit. Paris. 1679.) Jam illud quam stultum, quam vanum est, quod ad voluntatem, et quasi ad dignitatem vestram revocare voluistis, ut virgines Dei agere pœnitentiam discerent: ut jam dudum professæ, signa voluntatis capitibus, postea vobis jubentibus immutarent: ut mitrellas aureas [*mitellas alias*] projicerent, et alias acciperent. . . (p. 103.) Nudastis denuo capita jam velata: de quibus professionis detraxistis indicia, quæ contra raptores aut petitores videntur inventa. In mitrella [*mitella*] indicium est voluntatis, non castitatis auxilium: ut rem jam Deo devotam, nec qui sponsabat, perseveret petere, aut ne raptor audeat violare: signum est ergo, non sacramentum, virginitatis.

¹ Euseb. de Martyr. Palest. c. ix. (Aug. Taur. p. 373. A 13.) Παρθένιας στήματι καὶ αὐτὴ κεκοσμημένη.

that she was adorned with the coronet of virginity; alluding to what Optatus calls their golden riband, or little mitre; unless he speaks metaphorically, and means the crown of virginity, added to the crown of martyrdom, in another world: of both which great things are often said in the ancient writers. Albaspin^k thinks Optatus speaks of another custom, which, he says, is still in use in the consecration of virgins, which is, untying the hair, as was customary in secular marriages, in token of the woman's subjection to her husband. But Optatus's words^l seem only to be a bare allusion to that secular custom; for the marriage of virgins to Christ was only figurative, or, as he words it, spiritual and heavenly; and, consequently, the custom referred to must be understood to be of the same nature, that is, not real and proper, but figurative only; which seems to be most agreeable to the mind of the author. Baronius^m and Habertusⁿ express themselves patrons of another custom, which began to creep in among some, but was never allowed or approved by the Catholic Church. Eustathius, the heretic, was for having all virgins shorn or shaven at their consecration; but the Council of Gangra immediately rose up against him, and anathematized the practice, passing a decree in these words, "If any^o woman, under pretence of

^k Albaspin. not. in Optat. lib. vi. p. 159. (p. 116, edit. cit.) ad verba: 'solvere crinem.' Sed et hodie in virginibus consecrandis hic ritus observatur.

^l Optat. lib. vi. p. 103, (116.) Spiritale nubendi hoc genus est, in nuptias sponsi jam venerant voluntate et professione sua: et ut secularibus nuptiis se renunciassent monstrarent, et junctas spiritali sponso solverant crinem, jam celestes celebraverant nuptias. Quid est, quod eas iterum crines solvere coegistis?

^m Baron. an. 57. n. xcii. (Venet. vol. i. p. 385.) In aliquibus ecclesiis, præsertim Syriæ et Ægypti, tam virgo quam vidua, quæ se Deo novissent et sæculum calcassent (inquit Hieronymus) crinem monasteriorum matribus offerunt desecandum, non intecto postea, contra Apostoli voluntatem, incessuræ capite, sed ligato pariter et velato . . . nec id quidem, ut Vestales imitentur Romanorum virgines, quæ incisos sibi capillos ad arborem loton suspendebant: sed aliis ex causis, quas Hieronymus recitat: immo et propter mysterium, etc.

ⁿ Habert. Archierat. p. 598. Tondentur et feminae, etsi olim tonderi nefas. Concilium Gangrense, can. xvii. Εἰ τις γυναικῶν, etc. (vid. not. seq.) Sed hic canon de feminis in sæculo et conjugio vitam agentibus intelligitur, non vero de iis, qui τὴν μοναδικὴν ἀπόκασιν, tonsuram monasticam elegerunt.

^o Conc. Gangr. c. xvii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 424.) Εἰ τις γυναικῶν διὰ τὴν νομιζομένην ἀσκησιν ἀποκείροιτο τὰς κόμας, ἃς ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς εἰς ὑπό-

an ascetic life, cut off her hair, which God hath given her for a memorial of subjection, let her be anathema, as one that disannuls the decree of subjection." Habertus and Baronius pretend that this decree was made only against married women and seculars, and not such as betook themselves to a monastic life; but the words of the canon are positively against such as did it upon pretence that they were entered upon an ascetic, or, as some call it, a religious life; and Valesius^p ingenuously confesses this to be the true sense of the canon, proving hence, that anciently the sacred virgins were not shaven; as neither were they in France, to the time of Carolus Calvus, as he shows from other canons, citing Hugo Menardus^q for the

μνησιν τῆς ὑποταγῆς, ὡς ἀναλύουσα τὸ πρόσταγμα τῆς ὑποταγῆς, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

^p Vales. Not. in Sozomen. lib. v. c. x. (Aug. Taur. 1746. p. 178.) Porro sciendum est, sacras virgines olim intonsas fuisse, ut constat ex Concilio Gangrensi. Idque etiam in Gallia usitatum fuit temporibus Caroli Calvi, ut docet canon vii. Concilii in Verno Palatio. Plura vide apud Hugonem Menardum in Notis ad Sacramentarium Gregorii Magni.

^q Menard. in Sacram. Gregor. (tom. iii. Gregor. Magni, p. 442. Paris. 1705.) Tandem virginum crines sparsi et soluti erant instar sponsarum, ut manifestum est ex eodem Optato, lib. vi. 'Spiritali sponso solverant crinem, jam coelestes celebraverant nuptias;' et infra: 'Invenistis igitur hujusmodi virgines, quæ jam spiritaliter nupserant; quasi secundas coëgistis ad nuptias, ut crines iterum solverent, imperastis.' Nam schismatici catholicas virgines ad suas partes aptas vel allectas, pœnitentia prius imposita, iterum consecrabant. Ex hoc Optati loco manifestum est, olim virgines non fuisse tonsas, quod etiam confirmatur ex S. Ambrosio, cap. viii. lib. ad Virginem Lapsam. 'Amputentur crines, qui per vanam gloriam occasionem luxuriæ præstiterunt.' Ibi enim injungit virgini lapsæ pœnitentiam acturæ de peccato crinium tonsionem, juxta priscum morem, quem etiam observare est ex lib. vi. Optati, quod signum est eam ante lapsum intonsam fuisse: et ex S. Hieronymo Epist. ad Sabinianum, ubi refert de quadam virgine Romæ professa, quæ cum Bethlechem venisset, ut morem gentis servaret, tonsa est, crinemque amatori Sabiniano dedit. Et ex Concilio Gangrensi, can. xvii. *Εἰ τις γυναῖκα διὰ τὴν νομιζομένην ἀσκησιν ἀποκείροιο τὰς κόμας, etc. ἀνάθεμα ἔστω*: id est, Si qua mulier propter eam quæ existimatur exercitatio, id est, ob vitam monachicam, tondeat comam, etc. excommunicetur. At contrarius usus fuit in partibus Ægypti et Syriæ; siquidem illic olim sanctimoniales, seu virgines, seu viduæ, tondebantur, ut docet S. Hieronymus epist. citata: 'Moris est in Ægypti et Syriæ monasteriis, ut tam virgo, quam vidua, quæ se Deo voverint, et sæculo renunciantes, omnes delicias sæculi conculcarint, crinem monasteriorum matribus offerant desecandum.' Refertque causam, ne a pediculis opprimantur, quia balnea non adeunt, nec oleo unguntur. Quod hodie apud nos observatur, etiam apud Græcos, ut scribit Theodorus Balsamon in canonem citatum.

same opinion. But the Council of Gangra was not of sufficient force to repress this custom in all places; for, in St. Jerome's time, it prevailed in some monasteries of Syria and Egypt, though upon another principle, of cleanliness, not religion, as appears^r from his Epistle against Sabinian, the deacon; yet it did not prevail every where in Egypt in the days of Athanasius; for Sozomen^s, giving an account of the barbarous usage which the holy virgins met with from the heathen at Heliopolis, says, they added this indignity, above all, that they shaved them also: which plainly implies that it was not then any approved custom of the Church. Nor did it ever prevail by any law; for Theodosius the Great added a civil sanction^t, to confirm the ecclesiastical decree made against it, commanding all women, that, under pretence of their profession, cut off their hair, to be cast out of the Church, and not to be allowed to partake of the holy mysteries, or make their supplications at the altar; and further laid the penalty, both of deposition and excommunication, upon any bishop that should admit such women to communion. From all which it manifestly appears that the pretended tonsure of virgins and widows was anciently no allowed custom of the Church, but rather an abuse, which both the civil and ecclesiastical laws endeavoured to correct and exterminate, however it came to prevail in the contrary practice of later ages. The *Ordo Romanus* has also a long form of prayer, and the ceremony of a ring and bracelet at their consecration; but the ancient liturgies having nothing of this, their silence seems to be an argument against the antiquity of them. And, lest any one should think the virgins

^r Hieron. Ep. xlviii. ad Sabinian. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 1089. C 6.) *Moris est in Ægypti et Syriæ monasteriis, ut tam virgo quam vidua, quæ se Deo voverint, et sæculo renunciantes, omnes delicias sæculi conculcarint, crinem monasteriorum Matribus offerant desecandum, etc.*

^s Sozom. lib. v. c. x. (p. 178. C.) *Ἐμπαροινήσαντες δὲ πρότερον ᾧ ἐδόκει, τὸ τελευταῖον ἀνέκειρον αὐτάς.*

^t Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. leg. xxvii. *Feminæ quæ crinem suum, contra divinas humanasque leges, instinctu persuasæ professionis, absciderint, ab ecclesiæ foribus arceantur. Non illis fas sit sacra adire mysteria, neque ullis supplicationibus mereantur veneranda omnibus altaria frequentare. Adeo quidem, ut episcopus, tonso capite feminam si introire permiserit, dejectus loco etiam ipse cum hujusmodi contuberniis arceatur.*

were ordained to some special office in the Church, as the deaconesses were, it is particularly remarked by the author of the Constitutions^u, that their consecration was not an ordination, and, therefore, imposition of hands, for aught that I can find, was not any ancient ceremony belonging to it. I must note further, that, as the society of virgins was of great esteem in the Church, so they had some particular honours paid to them.

SECT. VII.—*Of some Privileges bestowed on them.*

Virgins and widows were commonly excused capitation-money, together with the clergy^w, by the imperial laws of Valentinian and others; their persons were sacred, and severe laws were made against any that should presume to offer the least violence to them. Banishment, and proscription, and death, were the ordinary punishments^x of such offenders. Constantine paid them a particular respect, by charging his own coffers and exchequer with their maintenance; and his mother, Helena^y, was used to entertain them herself, and wait upon them at her own table. The Church gave them also a share in her own revenues, and assigned them, by way of respect, a particular place or apartment in the house of God, whither, as St. Ambrose says^z, the most noble and

^u Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. xxiv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 491.) Παρθένος οὐ χειροτονεῖται· ἐπιταγήν γὰρ Κυρίου οὐκ ἔχομεν.

^w Cod. Theod. lib. xiii. tit. x. de Censu, leg. iv. In virginitate perpetua viventes et eam viduam, de qua ipsa maturitas pollicetur ætatis, nulli jam esse nupturam, a plebeiæ capitationis injuria vindicandas esse, decernimus.—Leg. vi. Nulla vidua . . . exactionem plebis agnoscat. Simili autem devotione habeantur immunes, et si quæ se sacræ legis obsequio perpetuo dedicaverunt.

^x Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xxv. de Raptu Sanctimonialium, leg. ii. Si quis non dicam rapere, sed vel attentare matrimonii jungendi causa, sacratas virgines, vel invitas, ausus fuerit, capitali sententia ferietur.—Leg. iii. Si quis dicatam Deo virginem, prodigus sui, raptor ambierit, publicatis bonis deportatione plectatur.

^y Socrat. lib. i. c. xvii. (Aug. Taur. 1746. p. 41. C.) Τὰς παρθένους τὰς ἀναγεγραμμένας ἐν τῷ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν κανόνι, ἐπὶ ἐστίασιν προτρεπομένη, δι' ἑαυτῆς λειτουργοῦσα, τὰ ὅσα ταῖς τραπέζαις προσέφερε.

^z Ambros. ad Virgin. Lapsam, c. vi. (Paris. 1836. vol. iii. p. 326.) Nonne vel illum locum tabulis separatum, in quo in ecclesia stabas, recordari debuisti, ad quem religiosæ matronæ et nobiles certatim currebant, tua oscula petentes, quasi sanctioris et dignioris? [quæ sanctiores et digniores te erant!]

religious matrons were used to resort, with some earnestness, to receive their salutations and embraces. But of this I shall have occasion to discourse further in the next Book, when I come to treat of churches, and the distinct places of every order in them.

SECT. VIII.—*Of the Name ΝΟΙΣ and Nonnæ, and its Signification.*

I have but one thing more to observe, which relates to an ancient name of these virgins, νοις and nonnæ, whence, I presume, comes our English name, nun. *Moniales*, and *ascetriæ*, and *sanctimoniales*, are common names for them in ancient writers. St. Jerome once uses the name, nonnæ, and Palladius, of Meursius's edition^a, νοις, but in Fronto-Ducæus's edition it is γραιῦς, "an old woman." Hospinian^b says it is an Egyptian name, and signifies a virgin. But St. Jerome^c seems to extend the signification a little further, to denote indifferently widows professing chastity after a first marriage, as well as virgins; for he particularly applies it to women living in widowhood after their first husband's decease. The names of *agapetæ* and *sorores* I pass over, as being rather names of reproach, and deriving their original from a scandalous abuse and unwarrantable practice of some vain and indiscreet men in the Church, of which I have given a full account^d in another place.

^a Pallad. Hist. Lausiac. c. xlvi. al. lxxxvi.

^b Hospin. de Monach. lib. i. c. i. p. 3. (p. 5, edit. Genev. 1669.) Exstat apud Hieronymum 'Nonnæ' vocabulum, quo id etiam genus hominum insignitur, in epistola ad Eustochium virginem: Maritorum expertæ dominatum, etc. Apparet autem hoc verbum ab Ægyptiis in vulgi sermonem venisse. Solent enim aliquoties res ejus gentis sortiri vocabula, in qua præcipue fuerint, aut inde natæ sint. Ægyptus autem præter ceteras provincias monachorum gregibus abundavit ab initio et Hieronymi adhuc ætate. Quorum lingua, puto, monachos et sanctos nonnos fuisse vocatos: monachas et virgines nonnas.

^c Hieron. Ep. xxii. ad Eustoch. c. vi. (Bened. folio, vol. i. p. 98. D 3.) Illæ interim, quæ Sacerdotes suo viderint indigere præsidio, . . . quia maritorum expertæ dominatum, viduitatis præferunt libertatem, castæ vocantur et Nonnæ, et post cœnam dubiam, Apostolos somniant.

^d Book vi. chap. ii. sect. xiii.

SECT. IX.—*Some particular Observations relating to the Widows of the Church.*

Concerning the widows of the Church we have not many things further to be observed distinctly, they being generally under the same laws and rules as the ecclesiastical virgins were, as to what concerned their habit, consecration, profession, maintenance, and the like; the sum of which is thus expressed in one of the canons* of the first Council of Orange: “That a widow, having made profession of continuing in her widowhood before the bishop in the church, and having her widow’s garment put on by the presbyter, ought never after to violate her promise.” That which was particular in their case was, 1. That they must be widows as had, a long time ago, lost their husbands, and lived many years a chaste, unblameable life, ruling their own houses well, as the author† of the Constitutions expresses himself, almost in the words of the apostle; but such widows as had but lately buried their husbands were not to be trusted, for fear their passions should, one time or other, prove too strong for their promise. 2. It may hence be reasonably concluded that the younger widows were generally refused by the Church, and not allowed to make any solemn profession before they were forty or fifty years old, though this term be nowhere precisely fixed; for since, as I have shown before, virgins, in some ages, were not allowed to make their profession before forty, it is probable the same term was generally observed in the case of widows; or, perhaps, sixty required, according to the rule of the apostle. The widows that were chosen to be deaconesses in the Church were to be fifty or sixty years of age, as I have shown before‡, in speaking of their order; who, though they were not the widows

* Conc. Arausican. can. xxvii. Viduitatis servandæ professionem, coram episcopo in secretario habitam, imposita a presbytero veste viduali, non esse violandam [indicandam]. See Labbe, vol. iii. p. 1451.

† Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. xxv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 491.) Εἰ μὲν ἐκ πολλοῦ ἀπέβαλε τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ σωφρόνως καὶ ἀκαταγνώστως ἔζησε, καὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἀρίστα ἐπεμελήθη, ὥς Ἰουδιθ καὶ Ἄννα αἱ σεμνόταται, κατατασσέσθω εἰς τὸ χηρικόν· εἰ δὲ νεωστὶ ἀπέβαλε τὸν ὁμόζυγον, μὴ πιστευσέσθω· ἀλλὰ χρόνῳ νιότης κρινέσθω· τὰ γὰρ πάθη ἔσθ’ ὅτε δὲ συγγηγῆ ἀνθρώποις, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ κρείττονος χαλινοῦ εἰργόμεθα.

‡ Book ii. c. xxii. sect. iv.

we are now speaking of, yet being generally chosen out of them, and thence termed widows also, it may be presumed there was no great difference in point of age betwixt them. 3. Widows were to be such only as had been the wives of one man; that is, only once married, as the ancients generally understand it: though Theodoret gives a different sense of the words, only excluding such as had scandalously married a second time, after having divorced themselves from a former husband, which seems to be the true sense and meaning of the apostle, as learned men^h now understand it. 4. There was some difference between widows and virgins in the ceremony of their consecration, at least in the Church of Rome, in the time of Gelasius; for, in one of his Canonical Epistlesⁱ, where he speaks of veiling of virgins on certain holidays, and not at other times, except in case of sickness, he peremptorily forbids the veiling of widows at any time, as contrary to custom and law, for no canon had prescribed it. Which seems to argue that this particular ceremony was not used in their consecration, though it came into use by the time that the *Ordo Romanus* was written; for there the form^k of consecrating widows prescribes that they should be veiled by the presbyter; or else take a veil, consecrated by the bishop, from the altar, and veil themselves. But it is no wonder to find such a change as this in the Roman Church: a diligent enquirer may find many other that are more considerable; which I shall no further pursue, but here put an end to the discourse concerning the ascetics of the ancient Church.

^h See Book ii. chap. xxii. sect. v.

ⁱ Gelas. Ep. ix. ad Episc. Lucan. c. xii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1191.) *Devotis Deo virginibus, nisi aut in Epiphaniarum die, aut in Albis Paschalibus, aut in Apostolorum Natalitiis, sacrum minime velamen imponant, nisi forsitan gravi languore correptis, ne sine hoc munere de sæculo exeant, implorantibus non negetur.* —Cap. xliii. *Viduas autem velare pontificum nullus attentet, quod nec auctoritas divina delegat, nec canonum forma præstituit.*

^k *Ordo Roman.* de Consecr. Viduæ, p. 167. *Vidua si seipsam vult Deo dare, debet et a presbytero velari, vel etiam consecratum ab episcopo velamen de altari accipere, et ipsa sibi, non episcopus, illud debet imponere.*

BOOK VIII.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT CHURCHES, AND THEIR
SEVERAL PARTS, UTENSILS, CONSECRATIONS,
IMMUNITIES, &c.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE SEVERAL NAMES AND FIRST ORIGINAL OF CHURCHES
AMONG CHRISTIANS.

SECT. I.—*Of the Name Ecclesia, and Ἐκκλησιαστήριον.*

HAVING hitherto given an account of the persons, as well clergy as laity, that made up the great body of the Christian Church, I now proceed to speak of churches in another sense; first, as taken from the material buildings, or places of assembly, set apart for divine worship; and, secondly, as taken for certain divisions, or districts of dioceses, provinces, parishes, &c. into which the Church Catholic was divided. In speaking of the first, it will be proper to begin with their names, and make a little inquiry into the first original of churches among Christians. One of the most common names of churches, as taken for the structures or buildings, is that of *ecclesia*; which yet, among the ancient Greek writers, often signifies the assembly or convocation of people met together, either upon sacred or civil affairs; and so it is sometimes used in Scripture, Acts xix. 40; Mat. xviii. 17. And so Isidore, of Pelusium, uses it likewise, distinguishing thus between *ἐκκλησιαστήριον* and *ἐκκλησία*: “The *ἐκκλησιαστήριον*^a is the temple or building, made of wood and stone; but the *ἐκκλησία* is the congrega-

^a Isidor. Pelusiot. lib. ii. ep. ccxlv. (Paris. 1638. p. 236. C 2.) Ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἐκκλησία καὶ ἄλλο ἐκκλησιαστήριον· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀμώμων ψυχῶν συνέστηκε· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ λίθων καὶ ξύλων οἰκοδομεῖται.

tion of souls or people that meet therein ;” and in this sense, as St. Cyril^b observes, “ there is a sort of pheronymy in the name ἐκκλησία, which is so called ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκκαλεῖν, because it is a convocation of men solemnly called together.” But, though this be a very ancient and common signification, yet it not less usually occurs in the other sense, denoting the place or building itself^c, where the congregation met together ; and in this acception it is commonly opposed both to the synagogues of the Jews and the temples of the Gentiles, as appears from that noted passage in the Epistle of Aurelian^d, the heathen emperor, where he chides the senate for demurring about the opening of the Sibylline books, as if they had been upon a debate in a Christian church, and not in the temple of all the gods. And, from another passage in St. Ambrose^e, where, pleading with Theodosius in behalf of a Christian bishop, who had caused a Jewish synagogue to be set on fire, he asks him “ whether it was fitting that Christians should be so severely animadverted on for burning a synagogue, when Jews and heathens had been spared, who had made havoc of the churches ?”

SECT. II.—*Of the Names Dominicum and Κυριακὸν (whence come Kyrk and Church), and Domus Columbæ.*

Another common name among the Latins is *dominicum*, or *domus Dei*, ‘ God’s house,’ which answers to the Greek κυριακὸν, whence, with a little variation, we have the Saxon name ‘ kyrik’ or ‘ kyrch,’ and the Scotch and English ‘ kirk’ and ‘ church ;’ which are all words of the same import, denoting a place set apart for the use and service of God. The name *dominicum* is

^b Cyrill. Catech. xviii. n. xxiv. (Benedict. 1763. p. 296. C 2.) Ἐκκλησία δὲ καλεῖται φερωνύμως, διὰ τὸ πάντας ἐκκαλεῖσθαι καὶ ὁμοῦ συνάγειν.

^c Suic. Thesaur. Eccles. p. 1049. Ἐκκλησία dicitur ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκκαλεῖν, ‘ ab evocando,’ etc.

^d Apud Vopiscum Vit. Aurelian. Miror vos, patres sancti, tamdiu de aperendis Sibyllinis dubitasse libris ; perinde quasi in Christianorum ecclesia, non in templo deorum omnium, tractaretis.

^e Ambros. Ep. xxix. ad Theodos. (ep. xvii. p. 105. B. C. tom. v. opp. edit. Colon. 1616.) Synagoga incensa est, perfidiæ locus . . Ecclesia non vindicata est ; vindicabitur synagoga ?

at least as old as Cyprian; but he applies it not only to the church, but to the Lord's Supper^f, and perhaps the Lord's Day. For, as the learned editor^g and others^h have observed, the word *dominicum* signifies three things in ancient writers: 1. The Lord's Day; 2. The Lord's Supper; 3. The Lord's House. And Cyprian's words may be construed to either sense, for he thus addresses himself to a rich matron: "Do you think you rightly celebrate the *dominicum*, the Lord's Day, or the Lord's Supper, who have no regard to the *corban*; who come into the Lord's house without any sacrifice, and eat part of the sacrifice which the poor have offered?" The same name occurs frequently in other Latin writers; as in Ruffin, who brings in the bishop who converted the philosopher in the Council of Nice, thus addressing himself to his new convert: "Arise, and followⁱ me to the *dominicum*, and there receive the seal of your faith, viz. baptism in the church." And St. Jerome^k tells us, that the famous church of Antioch, which was begun by Constantine, and finished and dedicated by Constantius, had the name of *dominicum aureum*, 'the golden dome,' for its richness and beauty. The Greek name, *κυριακόν*, is frequently to be met with in the Councils of Ancyra^l, and

^f Cypr. de Opere et Eleemos. p. 203. (Bened. p. 242.) Locuples et dives es: et dominicum celebrare te credis, quæ corban [corbonam] omnino non respicis? quæ in dominicum sine sacrificio venis; quæ partem de sacrificio, quod pauper obtulit, sumis?

^g Fell. in loc. Observandum venit, 'Dominici' voce tria significari apud veteres: 1. Diem ipsam; ita habetur Apoc. i. 9, et Ignat. Ep. ad Trallianos. 2. Ecclesiam; ita Conc. Neocæs. c. v. jubet catechumenum ingredientem εἰς τὸ κυριακόν, in loco catechumenorum subsistere. Et Hieronymus in Chronico sic voce 'dominici' utitur. Et in vernaculis nostris linguis, nostratium 'church,' et Germanorum 'dohm,' ex hoc fonte liquido deducuntur. 3. Ponitur pro mysteriis loco ac tempore prædictis celebrari solitis; ita κυριακὸν τελεῖν, est sacris Christianis operari. Et fortasse huc facit, quod hic dicitur, 'dominicum celebrare te credis?'

^h Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. i. c. iii. n. ii. pp. 14, 15.

ⁱ Ruffin. Hist. lib. i. c. iii. Si hæc ita esse credis, surge et sequere me ad dominicum, et hujus fidei signaculum suscipe.

^k Hieronym. Chron. Olymp. cclxxvi. an. 3. In Antiochia dominicum, quod appellatur 'aureum,' ædificari cœptum.

^l Conc. Ancyr. c. xv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1461.) Περὶ τῶν διαφερόντων τῷ κυριακῷ, ὅσα ἐπισκόπου μὴ ὄντος πρεσβύτεροι ἐπώλησαν, ἀναβαλεῖσθαι τὸ κυριακόν.

Neocæsarea^m, and Laodiceaⁿ; and Eusebius, who says^o, “The persecuting Emperor Maximinus restored the Christians their churches, under that appellation, in his edicts.” And Constantine, having built several churches, gave them all the name of *κυριακὰ*, as being dedicated, not to the honour^p of any man, but Him who is lord of the universe. This is a plain account of the name; but whether we may hence conclude, with a learned man^q, that the Greeks, and not the Latins, were the first planters of Christianity in Britain, because of the near affinity between the names *κυριακὸν* and ‘kyrk,’ is what, I think, not so plain; but I leave it to every reader’s judgment to determine.

Tertullian once uses the name of *domus columbæ*, ‘the house of a dove,’ for a church. For, writing against the Valentinian heretics, who affected secresy in their doctrines, he compares them to the Eleusinian mysteries, whose temple was so guarded with doors and curtains, that a man must be five years a candidate before he could be admitted to the *adytum* of the deity, or ‘secrets of the sanctuary;’ “Whereas,” says he, “the house of our dove^r is plain and simple, delights in high and

^m Conc. Neocæs. c. v. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1481.) *Κατηχούμενος ἐὰν εἰσερχόμενος εἰς κυριακὸν, κ. τ. λ.*

ⁿ Conc. Laodic. c. xxviii. (ibid. p. 1501.) “Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν τοῖς κυριακοῖς, ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, τὰς λεγομένας ἀγάπας ποιεῖν, κ. τ. λ.

^o Euseb. lib. ix. c. x. (Aug. Taur. 1746. p. 404. B 7.) *Καὶ τὰ κυριακὰ δὲ τὰ οἰκεία ὅπως κατασκευάζουεν, συγχωρεῖται.*

^p Euseb. de Laud. Constant. c. xvii. (p. 704. C 4.) *Κατὰ πόλεις τε καὶ κώμας, χώρας τε πάσας καὶ τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐρήμους, ἱερὰ καὶ τεμένη ἐνὶ τῷ πάντων βασιλεῖ Θεῷ, τῷ δὴ καὶ τῶν ὅλων δεσπότη, καθιερωσθαι· ἐνθεν, καὶ τῆς τοῦ δεσπότη προσηγορίας ἡξίωται τὰ καθιερωμένα· οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τυχόντα τῆς ἐπικλήσεως, ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ τῶν ὅλων Κυρίου· παρὰ καὶ κυριακῶν ἡξίωνται τῶν ἐπωνυμιῶν.*

^q Bevereg, Not. in can. xv. Concilii Ancy. p. 178. Hanc saltem vocem (*κυριακὸν*) ut ecclesiam in genere significantem alii Germani a Græcis mutuati sunt, ut docet Walafridus Strabo de Rebus Eccles. c. vii. Sic etiam antiqui Saxones ecclesiam quamlibet ‘kyrik’ vocarunt. Unde in Sootia et septemtrionalibus Angliæ partibus ‘kyrk’ nobis vulgo, sed magis corrupto nomine ‘church,’ duplici adspiratione nuncupatur. Quum autem hæc communis fuerit majoribus nostris ecclesiæ cujuslibet templive denominatio, veri nobis simillimum videtur, prima Christianæ religionis semina a Græcis hic dispersa fuisse. Neque enim existimandum est, quod Latini Græcum nomen ecclesiis imponerent.

^r Tertul. contra Valentin. c. iii. (Paris. 1675. p. 251.) *Nostre columbæ etiam domus simplex, in editis semper et apertis et ad lucem. Amat figura*

open places, affects the light, loves the figure of the Holy Ghost (that is, fire and light, as, I think, Junius rightly interprets it), and the orient, or morning sun, which is the figure of Christ." The house of the dove seems here to be the same as the house of Christ, who is pointed out by the dove, as Tertullian words it in the same place, *Christum columba demonstrare solita est*; or else, as Mr. Mede* explains it, we may take it for the house of the dove-like religion, or the dove-like disciples of Christ; for every way it will be the name of a Church, as Tertullian plainly intended it.

SECT. III.—*Of the Distinction between Domus Dei, Domus Divina, and Domus Ecclesiæ.*

There are two other names of near affinity with the former, which some readers may be apt to mistake for names of churches, when they are not always so; and therefore I cannot let them pass in this place without taking notice of them. The one is *domus divina*, and the other *domus ecclesiæ*. The first of which is of frequent use in the civil law, where it signifies not a church, but the emperor's palace, or his house and family, according to the style of those times, when every thing belonging to them had the name of divine; as *constitutiones divinæ, divale præceptum, lex divalis, literæ sacræ, oraculum cæleste*, and such other terms, do not signify (as one would hastily imagine) the sacred inspired writings, or the laws and oracles of God, but the edicts and constitutions of the emperors, who themselves were called *divi*, and thence all things relating to them styled divine. Agreeably to this style, when the Emperor Theodosius Junior decrees† that "no one, no, not of his own divine house, should receive corn in specie out of the public storehouses, before it was made into bread by the public bakers," it is plain, by 'his own divine house,' he

Spiritus Sancti orientem, Christi figuram, etc. [Bingham seems to have quoted incorrectly.]

* Mede's Discourse of Churches, p. 329.

† Cod. Theod. lib. xiv. tit. xvi. de Frumento Urbis Constantinop. leg. ii. Nulli, ne divinæ quidem domui nostræ, frumentum de horreis publicis pro annona penitus præbeat; sed integer canon mancipibus consignetur, annona in pane cocto domibus exhibenda.

does not mean the house of God, the church, but his own family of palatins, as Gothofred rightly explains it. The other name, *domus ecclesiæ*, οἶκος ἐκκλησίας, 'the house of the church,' is used by Eusebius in relating the history of the heretic, Paulus Samosatensis; who, notwithstanding that he was deposed by the Council of Antioch, would not remove out of the house of the church^u, and therefore the fathers appealed to the Emperor Aurelian against him; who determined that that party to whom the bishops of Italy and Rome should write, should have the house delivered up to them; and so Paul was turned out of the church, with great disgrace, by the secular power. The question here is, what Eusebius means by 'the house of the church?' Mr. Mede^w takes it for the church itself, and gives a very probable reason for it; because Eusebius expounds himself when he says, "Paul was turned out of the church." And he uses the same expression in another place, where it can signify nothing but the church, or house of sacred assembly; for, speaking of the persecutor Maximinus^x, he says, "He neither allowed the Christians to hold assemblies, nor build houses of assembly," which evidently refers to the building of churches. But yet, in other places, *domus ecclesiæ* seems to signify no more than 'the bishop's house;' as, in the second Council^y of Toledo, where it is decreed that "such children as were dedicated by their parents in their infancy to a clerical or monastic life, should be educated and instructed in the house of the church, under the bishop's

^u Euseb. lib. vii. c. xxx. (Aug. T. 1746. p. 319. A 5.) Μηδ' αὖτως ἐκστῆναι τοῦ Παύλου τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἴκου θέλοντος, βασιλεὺς ἐντευχθεὶς Αὐρηλιανός, αἰσιώτατα περὶ τοῦ πρακτείου διείληφε· τοῦτοις νέμειν προστατῶν τὸν οἶκον, οἷς ἂν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἐπίσκοποι τοῦ δόγματος ἐπιστέλλοιεν· οὕτω δὴ τα ὁ προδηλωθεὶς ἀνὴρ μετὰ τῆς ἰσχάτης αἰσχύνῃς, ὑπὸ τῆς κοσμικῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξελαύνεται τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

^w Mede's Discourse of Churches, p. 333.

^x Euseb. lib. ix. c. ix. (p. 402. A 2.) Αὐτὸ μόνον τὸ ἀνεπηρέαστον ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέπον φυλάττεσθαι, οὐ μὴν συνόδους ἐπικελεύον ποιῆσθαι, οὐδ' οἴκους ἐκκλησιῶν οἰκοδομεῖν, οὐδ' ἄλλο τι τῶν συνήθων ἡμῖν διαπράττεσθαι.— Lib. viii. c. xiii. Μητε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοὺς οἴκους καθελῶν, κ. τ. λ.

^y Conc. Tolet. II. can. i. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1733.) De his quos voluntas parentum, a primis infantis annis, in clericatus officio vel monachali posuit [manciparit], pariter statuimus observandum, ut . . . in domo ecclesiæ, sub episcopali præsentia, a præposito sibi debeant erudiri.

eye, by the provost or governor that was set over them." This, in other canons, is called *domus sacerdotalis*, 'the bishop's house,' to distinguish it from the church.

SECT. IV.—*Churches called Oratories, or Houses of Prayer.*

But to proceed: as the temple of God, at Jerusalem, is frequently, in Scripture, styled the "house of prayer," so Christian churches, in regard that prayer was one of the principal offices performed in them, were usually termed *προσευκτήρια*, and *οἶκοι εὐκτήριοι*, 'oratories,' or 'houses of prayer;' of which there are innumerable instances in Eusebius^a, Socrates^a, Sozomen^b, and other ancient writers. But in some canons, the name 'oratories' seems to be restrained to private chapels, or places of worship set up for convenience in private families, still depending upon the parochial churches, and differing from them in this, that they were only places of prayer, but not for celebrating the communion; or, if that was at any time allowed there to private families, yet, at least upon the great and solemn festivals, they were to resort for communion to the parish churches. Gratian^c cites a canon of the Council of Orleans, which allows such oratories, but forbids any one to

^a Euseb. lib. x. c. iii. (Aug. Taur. 1746. p. 411.) 'Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις, τὸ πᾶσιν ἐκταῖον ἡμῖν καὶ ποθοῦμενον συνεκροτεῖτο θίαμα, ἡγκαίνιων ἑορταὶ κατὰ πόλεις, καὶ τῶν ἄρτι νεοπαγῶν προσευκτηρίων ἀφιερώσεις.—Id. de Laud. Constant. c. xvii. (p. 704 A 6.) Θεομάχοι τινὲς πρῶην, τῶν αὐτοῦ προσευκτηρίων τὰς οἰκοδομὰς . . . ἐκ βάθρων ἀνορύττοντες καθήρουν.—Id. de Vita Constant. lib. iii. c. xlviii. (p. 544.) Τὴν δὲ γ' ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ πόλιν ἐξόχῳ τιμῇ γεραίρων, εὐκτηρίους πλείοσιν ἐφαιδρυνε.

^a Socrat. lib. i. c. xviii. (p. 42. D 7.) Τοσοῦτος ἦν ὁ τοῦ Βασιλέως περὶ τὸν Χριστιανισμόν πόθος, ὡς καὶ Περσικοῦ μέλλοντος κινεῖσθαι πολέμου, κατασκευάσας σπηνὴν ἐκ ποικίλης ὀθόνης, ἐκκλησίας τύπον ἀποτελοῦσαν, ὥσπερ Μωϋσῆς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ πεποιήκει καὶ ταύτην φέρεσθαι, ἵνα ἔχοι κατὰ τοὺς ἱεροτοάτους τόπους εὐκτήριον ὑπηρεπισμένον.—Cap. xix. Παρεκάλει τόπους καταλαμβάνειν ἰδιάζοντας, ἐπὶ τῷ τὰς Χριστιανικὰς ἐκτελεῖν εὐχὰς καταβραχὺ δὲ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ εὐκτήριον κατεσκεύασε, κ. τ. λ.

^b Sozom. lib. ii. c. v. (p. 49. C.) Πλείσται γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις τηνικαῦτα πρὸς τὴν θρησκίαν ὑπομόλυσαν καὶ αὐτόματοι, βασιλέως μηδὲν ἐπιτάττοντος, τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς ναοὺς καὶ ξόανα καθεῖλον, καὶ εὐκτηρίου οἴκους ψκοδόμησαν.

^c Gratian. de Consecrat. Distinct. i. c. xxxiii. Unicuique fidelium in domo sua oratorium licet habere et ibi orare: missas autem ibi celebrare non licet.

celebrate the eucharist there. The same privilege is granted in one of Justinian's Novels^d, with the same exception. And so, I think, we are to understand that canon of the Council of Trullo^e, which allows the clergy to use the public offices or liturgy in such 'oratories,' provided they did it with the consent and approbation of the bishop of the place; for no mention is made there of administering the sacraments in those places, though the Latin translations put in the word 'baptizing,' which is not in the original^f, and is expressly forbidden in another canon^g of the same Council, requiring all persons to be baptized in the Catholic, that is, public churches. But the Council of Agde^h, in France, allows the eucharist to be administered in private oratories, except upon Easter day, or Christmas, or Epiphany, or Ascension, or Pentecost, or such other of the greater festivals; and upon these too, if they had the bishop's license and permission for it. So that, in those ages, an oratory and a Catholic church seem to have differed, as now a private chapel and a parochial church, though the first ages made no distinction between them.

SECT. V.—*Why called Basilicæ and Ἀνάκτορα.*

Another common name of churches is that of *basilicæ*, which we may English 'palaces of the great King.' This name fre-

^d Justin. Novel. lviii. Εἰ μὲν οἶκους οὕτως ἀπλῶς τινες ἔχειν οἴονται δεῖν ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἱεροῖς, εὐχῆς δὲ καὶ μονῆς χάριν, καὶ οὐδενὸς πραττομένου παντελῶς τῶν ὅσα τῆς ἱερᾶς καθέστηκε λειτουργίας, τοῦτο αὐτοῖς ἐφίμεν.

^e Conc. Trull. c. xxxi. (Labbe, vol. vi. p. 1155.) Τοὺς ἐν εὐκτηρίοις οἴκοις, ἔνδον οἰκίας τυγχάνουσι, λειτουργοῦντας [ἢ βαπτίζοντας] κληρικοὺς, ὑπὸ γνώμης τοῦτο πράττειν τοῦ κατὰ τόπον ἐπισκόπου ὀρίζομεν· ὥστε εἰ τις κληρικὸς μὴ τοῦτο οὕτω παραφυλάττοι, καθαιρεῖσθω.

^f The word βαπτίζοντας is in Labbe's edition.

^g Conc. Trull. c. lviii. al. lix. Μηδαμῶς ἐν εὐκτηρίῳ οἴκῳ, ἔνδον οἰκίας τυγχάνοντι, βαπτισμα ἐπιτελεῖσθω· ἀλλ' οἱ μίλλοντες ἀξιοῦσθαι τοῦ ἀχράντου φωτίσματος ταῖς καθολικαῖς προσερχέσθωσαν ἐκκλησίαις, κάκεισε τῆς δωρεᾶς ταύτης ἀπολαύεωσαν.

^h Conc. Agathen. can. xxi. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1386.) Si quis etiam extra parochias, in quibus legitimus est ordinariusque conventus, oratorium in agro habuerit [habere voluerit], reliquis festivitibus, ut ibi missas teneat, propter fatigationem familiæ, justa ordinatione permittimus: Pascha vero, Natalem Domini, Epiphania, Ascensionem Domini, Pentecostem, et Natalem S. Ioannis Baptistæ, vel si qui maximi dies in festivitibus habentur, non nisi in civitatibus aut in parochiis teneant, etc.

quently occurs in St. Ambrose¹, St. Austin¹, St. Jerome^k, Sidorius Apollinaris¹, and other writers of the fourth and fifth ages; before which time we scarce meet with it in any Christian author. For originally the *basilicæ*, among the Romans, were the public halls or courts of judicature, where the princes or magistrates sat to hear and determine causes; and other buildings of public use, such as state houses, and exchanges for merchants, &c. went by the same name among them. But, upon the conversion of Constantine, many of these were given to the Church, and turned to another use, for Christian assemblies to meet in; as may be collected from that passage in Ausonius^m, where, speaking to the Emperor Gratian, he tells him, “The *basilicæ*, which heretofore were wont to be filled with men of business, were now thronged with votaries praying for his safety;” by which he must needs mean that the Roman halls or courts were turned into Christian churches. And hence, I conceive, the name *basilicæ* came to be a general name for ‘churches’ in after ages; though, I know, Durantus and Bonaⁿ have other reasons besides this for the appellation,

¹ Ambros. Ep. xxxiii. ad Marcellinam de Tradendis Basilicis, (lib. ii. epist. xiv. p. 101. B. edit. Colon.) (Paris. 1836. p. 267.) Nec jam Portiana, hoc est, extramurana basilica petebatur; sed basilica nova, hoc est, intramurana, quæ major est. Convenerunt me primo principes virtutum viri, comites consistoriani, ut et basilicam traderem et procurarem, ne quid populus turbaturum moveret.

^j Aug. de Diversis, Serm. xii. Sermo habitus Carthagini in Basilica Fausti, etc.

^k Hieron. Epist. vii. ad Lætiam. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 685.) (p. 37. B. edit. Francof.) Basilicas martyrum et ecclesias sine matre non adeat.

^l Sidon. lib. v. ep. xvii. (Bibl. V. Patr. vol. x. p. 511. B 13.) Conveneramus ad Sancti Justi sepulcrum, sed tibi infirmitas impedimento, ne tunc adesses: processio fuerat antelucana, solemnitas anniversaria, populus ingens sexu ex utroque, quem capacissima basilica non caperet.—Eusebius, in his Panegyric, (c. ix.) uses the Greek name, ἀνάκτορον: εἶσω δὲ τὸ ἀνάκτορον, εἰς ἀμήχανον ἐπαίρων ὕψος, ἐν οκταέδρῳ μὲν σχήματι κατεποικίλεν.

^m Auson. Gratian. Actio ad Gratian. pro Consulatu, p. 190. Basilica olim negotiis plena, nunc votis pro tua salute susceptis.

ⁿ Durant. de Ritibus Eccles. lib. i. c. i. n. ix. Ideo divina templa, ait Isidorus, (lib. xv. c. iv.) ‘basilicæ’ nominantur, quia ibi regi omnium Deo cultus et sacrificia offerunt.—Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. i. c. xix. n. iv. Ea vox (basilica) ecclesiis Christianorum tributa est, vel propter ædificii magnificentiam: vel quia ibi, ut ait Isidorus, (lib. xv. Origin. cap. iv.) regi omnium Deo cultus et sacrificia offeruntur: vel quia profanæ basilicæ in ecclesias Christi conversæ sunt.

as that it was because churches were places where sacrifice was offered to God, the King of all the earth ; or because they were only the more stately and magnificent churches which had the title ; which is not true in fact, for, ever since it came first into use, it appears to have been the common name of all churches.

SECT. VI.—*When first called Temples.*

The like observation is to be made upon the name ‘temples,’ which, for the three first ages, is scarce ever^o used by any Christian writer for a church, but only for the heathen temples, which were receptacles of idols, and cloisters of their gods ; but when idolatry was destroyed, and statues every where demolished, and temples purged and consecrated into Christian churches, then the writers of the following ages make no scruple to give them the name of temples: as when St. Ambrose^p says, “he could not deliver up the temple of God,” he certainly means ‘the church,’ and not an idol temple. So does, also, Lactantius^q, when he says, “he taught oratory in Bithynia, when the temple of God was destroyed ;” meaning the church of Nicomedia, which was the first that was demolished in the Diocletian persecution. Eusebius, speaking of the churches that were rebuilt after that persecution was over, gives them^r the name of temples ; and, particularly, the church built by Paulinus he calls the temple of Tyre^s. Not to mention other

^o Ignatius (Ep. ad Magnes. n. vii.) once uses the name with some restriction, calling the church ναὸν θεοῦ, the temple of God.

^p Ambros. Ep. xxxiii. ad Marcellin. (vid. not. (i), p. 349.) Respondi, quod erat ordinis, templum Dei tradi a sacerdote non posse.

^q Lactant. lib. v. c. ii. (Oberthür, 1783. vol. i. p. 302.) Ego quum in Bithynia litteras oratorias accitus docerem, contigissetque, ut eodem tempore Dei templum everteretur, etc.

^r Euseb. lib. x. c. ii. (Reading, p. 410, at bottom.) Πάντα τόπον τὸν πρὸ μικροῦ ταῖς τῶν τυράννων δυσσεβείαις ἡρειπωμένον, ὥσπερ ἐκ μακρᾶς καὶ θανατηφόρου λύμης ἀναβιώσκοντα θεωμένοις, νεώς τε αὐθις ἐκ βάθρων εἰς ὕψος ἀπειρον ἐγειρομένους, καὶ πολὺν κρείττονα τὴν ἀγλαίαν τῶν πάλαι πεπολιορημένων ἀπολαμβάνοντας.

^s Ibid. lib. x. c. iv. (p. 412. A.) Οὐδὲν διὰ σπουδῆς ὁ μάλιστα τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸ Φοινίκων ἔθνος διαπρέπων ἐν Τύρῳ νεώς φιλοτιμίως ἐπισκεύαστο.

passages of Chrysostom^t, Theodoret^u, Prudentius^v, St. Hilary^x, St. Austin^y, and a thousand more to the same purpose, which show that they had no aversion to the name temple, when they could safely use it without ambiguity, and not be mistaken to mean the temples of the heathen. But from the name *fanum* they more religiously abstained; and never used it, unless it were by way of contempt, to signify their resentments against some conventicle of heretics, whom they usually put into the same class with heathens. As we may observe in St. Ambrose^z, who, having occasion to speak of a conventicle of the Valentinians, will not vouchsafe it the name of a temple or a church, but a *fanum*; a name always appropriated to the idol temples of the heathens, with whom he parallels the Valentinians, as no better than a pack of idolatrous Gentiles met together; for they worshipped idols and images as the heathen did.

^t Chrysost. Hom. iv. de Verbis Esaiæ. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 120. E 3.) (tom. iii. p. 865.) (p. 752. A. edit. Francof.) Ταῦτα λέγω αἰεὶ καὶ λέγων οὐ παύσομαι· ὅτι ἐγκώμιον τῆς πόλεως τῆς ἡμετέρας, οὐχ ὅτι σύγκλητον ἔχει, καὶ ὑπάτους ἀριθμεῖν ἔχομεν, οὐχ ὅτι ἀνδριάντας πολλοὺς, οὐδ' ὅτι ὠνίων ἀφθονίαν, οὐδ' ὅτι θέσεις ἐπιτηδεύοντα· ἀλλ' ὅτι δῆμον ἔχει φιλήκοον, καὶ ναοὺς Θεοῦ πεπληρωμένους.

^u Theodoret. Histor. lib. i. xxxi.†

^v Prudent. Passio Laurentii, vv. 161-164. (Bibl. V. Patr. vol. viii. p. 438.)

Recenset exin singulos,
Scribens viritim nomina;
Longo et locatos ordine
Adstare pro templo jubet.

Id. Passio Hippolyti, vv. 215, 216. (Bibl. V. Patr. vol. viii. p. 465.)

Stat sed juxta aliud, quod tanta frequentia templum
Tunc adeat, cultu nobile regifico.

^x Hilar. Comment. in Psalm. cxxvi. (Benedict. p. 416. D 2.) Conventus quidem ecclesiarum, sive tum templi, quos ad secretam sacramentorum religionem ædificiorum septa concludunt, consuetudo nostra vel domum Dei solita est nuncupare, vel templum.

^y Augustin. de Civitate Dei, lib. viii. c. xxvii. (Bened. vol. vii. p. 217. B.) (tom. v. opp. p. 492.) Nec tamen nos eisdem Martyribus templa, sacerdotia, sacra et sacrificia constituimus.

^z Ambros. Ep. xxix. (epist. xvii. edit. Colon. p. 105. C. ad Theodosium.) (Paris. 1836. vol. iv. p. 328.) Vindicabitur etiam Valentinianorum fanum incensum! Quid est enim nisi fanum, in quo est conventus gentilium? Licet gentiles duodecim deos appellent, isti triginta et duos æonas colant, quos appellant deos.

SECT. VII.—*Churches sometimes called Synodi, Concilia, Conciliabula, Conventicula.*

There is one general name more for churches, which I must not omit, because the ambiguity of the expression has led some learned men into strange mistakes about it. Constantine, in one of his laws in the Theodosian^a Code, calls the church *Sanctissimum Catholicæ Concilium*; which Alciat, the great lawyer, by mistake, interprets an ‘ecclesiastical synod;’ whereas, indeed, as Gothofred rightly observes, it signifies there the church, as in many other places of the ancient writers. For these words, *concilium*, *synodus*, *conventiculum*, *conciliabulum*, and the like, are words of various acceptation; for, though they commonly signify ecclesiastical synods and councils, yet sometimes they denote other assemblies, and particularly the ordinary assemblies of the Church for divine service; and thence the name was transferred from the assembly, to denote the place of the assembly, or the church, as has been observed before upon the word *ecclesia*. Thus, when St. Jerome commends Nepotian for adorning the *conciliabula martyrum* with flowers and branches, he cannot mean councils of martyrs, but churches, called by the name of martyrs^b. And so, again, when he says, “The persecutors’ rage and barbarity was so exceeding fierce against us, that they proceeded to destroy our *conciliabula*,” it is evident he means the Christian churches^c, as Gaudentius must be understood, in one of his sermons upon the dedication of a church^d, which is called *concilium martyrum*. The church-assembly itself is often called by the same name, *concilium*;

^a Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. leg. iv. Habeat unusquisque licentiam, sanctissimo Catholicæ venerabilique concilio, decedens, bonorum quod optavit, relinquere.

^b Hieron. Ep. iii. Epitaph. Nepotian. (p. 16. G. H. edit. Francof.) (Vallars. vol. i. p. 340. D 4.) Hoc idem possumus et de isto dicere, qui basilicas ecclesiæ et martyrum conciliabula diversis floribus et arborum comis vitiumque pampinis adumbravit; ut quidquid placebat in ecclesia, tam dispositione quam visu, presbyteri laborem et studium testaretur.

^c Hieron. Com. in Zechar. cap. viii. (Vallars. vol. vi. p. 841. D.) In tantam rabiem persecutorum feritas excitata est, ut etiam conciliabula nostra destruerent, etc.

^d Gaudent. Serm. xvii. in Dedicatione Basilicæ Martyrum. (Biblioth. Patr. tom. ii. p. 277, edit. Par. 1589.)

as in the Passion of Cyprian, written by Pontius, his deacon^e, the Christians are commanded by the emperor to leave off their *conciliabula*, or meetings and assemblies in the cemeteries for the worship of God. So the word is used by St. Jerome^f, speaking of the monks meeting in the church for divine service; and by Tertullian^g for any church-assembly, when he says, "The book of Hermas' Pastor was reckoned to be apocryphal by the universal consent of every assembly of the Christian Catholic churches." Now, what the Latins call *concilia*, the Greeks call *σύνοδοι*: and, therefore, it is observable that the style of the imperial edicts, which, in the Passion of Cyprian, forbids Christians *conciliabula facere*, is in Eusebius^h *συνόδους ποιῆσθαι*, which is a prohibition, not of ecclesiastical synods, but of all church-assemblies; for *synodus* and *ecclesia*, as Chrysostomⁱ observes, are words of the very same import and signification; and, therefore, the one may denote a church or church-assembly as well as the other; and because the Latin name, *conventiculum*, in its original notation, signifies no more than 'an assembly,' it is frequently used by ancient writers for a church. As by Lactantius^k, who, speaking of the persecutors in the time of Diocletian, says, "They were eagerly set upon shedding Christian blood; for one of them in Phrygia burned a whole people together with their *conventiculum*, or 'church,' where they were met together:" and Ar-

^e Pontii Pass. Cypr. Jussum est, ut nulla conciliabula faciant, neque cœmeteria ingrediantur.

^f Hieron. Ep. xxii. ad Eustochium, c. xv. (p. 95, edit. Francof.) Post hoc concilium solvitur, et unaquæque decuria cum suo parente pergit ad mensas.

^g Tertul. de Pudicit. c. x. (Paris. 1675. p. 563. A 5.) Cederem tibi, si Scriptura Pastoris . . . non ab omni concilio Ecclesiarum etiam vestrarum inter apocrypha et falsa judicaretur.

^h Euseb. lib. vii. c. xi. (Aug. Taur. p. 293, at bottom.) Οὐδαμῶς δὲ ἐξέσται οὔτε ἡμῖν οὔτε ἄλλοις τισὶν, ἢ συνόδους ποιῆσθαι, ἢ εἰς τὰ καλούμενα κοιμητήρια εἰσεῖναι.—Lib. ix. c. ii. (p. 389.) Πρῶτον μὲν εἰργεῖν ἡμᾶς τῆς ἐν τοῖς κοιμητηρίοις συνόδου διὰ προσφάσεως πευράται.—Ibid. c. ix. Οὐ μὴν συνόδους ἐπικλεῖναι ποιῆσθαι.

ⁱ Chrysost. Hom. in Psalm. cxlix. (tom. iii. p. 632.) (p. 548. E, edit. Francof.) Ἐκκλησία συστήματος καὶ συνόδου ἐστὶν ὄνομα.

^k Lactant. lib. v. c. xi. (Oberthür, vol. i. p. 325.) Aliqui ad occidendum præcipites extiterunt, sicut unus in Phrygia, qui universum populum cum ipso pariter conventiculo concremavit.

nobius¹ expresses himself in the same manner, making a like complaint, "Why did our Bibles deserve to be thrown into the flames? Why did our churches, our *conventicula*, deserve to be so barbarously pulled down?" By which it appears that the name, *conventicula*, was not as yet appropriated to heretical meetings; but when the ancients had occasion to speak of them, they commonly joined the epithet of heretical to them, to distinguish them from the Catholic churches: as may be seen in several laws of Theodosius^m, and Arcadius, and Honorius, in the Theodosian Code.

SECT. VIII.—*Why some Churches called Martyria, Memorix, Apostoleia, and Propheteia.*

All these were general names of churches; but there were some which had particular appellations given them upon reasons which could not extend to all; and it will not be amiss, in our passage, to take notice of them also. Such as were built over the grave of any martyr, or called by his name to preserve the memory of him, had usually the distinguishing title of *martyrium*, or *confessio*, or *memoria*, given them for that particular reason. Thus Eusebiusⁿ observes of Constantine, that "he adorned his new city of Constantinople with many oratories and ample martyries, by which he at once did honour to the memory of the martyrs, and, as it were, consecrated his city to the God of the martyrs;" and from this time, in all Christian writers of the following ages, a martyr is always put to

¹ Arnob. cont. Gent. lib. iv. (Oberthür, p. 161.) Nostra quidem scripta cur ignibus meruerint dari? Cur immaniter conventicula dirui? in quibus summus oratur Deus, etc.—It. Ambrosiaster in Ephes. iv. (Benedict. vol. ii. append. p. 241. D 9.) Ubi omnia loca circumplexa est ecclesia, conventicula constituta sunt, et rectores et cætera officia in ecclesiis ordinata sunt.

^m Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. v. de Hæreticis, leg. x. A conventiculis suis hæreticæ superstitionis turba propulsetur.—It. lib. xvi. tit. iv. leg. iv. Cuncta officia moneantur, tumultuosos se conventiculis abstinere.

ⁿ Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. iii. c. xlviii. (p. 544.) Τὴν δὲ ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ πόλιν ἐξόχῳ τιμῇ γεραίρων, εὐκτηρίους πλείους ἐφαίδρυνε, μαρτυρίους τε μεγίστους καὶ περιφανεστάτους οἴκοις τοῖς μὲν πρὸ τοῦ ἁγίου τοῖς δ' ἐν αὐτῇ τυγχάνουσι δι' ὧν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὰς τῶν μαρτύρων μνήμας ἱτίμα, καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν τῷ τῶν μαρτύρων καθιέρου Θεῷ.

signify such a church. Socrates speaks^o of the martyrdom of Thomas the Apostle at Edessa, and of Peter and Paul at Rome^p, and of the martyrdom of Euphemia^q at Chalcedon, where the body of that martyr lay buried; which was the church where the famous Council of Chalcedon was held: whence, in the Acts of that Council, it is so often styled, *μαρτύριον Εὐφημίας*, the ‘martyrdom of Euphemia.’ And upon the same reason, because our Saviour Christ was the chief sufferer and great martyr of his own religion; therefore, the church which Constantine built at Mount Golgotha, in memory of his passion and resurrection, is usually, by Eusebius^r and others, styled *martyrium Salvatoris*, the ‘martyrdom of our Saviour:’ of which the reader that pleases may find a more ample account given by the learned Valesius, in a particular dissertation^s about it, at the end of Eusebius’s *Ecclesiastical History*. The Latins, instead of *martyrium*, commonly use the name of *memoria martyrum* for such kind of churches; as in that noted passage of St. Austin^t, where he says, “We do not build temples to our martyrs as gods, but only memorials of them, as dead men whose spirits still live with God; nor do we erect altars to them in those memorials, or offer sacrifice thereon to our martyrs: but to the only God, both theirs and ours.” So that when St. Austin, in another place^u, commends Eradius, his

^o Socrat. lib. iv. c. xviii. (p. 197.) ‘Ἐν τῇδε τῇ πόλει Θωμᾶ τοῦ ἀποστόλου μαρτύριον ἔστι λαμπρὸν καὶ περιφανές, συνεχεῖς τε ἐν αὐτῷ συναΐξεις ἐπιτελοῦνται, διὰ τὴν τοῦ τόπου ἁγιότητα.

^p Socrat. lib. iv. c. xxiii. (p. 204. D 3.) ‘Ἀμύνιος οὕτως ἦν ἀπερίεργος, ὥστε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἅμα Ἀθανασίῳ γενόμενος, μηδὲν ἐλίσθαι ἱστορῆσαι τῶν ἔργων τῆς πόλεως μόνον δὲ ἰδεῖν τὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου μαρτύριον.

^q Socrat. lib. vi. c. vi. (p. 266. E.) Γενόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ μαρτυρίῳ, ἔνθα τὸ σῶμα τῆς μάρτυρος Εὐφημίας ἀπέκειτο, κ. τ. λ.

^r Euseb. lib. iv. de Vit. Constant. (Aug. T. 1746. p. 586. A 2.) Καὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις αὐτῷ σὺν πάσῃ φιλοκάλῳ σπουδῇ κατεργασμένου μαρτυρίου προσήκειν τὴν ἀφιέρωσιν ποιήσασθαι, εὖ ἔχειν ἰδοκίμαζε.

^s Valesii Epistola de Anastasi et Martyrio Hierosolymitano.

^t Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. xxii. c. x. (Bened. vol. vii. p. 673. G.) Nos Martyribus nostris non templa sicut diis, sed Memorias sicut hominibus mortuis, quorum apud Deum vivunt spiritus, fabricamus: nec ibi erigimus altaria, in quibus sacrificemus Martyribus, sed uni Deo et Martyrum et nostro.

^u Aug. Hom. l. de Diversis. De opera ejus et expensa pecunia memoriam sancti martyris habemus.

presbyter, for building a memorial of a holy martyr at his own expense, we are to understand not a monument or a sepulchre, but a church; and so the name is used by Optatus^w and several others. But if the person, in memory of whom the church was built, was either a prophet or an apostle, then the church respectively took the name of ἀποστολεῖον or προφητεῖον. As we may see in Sozomen^x, who speaks of the *Apostoleum* of Peter, in Rome; and, again, of the *Apostoleum* of Peter and Paul, at Quercus, in the suburbs of Chalcedon, which Ruffin, the great statesman under Arcadius, built to the honour of the Apostles, and called it^y an *Apostoleum* from them; so, in the Council of Constantinople, under Mennas, there is mention^z made of the *propheteum* of St. Esaias the prophet; as also in *Theodorus Lector*^a, who says the reliques of Samuel the prophet were laid up ἐν τῷ προφητείῳ αὐτοῦ, in his *propheteum*; which can mean nothing else but churches called by their names, as Valesius rightly expounds it.

SECT. IX.—*Why called Cœmeteria, and Mensæ, and Areæ.*

Much the like account is to be given of two other names, *cœmeterium* and *mensa*, which we find sometimes used to signify churches. The Christians, in times of persecution, were used to meet in private vaults or burying-places, and especially at the graves or monuments of their martyrs; as is evident both

^w Optat. cont. Parmen. lib. ii. (Oberthür, vol. i. p. 25.) (p. 32, edit. Par. 1679.) Ecce præsentes sunt ibi duorum memorie Apostolorum. Dicite, si ad has ingredi potuit: aut obtulit illic, ubi sanctorum memorias esse constat.

^x Sozom. lib. ix. c. x. (p. 352. C 2.) 'Επεὶ δὲ πάλιν ὁ βάρβαρος καὶ φοβερώτερον ἐπιῶν, οὐδὲν πλέον ἤνυσ, θανμάσας αὐτῆς τὴν σωφροσύνην, ἥγαγεν εἰς τὸ Πέτρου ἀποστολεῖον.

^y Ibid. lib. viii. c. xvii. (p. 322. C 10.) Χαλκηδόνος δὲ προάστειον 'Ρουφίνου τοῦ ὑπατικοῦ νῦν ἐπώνυμον, ἐν ᾧ βασιλεία ἐστι, καὶ μεγάλη ἐκκλησία, ἣν αὐτὸς 'Ρουφῖνος ἐπὶ τιμῇ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐδείματο, καὶ ἀποστολεῖον ἐξ αὐτῶν ὠνόμασε.

^z Conc. Const. sub Menna, act. iii. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 67. E.) Καὶ μεθ' ὅρκου αὐτοὶ οἱ εὐλαβίστατοι κληρικοὶ εἰρήκασιν, ὅτι ἴσμεν αὐτὸν ἔχοντα προάστειον πηλοσίον τοῦ προφητείου τοῦ ἁγίου 'Ησαίου.

^a Theod. Lect. lib. ii. p. 568. (Cantabr. 1720. p. 384. 19.) 'Επὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας καὶ ἐπὶ 'Αττικοῦ πατριάρχου, εἰσηνέχθη ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει τὰ λείψανα τοῦ ἁγίου Σαμουὴλ καὶ ἀπετίθησαν ἐν τῷ προφητείῳ αὐτοῦ.

from the canons of the Council of Eliberis^b, which was held in the heat of the Diocletian persecution, and often speaks of their assembling in such places; as also from the edicts of the persecuting emperors, forbidding Christians to hold assemblies in their cemeteries, as has been noted^c before. Now, when the persecutions were over, churches were actually erected over the graves of martyrs, and in the places where the cemeteries were; and so a cemetery, or a grave of a martyr, came to be used for the name of a church. Thus, in the writings of St. Austin, there is frequent mention of a church called *mensa Cypriani*, where St. Austin preached several^d of his sermons. This was the place where Cyprian suffered martyrdom; which being the altar on which Cyprian was offered a sacrifice to God, a church was afterward built there, and an altar or communion-table erected therein for the Christian sacrifice to be offered to God; and both these being a memorial of Cyprian's passion, they were jointly called by his name^e, *mensa Cypriani*, 'Cyprian's altar,' or 'Cyprian's church;' for, though it primarily signifies the altar, yet it is plain it was extended to be the name of the church also, where St. Austin preached so many sermons on Cyprian's day, to the people of Carthage. The name 'cemetery' continued also to be used in after-ages of the Church, as appears from one of the canons of the Council^f

^b Concil. Illiber. xxxiv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 974.) Cereos in cœmeteriis per diem placuit non accendi.—It. c. xxxv. Placuit prohiberi, ne feminæ in cœmeterio pervigilent, eo quod sæpe, sub obtentu orationis, scelera latenter committant.

^c Sect. vii. p. 15: vid. Onuphr. de Cœmeteriis, c. xi. Cœmeteria erant Christianis (quod et nunc sunt) veluti templa et orationum loca, in quibus episcopi synodos congregabant, sacramenta administrabant, verbum Dei concionabantur. Hinc illud scitu dignum, quod quum imperator quispiam persecutionem in Christianos instaurare constituisset, ante omnia eos a cœmeteriis arcere solebat, ne in unum conveniendi eis facultas esset.

^d Vid. Sermon. xciv. et ccxxxvii. de Diversis, Sermon. xxvi. ex editis a Sirmondo, Sermon. xxxviii. et lxxx. in Psal.—all preached ad mensam Cypriani.

^e Aug. Sermon. cxiii. de Diversis. (Bened. vol. v. p. 1250. A 5.) Sicut nostis, quicumque Carthaginem nostis, in eodem loco mensa Deo constructa est, tamen mensa dicitur Cypriani; non quia ibi est umquam Cyprianus epulatus, sed quia ibi est immolatus; et quia ipsa immolatione sua paravit hanc mensam, non in qua pascat sive pascatur, sed in qua sacrificium Deo, cui et ipse oblatus est, offeratur.

^f Conc. Laodic. can. ix. (tom. i. Conc. p. 1497.) Περὶ τοῦ μὴ συγχωρεῖν εἰς

of Laodicea, which forbids Catholics to frequent the cemeteries, or martyrries, of heretics, upon pretence of prayer or divine service. St. Chrysostom often uses the words *τάφοι μαρτύρων*, 'sepulchres of martyrs,' for churches; as where he says^g, "One might see whole cities running to the monuments of the martyrs:" and again^h, "We depart not from their sepulchres; here kings lay aside their crowns, and continue praying for deliverance from dangers, and for victory over their enemies." Nay, he triumphs in this both over the Jews and Gentiles, that the apostles in their deaths were more honourable than the greatest kings upon earth; for even at Romeⁱ, the royal city, emperors, and consuls, and generals, left all and ran to the sepulchres of the fisherman and tent-maker; and, at Constantinople, it was thought honour enough, by those that wore the diadem, to lie buried, not with the apostles, but before their porches; and kings themselves were the fishermen's door-keepers." In all which places, it is evident he means churches by the sepulchres of the apostles; and so Athanasius^j, and Socrates, and others, take the word

τὰ κοιμητήρια, ἣ εἰς τὰ λεγόμενα μαρτύρια πάντων τῶν αἱρετικῶν ἀπιέναι τοὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, εὐχῆς ἢ θεραπείας ἔνεκα.

^g Chrysost. Com. in Psalm. cxv. (Benedict. vol. i. p. 315.) (tom. iii. p. 404.) (p. 349. C. edit. Francof.) *Σκόπει καὶ πρὸς τῶν μαρτύρων τοὺς τάφους τὰς πόλεις συντρεχούσας, τοὺς δῆμους ἀναπτομένους τῷ πόθῳ.*

^h Id. Homil. i. in Psalm. xlvi. (Benedict. vol. v. p. 49. A 3.) (ibid. p. 812.) (p. 704, edit. cit.) *Οἱ μακάριοι μάρτυρες ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἐαυτῶν λαμβάνουσιν, οὐκ ἀναχωροῦμεν τοῦ τάφου αὐτῶν . . . ἐκεῖ ὁ βασιλεὺς ῥίπτει τὸ διάδημα, καὶ παραμένει τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ μάρτυρος, δυσωπῶν καὶ δεόμενος δοθῆναι αὐτῷ λύσιν τῶν δεινῶν καὶ νίκην κατ' ἐχθρῶν.*

ⁱ Chrysost. Demonstrat. quod Christus sit Deus. (Bened. vol. i. p. 570. C 7.) (tom. v. p. 839.) (tom. v. p. 749, edit. Francof.) *Οἱ ἀγόμενοι καὶ περιαγόμενοι, οἱ καταφρονούμενοι καὶ δεσμούμενοι, οἱ τὰ μύρια πάσχοντες δεινὰ, τελευτήσαντες αὐτῶν εἰσι τῶν βασιλείων τιμιώτεροι. Καὶ πῶς, σκόπει ἰντεύθην ἐν τῇ βασιλικῷ πόλει Ῥώμῃ, πάντα ἀφίεντες, ἐπὶ τοὺς τάφους τοῦ ἀλίου καὶ τοῦ σκηνοποιῦ τρέχουσι καὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ ὑπατοὶ καὶ στρατηγοί· καὶ ἐν τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει δέ, οὐδὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἰγγὺς, ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πρόθυρα ἔξω ἀγαπητὸν εἶναι ἐνόμισαν οἱ τὰ διαδήματα περικείμενοι τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν κατορύττεσθαι, καὶ γεγόνاسι θυρωροὶ λοιπὸν τῶν ἀλίων οἱ βασιλεῖς.*

^j Athan. Apol. ii. ap. Socrat. lib. ii. c. xxviii. (Aug. Taur. p. 104.) *Τῇ γὰρ ἐβδομαδί μετὰ τὴν ἁγίαν Πεντηκοστὴν, ὁ λαὸς νηστεύσας ἐξῆλθε περὶ τὸ κοιμητήριον εὐξασθαι, διὰ τὸ πάντας ἀποστρέφεισθαι τὴν πρὸς Γεώργιον κοινωνίαν.*

cemetery for a church. And, perhaps, St. Jerome intends the same by the sepulchres of the martyrs, when he says^k "it was his custom, when he was a boy at school, in Rome, on Sundays, to go about and visit the sepulchres of the apostles and martyrs;" but I will not be positive of this, because he joins the *cryptæ*, or 'subterraneous vaults,' with them; which, in his time, were not churches: though they were in Tertullian's time, who calls them *aræ*^l *sepulturarum*; telling us, that Hilarian, the persecutor, forbade them to hold assemblies there; but this was remarkably punished by the providence of God: for they who denied the Christians the liberty of their *aræ*, had their own *aræ*, meaning their storehouses or barnfloors (which is another signification of the word *aræ*) taken from them; for they had no harvest that year by the just judgment of God upon them. The reader will meet with the name *aræ*, for a 'place of prayer,' in the Acts of Purgation of Cæcilian^m, bishop of Carthage, and other records of thatⁿ age of persecutions, when they were forced to fly from their churches above ground to their vaults underneath, and make a sort of temporary churches of them.

SECT. X.—*Why Casæ, Trophæa, and Tituli.*

Casa is another name, in the same Acts of Purgation of Cæcilian and Felix; which I take to be the name of a church also^o; for though it might be something doubtful from that

^k Hieron. Com. in Ezek. c. xl. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 979, at bottom.) Dum essem Romæ puer, et liberalibus studiis erudirer, solebam cum cæteris ejusdem ætatis et propositi, diebus Dominicis, sepulchra Apostolorum et Martyrum circuire, crebroque cryptas ingredi, etc.

^l Tertul. ad Scapul. c. iii. (Paris. 1675. p. 70. A.) Doleamus necesse est, quod nulla civitas impune latura sit sanguinis nostri effusionem. Sicut et sub Hilariano præside, cum de aræis sepulturarum nostrarum acclamassent, ARÆÆ NON SINT: aræe ipsorum non fuerunt: messes enim suas non egerunt.

^m Gesta Purgat. Cæcilian. ad calcem Optati, p. 272. (p. 95. B. Par. 1679.) Cives in aræa martyrum fuerunt inclusi.—It. p. 277. (p. 96. D.) Tollat aliquis de vestris in aræa, ubi orationem facitis, et illic ponantur.

ⁿ Vid. Acta Concilii Cirtensis, ap. Baron. an. 303, n. xxiv. Passio Cypriani. Ejus corpus positum est in aræis Macrobbii Candidi.

^o Gest. Purgat. p. 272. (p. 95. B.) Numquid populus Dei ibi fuit? Saturninus dixit, In casa majore fuit inclusus.—(Ibid. C.) Crescentianus dixit, Præsens cum populo fui, inclusus in casa majore.

place alone, yet, finding it so used in other authors, I conclude it was one of the ancient names of their churches. For Bede tells us^p, the town of St. Martin's, in Bernicia, a province of Britain, came to be vulgarly called *Candida Casa*, *Whitern*, or *Whitchurch*, from the church of stone which Bishop Nynias built in it. And I leave it as a query, whether *Casæ Nigræ*, in Afric, where Donatus was bishop, be not beholden to some such circumstance for its denomination also? but why churches should be called *casæ*, is not very easy to conjecture. Till a better reason can be found, let us suppose it to be from the plainness and simplicity of them, of which we shall have something more to say in the next chapter. Mr. Mede has observed another name for churches (which is not very common) in Caius Romanus, an ancient writer in Eusebius, who uses the term *trophæa apostolorum*, as Mr. Mede conjectures, to denote two churches of St. Peter and St. Paul in Rome^q. But, I confess, there is some reason to question whether, in that place, it means churches, and not rather the monuments or sepulchres of those apostles; for Eusebius is only speaking of their bodies being buried at Rome. To confirm which opinion, he quotes that ancient writer in these words: "We can yet^r show the trophies of the apostles; for, whether you go to the Vatican or the Via Ostiensis, you may there see the trophies of those who founded this Church," meaning the Church of Rome, "which was founded by St. Peter and St. Paul, whose sepulchres were then to be seen; the former in the Vatican Hill, and the other in the way from Ostia to Rome." However, in after-ages, when churches were built over their sepulchres, then their trophies became a name for those churches, as we may learn from those words of St. Jerome^s to Marcella who lived at Rome: "You have there

^p Bed. Hist. lib. iii. c. iv. (London, 1838. p. 162.) Qui locus, ad provinciam Berniciorum pertinens, vulgo vocatur 'Ad Candidam Casam,' eo quod ibi ecclesiam de lapide, insolito Brittonibus more, fecerit.

^q Mede's Discourse of Churches, p. 328.

^r Euseb. lib. ii. c. xxv. (Aug. Taur. p. 76. A 7.) 'Εγὼ δὲ τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔχω δεῖξαι· ἴαν γὰρ θελήσῃς ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Βατικανόν, ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν Ὀστιαν, εὐρήσεις τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ταύτην ἰδρυσαμένων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

^s Hieron. Ep. xviii. ad Marcellam. (tom. i. opp. p. 84. F. edit. Francof.)—

an holy church, you have there the trophies of the apostles and martyrs;" for now, it is certain their sepulchres were advanced into churches, and both together called 'trophies,' as being manifest tokens and evidences of the victory which they had gained over their enemies, by resisting unto blood, and triumphing after death. There is yet another name, of which it is not easy to give so exact an account; that is, why some churches had the name of *tituli* given them peculiarly in Rome. In the Pontifical, in the Life of Marcellus^t, it is said of him, that he appointed twenty-five *tituli* in Rome, for the convenience of baptizing new converts. And, in the same place, one Lucina, a widow, is said to have dedicated her house^u, to be made a *titulus* or 'church,' where they worshipped Christ day and night, with prayers and hymns; until Maxentius, the tyrant, hearing of it, turned the church into a stable, and forced Marcellus to be the keeper of it. These are supposed to be the same as parish churches, erected for the convenience of administering divine offices, as the multitude of converts increased in Rome; but why they were called *tituli* is not exactly agreed among learned men. Baronius^w will have them to be so called, because they had the

So Gildas and Bede call them 'signa victricia Martyrum.' Renovant ecclesias ad solum usque destructas, basilicas sanctorum martyrum fundant, construunt, perficiunt, ac veluti victricia signa passim propalant, dies festos celebrant; sacra mundo corde atque ore faciunt (Bibl. Patr. tom. v. p. 572.)—See note (u) page 379.—Euseb. de Laud. Constant. c. xvii. (p. 707. C 8.) Τίς θεὸς ἡ καὶ ἡρώς, οὕτω πολεμηθεὶς, ὡς ὁ ἡμέτερος Σωτὴρ, τρόπαια νικητήρια κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἤγειρεν ;

^t Pontifical. Vit. Marcelli, (tom. i. Conc. p. 946. C.) Hic fecit cœmeterium via Salaria, et viginti quinque titulos in urbe Roma constituit, quasi diœceses, propter baptismum et pœnitentiam multorum, qui convertebantur ex paganis, et propter sepulturas martyrum.

^u Ibid. Matrona quædam, nomine Lucina, vidua, quæ vixerat cum viro Marco annis quindecim, et in viduitate sua habebat annos novemdecim, suscepit beatum virum (Marcellum) quæ et domum suam nomine tituli beati Marcelli dedicavit, ubi diu noctuque hymnis et orationibus Domino Jesu Christo confitebantur. His auditis a Maxentio, misit, et jussit in eadem ecclesia iterum planças externi, ut ibidem animalia catabuli congregata starent, et ipsis beatus Marcellus pastoreviret.—Pii Epist. iv. ad Justam Vien. (tom. i. Conc. p. 577.) Presbyter Pastor fidelium condidit, et digne in Domino obiit.

^w Baron. ad an. 112, n. v. (Venet. 1706. p. 41.) Unde acciderit, ut domus fidelium in sacrum usum conversæ, quas nos ecclesias dicimus, a majoribus

sign of the cross upon them ; by which sign or title they were known to belong to Christ, as things which belonged to the emperor's exchequer were known to be his by an appendant veil, which had either his image or his name, by way of title, inscribed upon it. But it does not appear that the sign of the cross was so early fixed upon churches, or, if it were, that it was the peculiar distinction of a parish church ; for no doubt the cathedral, or bishop's church, had that sign as soon as any others. Mr. Mede^x offers some other reasons, and leaves the reader to determine whether they were so called, because, by their dedication, the name of Christ our Lord was, as it were, inscribed upon them, as the manner then was to set the names or titles of the owners upon their houses and possessions ; and so it would concur in notion with those other names of *κυριακὸν* and *basilica*, the ' Lord's ' and the ' King's ; '—or whether, because they gave a title of cure, or denomination, to the presbyters, to whom they were committed. This last I take to be the true reason of the name, till one more probable can be thought of. As to the fancy of Onuphrius, that the number of these *tituli* was exactly the same with that of cardinal presbyters now, and never exceeding the number of twenty-eight, it is an imagination without ground ; for Optatus speaks of about forty churches in Rome before the time of the last persecution, as I shall have occasion to show more fully in the next Book.

'tituli' dicerentur, paucis aperiendum. A rebus fiscalibus videtur accepta esse nomenclatura : tituli namque impositione, rem aliquam sibi fiscus solitus erat vendicare, atque principi consecrare : ut quum ait imperator 'tituli vero, quorum adjectione prædia nostris sunt consecranda substantiis, non nisi publica testificatione proponantur.' Fuisse hujusmodi titulos vela quædam, quæ regiam representarent potestatem, vel imaginibus imperatorum, vel nominis ipsorum inscriptione insignita, multa sunt quæ poterunt demonstrare, etc.

^x Mede's Discourse of Churches, p. 328.

^y Onuphr. Interpret. Vocum Ecclesiastic. p. 13, fin. seq. Quum primo infinita gentilium multitudo, mox urbs et Italia omnis, fidem Christi suscepisset, non sufficientibus xv. titulis, nec his, qui in eis residebant, presbyteris, tum ob necessitatem, tum ad urbis et Romanæ ecclesiæ ornamentum et majestatem, et titulum et presbyterorum in unoquoque numerus auctus est : factique sunt tituli xxviii. quem numerum nunquam excessisse usque ad nostra tempora, satis constat.

SECT. XI.—*Of Tabernacles and Minsters, and some other less usual Names of Churches.*

There are several other less usual names of churches in ancient writers, which I need not stand upon: such as *limina martyrum*, 'the houses of the martyrs,' used * by St. Jerome; *σηκός* and *τέμενος*, words of the same import with 'temple,' which we sometimes meet with in Theodoret^a, Synesius^b, and Evagrius^c. In Eusebius, *domus synaxeos*^d sometimes occurs in the rescripts of heathen emperors for Christian churches, which signifies no more but houses of assembly. Chrysostom styles them the 'seat of doctrine^e,' from the exercise of preaching therein; and many such names are to be met with which need no explication. But there are two names more used by Eusebius, which some learned men have greatly mistaken. In one place, speaking of the *Therapeutæ*, in Egypt, whom he reckons the first Christians converted by St. Mark, and described covertly by Philo-Judæus, he gives their churches the name of *σεμνεία* and *μοναστήρια*, which some mistake for monasteries, in the modern sense; whereas Eusebius^f says expressly

* Hieron. Ep. xv. ad Marcellam, (p. 76. A. edit. Francof.) *Ad martyrum limina pæne invisâ properabat.*

^a Theodoret. Serm. de Martyr. (Halsæ, 1772. vol. iv. p. 923.) (tom. iv. opp. p. 606, lin. penult. seqq.) *Τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνων οὕτω παντελῶς διελύθη τεμένη, ὥς μηδὲ τῶν σχημάτων διαμῖναι τὸ εἶδος, μηδὲ τῶν βωμῶν τὸν τύπον τοῦς νῦν ἀνθρώπους ἐπίστασθαι· αἱ δὲ τούτων ὕλαι καθωσιώθησαν τοῖς τῶν μαρτύρων σηκοῖς.*

^b Synes. Ep. lviii. (Paris. 1640. p. 203. A 6.) *Ἄπας αὐτοῖς ἱερός ἀποκλεισθῶ, καὶ σηκός καὶ περίβολος.*

^c Evagr. lib. i. c. xiv. (p. 245.) *Ἐπόθουν τὸ τέμενος τοῦτου δὴ τοῦ ἀγίου θεάσασθαι.*—Ibid. lib. vi. c. viii. (p. 415. C.) *Πέπτωκε καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῆς καλουμένης Ὀστρακίνης, καὶ ὁ πρόσθεν ἔφαμεν Ψηφίον, καὶ σύμπαντα τὰ καλούμενα Βρυσία, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν πάνσεπτον σηκὸν τῆς Θεοτόκου, μόνης τῆς μίσης στοᾶς παραδόξως σωθείσης.*

^d Euseb. lib. vii. c. viii. Vid. *Gesta Purgationis Cæciliani.*

^e Chrysost. Hom. ii. in Joan.†

^f Euseb. lib. ii. c. xvii. (Aug. Taur. 1746. p. 61, at bottom.) *Εἰθ' ἐξῆς τὰς οἰκήσεις αὐτῶν ὑποταί τινες ἦσαν διαγράψας, περὶ τῶν κατὰ χώραν ἐκκλησιῶν ταυτὰ φησιν· ἐν ἐκάστῃ δὲ οἰκίᾳ ἔστιν οἶκημα ἱερὸν, ὃ καλεῖται σεμνείον καὶ μοναστήριον· ἐν ᾧ μονούμενοι τὰ τοῦ σεμνοῦ βίου μυστήρια τελοῦνται· μηδὲν εἰσκομιζόντες, μὴ ποτὸν μὴ σιτίον· μήτε τι τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσα πρὸς τὰς τοῦ σώματος χρείας ἀναγκαῖα, ἀλλὰ νόμους καὶ λόγια θεοπισθέντα διὰ προφητῶν, καὶ ὕμνους, καὶ ᾠδὰς, οἷς ἐπιστήμη καὶ εὐσέβεια συναύζονται καὶ τελειοῦνται.*

it was the name which Philo gave, not to their habitations, but their churches. "For," says he, "Philo having described their habitations, afterward speaks thus of their churches in that region: 'In every one of their dwellings there is a sacred house or chapel, which they call their *semneum* or 'monastery,' where they perform the religious mysteries proper to their holy life: for hither they bring nothing ever of meat, or drink, or other bodily necessities, but only their laws, and inspired oracles of their prophets, their hymns, and whatever else tends to augment and consummate a life of piety and knowledge.'" This is not the description of a monastery in the modern sense, but of a church: and so we see the name was first used, as it is at this day among the Germans, who hence call some of their churches *munsters*, as we do 'minsters,' which were heretofore collegiate churches and schools of learning, like St. Austin's monastery church, of which I have given an account in the former Book. This is further confirmed, because Eusebius joins the name *σεμνεῖον* to monastery to explain it; which, by the best critics, ancient and modern, Hesychius, Budæus, Suicerus, and others, is reckoned to signify a temple or place of divine service. Eusebius has yet another name for a church, which I mention only because it is liable to the same mistake. He gives it the name of 'tabernacle,' which is only a private appellation belonging peculiarly to moveable or travelling churches: for Eusebius, speaking of Constantine's intended expedition against the Persians, says, that "among his other preparations for that war, he erected himself a tent or tabernacle, in the form of a church, in which he might continually make his supplications to God, the giver of victory, with the bishops and clergy that were to attend him in his expedition." Socrates^h, speaking of the same thing, com-

^g Euseb. de Vit. Constant. lib. iv. c. lvi. (p. 595. C 12.) "Ἐπειτα καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας σχήματι πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου τοῦ πολέμου παράταξιν σὺν πολλῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ κατεργάζετο· ἐν ᾗ τῷ Θεῷ τῇ τῆς νίκης δοτῆρι, τὰς ἱκετηρίας ἅμα τοῖς ἐπισκόποις ποιῆσθαι ἐπειθεί.

^h Socrat. lib. i. c. xviii. (p. 42. D 7.) Τοσοῦτος ἦν ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως περὶ τὸν Χριστιανισμὸν πάθος, ὥς καὶ Περσικοῦ μέλλοντος κινεῖσθαι πολέμου, κατασκευάσας σκηνὴν ἐκ ποικίλης ὀθόνης, ἐκκλησίας τύπον ἀποτελοῦσαν, ὥσπερ Μωϋσῆς ἐν τῇ ἑρήμῳ πεποιήκει, καὶ ταύτην φέρεσθαι, ἵνα ἔχοι κατὰ τοὺς ἱερμοτάτους τόπους εὐκτήριον ἡγυρεῖσθαι.

pares it to the tabernacle that Moses set up in the wilderness ; and says, " Constantine did it, that he might have a decent and convenient oratory, εὐκτήριον ὑπερπεπισμένον, in the most desert and barbarous places through which he was to travel." And from this example, as Sozomen¹ observes, it became a custom throughout the Roman army for every legion to have their tabernacle, and priests and deacons appointed to attend the service of it.

SECT. XII.—Of the Distinction between Ecclesia Matrix and Diœcesana.

Whilst I am upon this head, it will not be amiss to give the reader an account of two other words, which have some relation to this subject, and by their ambiguity are often mistaken and confounded ; that is, *ecclesia matrix* and *diœcesana*, which seem to be words of the same importance, but are often very different from one another. *Ecclesia matrix*, ' a mother Church,' is sometimes taken for an original Church, planted immediately by the apostles, whence others were derived and propagated afterward. So Tertullian^{*} calls those Churches to which the apostles preached, either *viva voce*, or by their epistles by which all doctrines are to be judged ; and, in this sense, the Church of Jerusalem is called the mother of all Churches in the world, by the second General Council of Constantinople¹ ; and Arles, the mother Church of France, because supposed to be planted^m by the apostles' missionary, Trophimus, first bishop of the place. At other times, a mother

¹ Sozom. lib. i. c. viii. (p. 18, at bottom.) 'Εξ ἐκείνου δὲ καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων τάγματα, ἃ νῦν Ἀριθμοὺς καλοῦσιν, ἕκαστον ἰδίαν σκηνὴν κατεσκευάσατο, καὶ ἱερέας, καὶ διακόνους ἀπονενεμημένους ἔχειν.

^{*} Tertull. de Præscript. c. xxi. (Paris. 1675. p. 209. A 10.) Constat proinde omnem doctrinam, quæ cum illis Ecclesiis Apostolicis, matricibus et originalibus fidei, conspiret, veritati deputandam.

¹ Epist. Synod. ad Damasum, ap. Theodoret. lib. v. c. ix. (Cantabr. 1720. p. 207. 5.) Τῆς δὲ μητρὸς ἀπασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, τὸν αἰδισμῶτάτος καὶ θεοφιλέστατος Κύριλλον ἐπίσκοπον εἶναι, γνωρίζομεν.

^m Libellus Precum Episcoporum Gallor. ad Leon. ap. Baron. an. 450, p. 125. (Lucæ, vol. viii. p. 65.) Cujus honoris obtentu ecclesiam Arelatensem omnes decessores prædecessoresque nostri, velut matrem, debito semper honore coluerunt, etc.

Church denotes a metropolis, or the principal Church of a single province, as in some of the African ^a Canons, where *matrix* is used sometimes for the primate's see, to which other bishops were to have recourse for judgment and decision of controversies. But most commonly it signifies a cathedral, or bishop's Church, which was usually termed the Great Church and the Catholic Church, and the principal see, in opposition to the lesser *tituli*, or 'parish churches,' committed to single presbyters. Thus, in the African Code, the matter is plain: in one canon every bishop is prohibited to alienate or sell the goods of the mother Church^o, and presbyters the goods belonging to their titles. The Greek translation of this canon is here imperfect and corrupt, as Suicerus^p has rightly observed, and by it Cujacius and others have been led into a mistake to expound *matrix* by *matricula*, the 'catalogue' or 'books of the Church,' whereas it means the cathedral, or bishop's church. As also in another canon^q, which says, "If any bishop is negligent to deal with heretics in the mother Church, he shall be admonished of his fault by the neighbouring bishops, that he may have no excuse." The mother Church is here the bishop's Church, or that which requires both his care and residence, as the principal Church of the diocese. This, by Fulgentius Ferrandus^r, is plainly opposed to other inferior churches in the diocese, upon which only presbyters resided, both when he says, "That the judgment of the mother church shall be sufficient in the election of a bishop;" and again, "That the bishop of the mother church shall not usurp any thing that is given to the churches in the diocese."

^a Cod. Afric. can. cxix. al. cxx. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1127. C 5.) *Εἰ δὲ μὴ ἦν, μὴ προκριματισθῇ ἐν τῇ μάτρικι, κ. τ. λ.*

^o Cod. Afric. can. xxxiii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1065. B 5.) *Μὴ οὕσης ἀνάγκης, μηδὲ ἐπισκόπῳ ἐξείναι καταχρήσασθαι πράγματι ἐκ τοῦ τίτλου ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μάτρικος.*

^p Suicer. Thes. Eccles. voce *μάτριξ*.

^q Cod. Afric. can. cxxiii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1130.) *Ἐὰν ἐν τοῖς ματρικίοις ἦγουν ἐν ταῖς καθέδραις, ἐπίσκοπος ἀμελήs, κ. τ. λ.*

^r Ferrand. Breviat. Can. c. xi. *Ut ad eligendum episcopum sufficiat matricis arbitrium.* (Concilio Septimunicensi et Concilio Macrianensi.)—Item can. xxxviii. *Ut episcopus matricis non usurpet quicquid fuerit donatum ecclesiis, quæ in diocesi constitutæ sunt.* (Concilio Hipponiregiensi.) (Bibl. M. V. P. vol. ix. p. 481.)

These churches in the diocese are the same as we now call parish churches, though they themselves are sometimes termed dioceses, in the Pontifical^a and African^t Canons; and in some other canons^u, *ecclesiæ diœcesanæ*, 'diocesan churches;' as in the Council of Tarraco, which obliges all bishops to visit their dioceses once a year, to see that no diocesan church, that is, no church within the diocese, was out of repair; so that a mother church, and a diocesan church, in that ancient style, differed as now a cathedral and a parish church with us. The mother church being otherwise called the 'principal see^w,' *principalis cathedra*, where the bishop was obliged continually to reside; and sometimes the Catholic Church, as Valesius has observed^x, out of Epiphanius^y and Nicephorus^z, in oppo-

^a Pontific. Vit. Marcelli. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 946.) Hic viginti quinque titulos in urbe Roma constituit, quasi diœceses, propter baptismum, et poenitentiam multorum, etc.

^t Cod. Afric. can. liii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1077. A.) Dico, si placet, circa hos, non tantum diœceses non esse servandas, verum et de propria ecclesia, quæ illis male faverit, omnimodo adnitendum, ut etiam auctoritate publica rejiciantur, atque ab ipsis principalibus cathedris removeantur. Oportet enim, ut qui universis fratribus ac toto concilio inhæserit, non solum suam jure integro, sed et diœceses possideat. At vero, qui sibimet putant plebes suas sufficere, fraterna dilectione contempta, non tantum diœceses amittant, sed ut dixi, etiam propriis publica careant auctoritate, ut rebelles.—Can. lvi. Audivimus constitutum, ut diœceses non mereantur episcopos accipere, nisi consensu ejus, sub quo fuerant constitutæ: sed in provincia nostra cum aliqui forte in diœcesi, concedente eo episcopo, in cujus potestate fuerant constitutæ, ordinati sunt episcopi, etiam diœceses sibi vindicant, etc.

^u Conc. Tarracon. c. viii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1565.) Multorum casuum experientia magistrante, reperimus non nullas diœcesanas esse ecclesias destitutas: ob quam rem, id hac constitutione decrevimus, ut antiquæ consuetudinis ordo servetur, et annuis vicibus ab episcopo *diœceses* [Labbe, '*diœcesano*'] visitentur: et si qua forte basilica reperta fuerit destituta, ordinatione ipsius reparetur.

^w Conc. Carth. V. c. v. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1216.) Placuit, ut nemini sit facultas, relicta principali cathedra, ad aliquam ecclesiam in diœcesi constitutam se conferre, etc.

^x Vales. Not. in Theodor. Lector. lib. i. p. 553. (Cantabr. 1720. p. 566.) Notandum est, Nicephorum majorem ecclesiam vocare τὴν Καθόλου: non quod reliquæ ecclesiæ, huic subjectæ, non essent catholicæ; sed per excellentiam quamdam major ecclesia patriarchalis dicebatur Catholica. Sic Epiphanius in Hæresi Ariatorum, haud procul ab initio, Catholicam Ecclesiam vocat majorem Ecclesiam urbis Alexandriæ, quæ subjectas habebat plures minores Ecclesias.

^y Epiphani. Hæres. lxi. n. i. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 727.) Ὅσαι γὰρ ἐκκλη-

sition to the lesser churches that were subject to it ; though, as I noted before, the Council of Trullo calls every baptismal church a Catholic^a church, in opposition to private oratories, where baptism was not allowed to be administered. It was necessary for me to be thus particular about the names of churches in the entrance upon this Book, because some of them are curious and others ambiguous, that the reader might find them explained at once, and not be at a loss about terms upon every occasion in the following discourse.

SECT. XIII.—*Proofs of Churches in the first Century collected by Mr. Mede.*

Our next inquiry is into the original of churches ; that is, when Christians began to set them apart for divine service ? A very singular paradox has been advanced by some learned men in these last ages, that for the three first ages the Christians had no such distinct places of worship ; grounding upon some mistaken passages of Origen, Minucius Felix, Arnobius, and Lactantius, who say, ‘ the Christians had no temples,’ which they take for a denial of their having any churches ; which opinion, though advanced with some show of learning by Vedelius^b, Suicerus^c, and others, is altogether without

σίαι τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ὑπὸ ἑνα ἀρχιεπίσκοπον οὔσαι, κ. τ. λ.

^a Niceph. lib. xv. c. ii. Ὅς ἅμα τῷ γενέσθαι οἰκονόμος, τὰ ἐν ἐκάστῃ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προσφερόμενα, διετύπου τοὺς κατὰ τόπους κληρικοὺς ἀποφείρεσθαι ἄχρις ἐκείνου, πάντα τῆς καθόλου ἐκκλησίας νομιζομένης.

^a Concil. Trullan. c. lix. (Labbe, vol. vi. p. 1170.) Μηδαμῶς ἐν εὐκτηρίῳ οἴκῳ, ἐνδον οἰκίας τυγχάνοντι, βάπτισμα ἐπιτελείσθω· ἀλλ’ οἱ μέλλοντες ἀξιούσθαι τοῦ ἀχράντου φωτισματος ταῖς καθολικαῖς προσερχίσθωσαν ἐκκλησίαις.

^b Vedel. Exercitat. in Ignat. Ep. ad Magnes. c. iv. n. ii. p. 68. Ignatii tempore, Christiani templa non habebant ; immo post Ignatii etiam tempora iis carebant aliquamdiu. Origenes tempore, qui post annum 200 scripsit, templis carebant Christiani, ut patet ex libro viii. adversus Celsum : ubi Celsus Christianis exprobrat ; ‘ post hæc Celsus et aras, et simulacra, et delubra, nos ait defugere, quo minus fundentur,’ etc. Hoc Origenes non negat, sed agnoscit. ‘ Quia,’ inquit, ‘ haudquaquam Deum insensibilibus ’ (h. e. inanimatis) ‘ templis colendum existimamus.’ Negat autem causam, propter quam Celsus putabat Christianos templa defugere. Putabat Celsus id ideo fieri, ‘ ut confirmarent insensibilis suæ et inexplicabilis communionis fidem.’ Sed eam causam Origenes negat, et veram adducit. Verba notanda sunt, ex quibus constabit,

ground, contradicted by the authors which they allege, and themselves who assert and maintain it. Mr. Mede has an elaborate discourse in confutation of this opinion, wherein he has learnedly collected the authorities of the ancients, which, for the three first ages, prove the being of Christian churches. I shall briefly, for the sake of those who have not that author at hand, relate the substance of his proofs, and add some others to his collections. In the first place, he shows that the ancients, St. Austin^d, St. Basil^e, and the author under

tum noluisse Christianos fundare templa, tum cur fundare noluerint : 'Non igitur ad nostræ hujus invisibilis et inexplicabilis animorum conjunctionis et tanti conventus confirmationem, simulacrorum templorumve fundationes defugimus ; sed quia per Jesu doctrinam comperimus, quemadmodum colendus sit Deus, ea nos evitamus, quæ sub pietatis prætextu et opinione quadam impios reddant, qui a vero per Jesum cultu errando falluntur, qui utique solus ad pietatem est via, et in vero illud profatus, Ego sum via, veritas, et vita.' Eodem tempore vixit Minucius Felix, in cujus Octavio Cæcilius idem Christianis objicit, 'Cur nullas aras habent ? templa nulla ? nulla nota simulacra ?' Hic expresse Octavius fatetur : 'Delubra et aras non habemus.'—Post hos vixit Arnobius Afer post annum 300 : apud quem rursus Gentiles Christianis templorum defectum objiciunt, lib. vi. adversus Gent. 'In hac consuevistis parte crimen nobis maximum impietatis affigere, quod neque sedes sacras venerationis ad officia extruamus, non deorum alicujus simulacrum constituamus aut formam, non altaria fabricemus, non aras.' Ubi etiam agnoscit Arnobius, templa nulla a Christianis extrui, sed crimen quod in eo collocabant gentiles amolitur.—Circa annum 317 vixit Lactantius, qui lib. i. de Falsa Relig. c. ii. gentes accusat, quod templa, aras, simulacra haberent. 'Cur igitur,' inquit, 'oculos in cælum non tollitis ? et advocatis deorum nominibus in aperto sacrificia celebratis ? cur ad parietes, et ligna, et lapides potissimum, quam illo spectatis, ubi eos esse creditis ? quid sibi templa ? quid aræ volunt ? quid ipsa denique simulacra ?' etc. Quibus verbis etsi idololatrica templa ethnicorum perstringit ; tamen haud obscure indicat, Christianos etiam tum templa omnia fugisse. Etenim quod Origenes in genere dixerat, Christianos, ne in impietatem delaberentur, templis abstinuisse, id Lactantius jam in specie declarat, indicans quid impietatis Christiani evitarint, scilicet existimasse eos sacrificia in aperto celebranda : ad parietes non esse spectandum sed in cælum, adeoque quia Deus ubique sit, templis opus non esse. Hic aperte profiteor, me rationes illas propugnare non velle, sufficit enim ostendere, Christianorum veterum praxin suis rationibus, qualescumque eæ demum fuerint, nixam fuisse. Ex quibus apparet, quandoquidem Lactantii tempore hæc opinio Christianorum fuit, sacra in aperto celebranda, non ad parietes adorandum Deum ; quia ubique sit, templis ethnicorum opus non habere, eos quoque templis tum quoque caruisse. Ex his veterum testimoniis luce clarius meridiana est, veterem ecclesiam, ad predicta usque tempora, templis omnino caruisse.

^c Suicer. Thes. Eccles. voce *ναός*, p. 388.

^d Aug. Quæst. lvii. in Levitic. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 516. F.) (tom. iv. opp. p. 220. C.) Sicut ecclesia dicitur locus, quo ecclesia congregatur. Nam ecclesia

the name of St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, Sedulius, Æcumenius, and Theophylact, in their comments on that passage of St. Paul, 1 Cor. xi. 22, "Have ye not houses to eat and drink in? or despise ye the church of God," took the word 'church' there not for the assembly, but for the place set apart for sacred duties; and that the apostles always met together in a certain place, for prayer and supplication, upon Mount Sion, which was the *hyperoon* or *cœnaculum*, the 'upper room,' so often mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, where the apostles were assembled when the Holy Ghost came upon them (Acts ii.); where our Saviour celebrated his Last Supper; where He appeared to his disciples two Sundays, one after another, after his resurrection (John xx.); the place where the seven deacons were elected and ordained (Acts vi.); and where the first Council of Jerusalem was held (Acts xv.); which place was afterward enclosed with a goodly church, called the church of Mount Sion, and the upper church of the apostles, in the time of Cyril^f, bishop of Jerusalem, and St. Jerome^g.

homines sunt, de quibus dicitur, 'ut exhiberet sibi gloriosam ecclesiam.' Hoc tamen vocari etiam ipsam domum orationum, idem Apostolus testis est, ubi ait, 'Numquid domos non habetis, ad manducandum et bibendum? an ecclesiam Dei contemnitis?' Et hoc quotidianus loquendi usus obtinuit, ut ad ecclesiam prodire, aut ad ecclesiam confugere non dicatur, nisi qui ad locum ipsum parietesque prodierit vel confugerit, quibus ecclesiæ congregatio continetur.

^e Basil. Regul. Major. quæst. xxx.† Regul. Minor. quæst. cccx. (Bened. Paris. 1839. vol. ii. p. 754.) "Ὡςπερ οὐδὲν κοινὸν σκεῦος ἐπιτρέπει ὁ λόγος εἰσφέρεισθαι εἰς τὰ ἅγια, οὕτως οὐδὲ τὰ ἅγια εἰς κοινὸν οἶκον ἐπιτελεῖσθαι τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης φανερώς προστάγματι Θεοῦ μηδὲν τοιούτων ἐπιτρεπούσης γίνεσθαι τοῦ Κυρίου λέγοντος, Πλεῖον τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὧδε· καὶ τοῦ Ἀποστόλου λέγοντος, Μὴ γὰρ οἰκίας οὐκ ἔχετε εἰς τὸ ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν; τί εἰπὼ ὑμῖν; ἐπαινέσω ὑμᾶς; ἐν τούτῳ οὐκ ἐπαινῶ· ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέδωκα ὑμῖν ὃ καὶ παραλάβον· καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς· ἐξ ὧν παιδευόμεθα, μήτε τὸ κοινὸν δεῖπνον ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν, μήτε κυριακὸν δεῖπνον ἐν οἰκίᾳ καθυβριζειν, ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ ἐν ἀνάγκῃ ἐπιλέγηται τις καθαρώτερον τόπον, ἢ οἶκον ἐν καιρῷ εὐθέως.

^f Cyrill. Catech. xvi. n. ii. (Venet. 1763. p. 245. A 8.) (p. 225, edit. Oxon. 1703.) Οἶδαμεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ λαλήσαν ἐν προφήταις, καὶ ἐν τῇ πεντηκοστῇ κατελθὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἐν εἰδει πυρίνων γλωσσῶν, ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῇ Ἱεροσολίμῃ ἐν τῇ ἀνωτέρᾳ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐκκλησίᾳ· πάντων γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐστι τὰ ἀξιώματα· ἐνταῦθα Χριστὸς ἐξ οὐρανῶν κατήλθε· ἐνταῦθα τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐξ οὐρανῶν κατήλθεν.

^g Hieron. Epist. xxvii. Epitaph. Paulæ, (p. 112, edit. Francof.) (Vallars. vol. i. p. 697. C 3.) Unde egrediens ascendit Sion, quæ in arcem vel speculam vertitur. Hanc urbem quondam expugnavit et reedificavit David. De expug-

That this was the οἶκος, or 'house of assembly,' mentioned Acts ii. 46, where the apostles continued breaking bread; that is, celebrating the eucharist after their return from the temple; for he thinks, with many other critics, that the words, ἐν οἴκῳ^h, are not to be translated 'from house to house,' but in the house or place where the assembly was used to meet together. His next argument is drawn from what Eusebiusⁱ observes of the θεραπευταὶ in Egypt, whether Essenes or Christians, that they had their σιμνεία, or places appropriated for divine worship, from the days of St. Mark; and that such places are to be understood in all those passages of St. Paul, which salute^j the Churches in such or such a house,—that is, the congregations that met in the houses of such pious Christians as had bestowed some part of their dwellings to be an oratory for the Church to assemble in. Such a *cœnaculum* is described by Lucian, or whoever was the author of the dialogue called *Philopatris*, about the time of Trajan, where he brings in one Critias, telling how the Christians carried him into an *hyperoon*, 'the place of their assembly,' with a design to make him a proselyte to their religion. He argues further, from the tradition of the Church, derived from the ancient author of the *Recognitions*, under the name of Clemens Romanus, which^k says that Theophilus, to whom St. Luke is supposed to inscribe his

nata scribitur, 'Væ tibi civitas Ariel,' id est, 'leo Dei' et quondam fortissima 'quam expugnavit David.' De ea quæ ædificata est, dictum est, 'Fundamenta ejus in montibus sanctis: diligit Dominus portas Sion, super omnia tabernacula Jacob.' Non eas portas, quas hodie cernimus in favillam et cinerem dissolutas; sed portas, quibus non prævalet infernus, et per quas credentium ad Christum ingreditur multitudo. Ostendebatur illi columna ecclesiæ porticum sustinens, infecta cruore Domini, ad quam vinctus dicitur flagellatus. Monstrabatur locus, ubi super centum viginti credentium animas Spiritus Sanctus descendisset; ut Joëlis vaticinium compleretur.

^h [Ἐν οἴκῳ, quod auctor noster, tamquam a Medo explicatum, hic ponit, non legitur Act. ii. 46, sed κατ' οἶκον, et in Cod. Cantabrigiensi κατ' οἴκου. *Grisehew.*]

ⁱ Euseb. lib. ii. c. xvii. See sect. xii. note (f).

^j Vid. Rom. xvi. 3. 5. Coloss. iv. 15. 1 Cor. xvi. 19. Philem. i. 2.

^k *Recognit.* lib. x. n. lxxi. (Coteler. vol. i. p. 596.) Intra septem dies, plus quam decem millia hominum credentes Deo, baptizati sunt, et sanctificatione consecrati, ita ut omni aviditatis desiderio Theophilus, qui erat cunctis potentibus in civitate sublimior, domus suæ ingentem Basilicam ecclesiæ nomine consecraret.

Gospel, at Antioch, did convert his house into a church ; and the like is reported of the house of Pudens, a Roman senator and martyr, in the *Acta Pudentis*, that it was turned into a church after his martyrdom. He concludes this first century with the testimony of Clemens Romanus, in his genuine Epistle to the Corinthians, which says¹, that “ God had ordained as well appropriate places where, as appropriate times and persons, when and whereby he would be solemnly served, that all things might be done religiously and in order.”

SECT. XIV.—*Proofs in the Second Century.*

In the next age, he shows that Ignatius, in his Epistle to the Magnesians^m, exhorts them to meet together in one place, which he calls τὸν ναὸν Θεοῦ, ‘the temple of God ;’ and in his Epistle to the Philadelphiansⁿ, he says, “ there was one altar to every church ; and one bishop, with his presbytery and deacons.” The present Greek copies, indeed, read it a little different from Mr. Mede, leaving out the word ‘ church ;’ but the mentioning one altar is sufficient to intimate they had then a stated place for their ecclesiastical assembly. In the same age, Pius, bishop of Rome, wrote two short Epistles to Justus, bishop of Vienna, in France ; in the first of which, one Euprepia^o, a pious matron, is said to have consigned the title of her house over to the church, to celebrate divine offices in ; and in the other, one Pastor, a presbyter, is commended for erecting a *titulus*,—that is, ‘a church,’ before his death^p.

¹ Clem. Ep. i. ad Corinth. n. xl. (Coteler. vol. i. p. 168.) Κατὰ καιροῦς τεταγμένους τάς τε προσφορὰς καὶ λειτουργίας ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, καὶ οὐκ εἰκὴ ἢ ἀτάκτως [ἐκέλευσεν] γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ὠρισμένοις καιροῖς καὶ ὥραις· ποῦ τε καὶ διὰ τινων ἐπιτελεῖσθαι θέλει, αὐτὸς ὥρισεν τῇ ὑπερτάτῃ αὐτοῦ βουλήσει· ἵν’ ὁσίων πάντα γινόμενα ἐν εὐδοκίῃσει, εὐπρόσδεκτα εἴῃ τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ.

^m Ignat. Ep. ad Magnes. n. vii. (Coteler. vol. ii. p. 58.) Μηδὲ τι φαίνεσθω ὑμῖν εὐλογον, παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην· . . . πάντες, ὡς εἰς, εἰς τὸν ναὸν Θεοῦ συντρέχετε, κ. τ. λ.

ⁿ Epist. ad Philad. n. iv. (vol. ii. p. 79.) “ Ἐν θυσιαστήριον, ὡς εἰς ἐπίσκοπος ἅμα τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ διακόνοις, κ. τ. λ.

^o Pii Ep. i. (ep. iii. tom. i. Conc. p. 576.) ad Justum. Soror nostra Euprepia titulum domus suae pauperibus adsignavit ; ubi nunc cum pauperibus nostris commorantes, missas agimus.

^p Pii Ep. ii. (ep. iv. tom. i. Conc. p. 577.) Presbyter Pastor titulum condidit, et digne in Domino obiit.

Clemens Alexandrinus, toward the end of this century, uses the name *ecclesia* for the place of the assembly, as well as the congregation; for, speaking of the Church, he says, "I call not now^a the place, but the congregation of the elect, the Church:" and so, in his famous homily, *Quis dives salvetur*, he brings in the Asian bishop, to whom St. John committed the young man to be trained up in the Christian discipline, complaining that "the youth was become a villain and a robber; and now, instead of the church^r, had betaken himself to the mountains, with a company like himself." By this it is plain that, in his time, the word *ecclesia* was taken for a place of sacred assembly, as well as for the assembly itself.

SECT. XV.—*Proofs in the Third Century.*

In the third century, the testimonies are both more numerous and plain. Tertullian clearly intimates they had churches, when complaining against Christians, who followed the trade of idol-making for the Gentiles, only excusing themselves that they did not worship them, he says, "The zeal of faith^s cannot but declaim all the day long upon this point, bewailing that any Christian should come from among his idols into the church, that he should come into the house of God from the shop of his enemy, and lift up those hands to God the Father, which were the mothers or makers of idols." In another place^t, he calls the church *domus columbæ*, 'the house of the dove,' meaning either Christ or his dove-like religion, as I have explained it^u before. And again, he expressly distinguishes between the baptistery and the church, which, in

^a Clem. Alexandr. Strom. vii. (Venet. 1757. p. 846. 9.) Οὐ νῦν τὸν τόπον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν, ἐκκλησίαν καλῶ.

^r Ap. Euseb. lib. iii. c. xxiii. et in Bibliothec. Patr. Combefis. Νῦν ἀντὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸ ὄρος κατείληφε μεθ' ὁμοίου στρατιωτικοῦ.

^s Tertull. de Idol. c. vii. (Paris. 1675. p. 88.) Tota die ad hanc partem zelus fidei perorabit, ingemens Christianum ab idolis in ecclesiam venire, de adversaria officina in domum Dei venire, attollere ad Deum Patrem manus matres idolorum.

^t Tertull. adv. Valent. c. iii. Nostræ columbæ domus simplex, in editis semper et apertis et ad lucem. See note (r) p. 344.

^u See before, sect. ii.

those days were places separate one from another, saying, "When we are come to the water to be baptized, we, not only there, but also somewhat before in the church, under the hand of the minister, make a public declaration, that we renounce the devil, and his pomp, and his angels." Tertullian is followed by Hippolytus^w, who, describing the signs of the coming of antichrist, says, "The temples of God shall be as common houses, the churches shall every where be destroyed." But I lay no stress upon this passage, because the work is spurious, and of later date than it pretends to be, as Bishop Usher has proved, and Combefis confesses as much, who published the genuine piece of *Hippolytus de Christo et Antichristo*, where no such passage is to be found^x. But we have an authentic testimony in the same age from a heathen author; for Lampridius, in the Life of Alexander Severus^y, reports of him, "that there happening a dispute between the Christians and the victuallers about a certain public place, each party challenging it as their own; the emperor's rescript determined it thus in favour of the Christians, 'that it was better that God should be worshipped there after any manner, than that it should be given up to the victuallers.'" About the middle of this age lived the famous Gregory, of Neocæsarea, surnamed Thaumaturgus, who himself built several churches in Neocæsarea and the adjacent parts of Pontus, as Gregory Nyssen^z reports in his Life; and also wrote a Canonical Epistle,

▼ Tertull. de Coron. Mil. c. iii. (Paris. 1675. p. 102. A 2.) Aquam adituri, ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius in ecclesia, sub antistitis manu, contestamur nos renunciare diabolo, et pompæ, et angelis ejus, etc.

▼ Hippolyt. de Consummat. Mundi, (Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. tom. ii. p. 346.) Οἱ ναοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὡς οἰκοὶ ἔσονται, καὶ καταστροφὰὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν πανταχοῦ γινήσονται.

✕ Vid. Combefis. Auctar. Noviss. p. 57. Quod Hippolyti nomine opus de Antichristo hactenus pluteos oneraverat, sequioris Græciæ monumentum est, ac plane stramineum, nihil ævi illius sinceritatem redolens, aut venam magni cum simplicitate Theologi satque in Scripturis versati: cujus parens ea ipsa persuasio fuerit, quod scripsisse Hippolytum de Antichristo apud antiquos per-vulgatum sit.

▼ Lamprid. Vit. Alex. c. xlix. Quum Christiani quemdam locum, qui publicus fuerat, occupassent, contra popinarij dicerent, sibi eum deberi; rescripsit imperator, melius esse ut quomodocumque illic Deus colatur, quam popinariis dedatur.

✕ Gregor. Nyssen. Vit. Gregor. Thaum. (Paris. 1638. tom. iii. p. 567. C 4.)

wherein are described the several classes or stations^a of penitents in the respective parts of the church. But, because some learned men question whether that part of his Epistle be not rather a comment and addition by some other hand, I lay no greater weight upon it than it will bear, but only observe, that the same classes of penitents may be collected from other canons in that Epistle, which are allowed to be genuine. About the same time, St. Cyprian speaks of the place of their assembly, under the name of *Dominicum*^b, ‘the Lord’s house,’ as has been noted before; and, in another place, opposes the church and the Capitol, the altar of the Lord and the altars of images and idol gods, to one another; for, speaking against some that had lapsed, and, without due penance, were for intruding themselves into the church again,—“If this were once permitted,” says he, “what then remains^c but that the church should give way to the Capitol, and the priests withdraw, and take away the altar of the Lord with them; and let the images and idol gods, with their altars, succeed and take possession of the sanctuary, where the venerable bench of our clergy sit?” About this time, also, Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, speaks of churches as appropriate to the service of God, resolving this question, ‘Whether a woman, in the time

Πάντων κατὰ τόπον πάντα εὐκτηρίους ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ σπουδὴν ναοὺς ἀνεγειρόντων, θυμὸς καὶ φθόνος εἰσέρχεται τῷ τηνικαῦτα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιστατοῦντι . . . καὶ νομίσας δυνατὸν εἶναι τῇ θεῇ ἐνδυνάμει τὴν ἰδίαν ἀντιστήσαι πικρίαν, καὶ ἐπισχεῖν μεν τοῦ μυστηρίου τὸ κήρυγμα, καταλῦσαι δὲ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τὰ συστήματα, μεταστήσαι δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ εἰδῶλα τοὺς προκεχωρηκότας τῷ λόγῳ, κ. τ. λ.

^a Gregor. Thaum. Epist. Can. c. xi. (p. 41, Paris. 1622.) Ἡ πρόσκλαυσις ἔξω τῆς πύλης τοῦ εὐκτηρίου ἐστίν, ἔνθα ἐστῶτα τὸν ἁμαρτάνοντα χρὴ τῶν εἰσιόντων δεῖσθαι πιστῶν, ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ εὐχεσθαι· ἡ ἀκρόασις ἐνδοθι τῆς πύλης ἐν τῷ νάρθηκι· ἔνθα ἐστάναι χρὴ τὸν ἡμαρτηκότα, ἕως τῶν κατηγουμένων, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἐξέρχεσθαι· ἀκούων γάρ, φησί, τῶν γραφῶν, καὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας, ἐκβαλλέσθαι, καὶ μὴ ἀξιούσθω προσευχῆς· ἡ δὲ ὑπόπτωσις, ἵνα ἔσθωεν τῆς πύλης τοῦ ναοῦ ἰστάμενος, μετὰ τῶν κατηγουμένων ἐξέρχεται· ἡ σύστασις, ἵνα συνίσταται τοῖς πιστοῖς, καὶ μὴ ἐξέρχεται μετὰ τῶν κατηγουμένων· τελευταῖον, ἡ μέθεξις τῶν ἁγιασμάτων.

^b Cypr. de Oper. et Elcemos. See sect. ii.

^c Cypr. Ep. iv. al. lix. ad Cornel. (Paris. 1726. p. 88.) Quid superest, quam ut ecclesia Capitolio cedat, et recedentibus sacerdotibus, ac Domini altare remonentibus, in cleri nostri sacrum venerandumque congestum, simulacra atque idola cum aris suis transeant?

of her separation, might enter^d into the house of God? It appears, further, from the rescript of Gallienus, the emperor, recorded by Eusebius^e, where he restores the Christians their churches, under the name of *τόποι θρησκείσμοι*, 'worshipping-places.' And, from what has been noted before out of the Letter of Aurelian^f, which chides the senate for demurring about opening the Sibylline books, as if they had been consulting, not in the Capitol, but in a Christian church; as also in that other rescript of his in Eusebius^g, which, at the request of the Council of Antioch, ordered Paulus Samosatensis to be turned out of the house of the church. But the testimony of Eusebius goes far beyond all others; for, speaking of the peaceable times which the Christians enjoyed from the persecution of Valerian to that of Diocletian, he observes, that the number of Christians so grew and multiplied in that fifty years, that their ancient churches were not large enough to receive them; and therefore they erected from the foundations^h more ample and spacious ones in every city.

SECT. XVI.—*The Objection from Lactantius and Arnobius answered.*

The only objection against all this, made with any colour, is drawn from some of the ancient apologists, Origenⁱ, Minucius

^d Dionys. Ep. can. ii. (apud Bevereg. tom. ii. p. 4. E.) Περὶ τῶν ἐν ἀφένδρῳ γυναικῶν, εἰ προσῆκεν αὐτὰς οὕτω διακειμένας εἰς τὸν οἶκον εἰσεῖναι τοῦ Θεοῦ, περιττὸν καὶ τὸ πυνθάνεσθαι νομίζω.

^e Euseb. lib. vii. c. xiii. (Aug. Taur. 1746. p. 330. A 2.) Τὴν εὐεργεσίαν τῆς ἐμῆς δωρεᾶς διὰ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου ἐκβιβασθῆναι προσέταξα ὅπως ἀπὸ τόπων θρησκευσίων ἀποχωρήσωσι.

^f See before, sect. i. ex Vopisco Vit. Aurelian.

^g Euseb. lib. vii. c. xxx. cit. sect. iii. not. (u).

^h Ibid. lib. viii. c. i. Πῶς ἂν τις διαγράψει τὰς μυριάδους ἐκείνας ἐπισυναγωγὰς καὶ τὰ πλήθη τῶν κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἀθροισμάτων τὰς τε ἐπισήμους ἐν τοῖς προσευκτηρίοις συνδρομάς; ὧν δὲ ἕνεκα μηδαμῶς ἔτι τοῖς παλαιοῖς οἰκοδομήμασιν ἀρκούμενοι, εὐρείας εἰς πλάτος ἀνά πάσας τὰς πόλεις ἱεμελίων ἀνίσταν ἐκκλησίας.

ⁱ Origen. c. Celsum, (Cambr. 1677.) lib. viii. p. 390. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ναοὺς ναοῖς δεῖ παραβαλεῖν, ἵνα παραστήσωμεν τοῖς ἀποδεχομένοις τὰ Κίλσου, ὅτι νεῶς μὲν ἰδρῦεσθαι τοὺς πρόποντας τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀγάλμασι καὶ βωμοῖς οὐ φεύγουμεν ἐκτρεπόμεθα δὲ τῷ πάσῃ ζωῇ χορηγῶ ἀψύχους καὶ νεκροὺς οἰκοδομεῖν νεῶς ἀκούετω ὁ βουλόμενος, τίνα τρόπον διδασκόμεθα, ὅτι τὰ σώματα

Felix^j, Arnobius^k, and Lactantius^l, who seem to say that the Christians in their time had no temples nor altars; nor ought to have any. But, as Mr. Mede shows at large, this is only spoken against such temples as the heathens pleaded for, in the notion of encloistering the Deity by an idol. For, otherwise, the very authors from whom the objection is drawn most strangely contradict themselves; for Arnobius^m owns they had their *conventicula*, 'houses of assembly,' which, he complains, were barbarously destroyed in the last persecution. And Lactantiusⁿ says the same, giving them also the name of the 'temples of God;' which Diocletian ordered to be demolished, when he taught oratory in Bithynia. And Origen himself speaks^o of adorning the Christian churches and altars, in one of his Homilies upon Joshua, translated literally by Ruffin.

ἡμῶν ναὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστὶ καὶ εἴ τις διὰ τῆς ἀκολασίας ἢ τῆς ἀμαρτίας φθείρει τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὗτος ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀσεβὴς εἰς τὸν ἀληθῆ ναὸν φθαρήσεται.

^j Minuc. Octav. p. 29. (p. 31, edit. Hall.) Cur nullas aras habent, templa nulla, nulla nota simulacra?

^k Arnob. Advers. Gent. lib. vi. (Oberthür's edit. 1783. p. 201.) (p. 113, edit. Hamburg.) Quod quum ita se habeat, qui possumus judicari deos habere contemptui, quos nisi sunt recti, et magnarum mentium admiratione laudabiles, deos negamus exsistere, nec potestatibus posse cœlitum applicari? Sed templa illis exstruimus nulla, nec eorum effigies adoramus, non mactamus hostias, non tura ac vina libamus. Et quid amplius possumus vel honoris eis tribuere vel dignitatis, quam quod eos in ea ponamus parte, qua rerum caput, ac Dominum, summumque ipsum regem, cui debent divina nobiscum, quod esse se sentiunt, et vitali in substantia contineri? Numquid enim delubris aut templorum eum constructionibus honoramus?

^l Lactant. lib. ii. c. ii. (Paris. 1748. p. 116.) Cur ad parietes, et ligna, et lapides potissimum, quam illo spectatis, ubi eos esse creditis? Quid sibi templa? Quid aræ volunt?

^m Arnob. lib. iv. p. 152. (p. 90, edit. Hamb.) See sect. vii. not. (l).

ⁿ Lactant. lib. v. c. ii. citat. sect. vi. not. (q).

^o Origen. Homil. x. in Joshuam. (Oberthür's edit. vol. vi. p. 669.) Sunt quidam in ecclesia credentes quidem et habentes fidem in Deum, et acquiescentes in omnibus divinis præceptis; quique etiam erga servos Dei religiosi sunt, et servire eis cupiunt, sed et ad ornatum ecclesiæ vel ministerium satis prompti paratique sunt, in actibus vero suis et conversatione propria obscenitatibus et vitiis involuti, nec omnino deponentes veterem hominem cum actibus suis, sed involuti vetustis vitiis et obscenitatibus suis, sicut et isti pannis, et calceamentis veteribus obtecti, præter hoc, quod in Deum credunt, et erga servos Dei vel ecclesiæ cultum videntur esse devoti, nihil adhibent emendationis vel innovationis in moribus.—Ibid. Sciendum est, . . . quod si qui tales sunt in

SECT. XVII.—*Some Additional Collections upon this Head.*

Thus far Mr. Mede goes in his collections and answer to this objection; to which I shall add a few things which he has not observed. Lactantius, in another place of his *Institutions*^p, speaks of one of the Christian *conventicula* in a town in Phrygia, which the heathen burned with the whole assembly in it. And in his book, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, published since Mr. Mede's death, he gives a more particular account of the destruction of churches throughout the world: for he not only mentions the demolishing the stately church of Nicomedia^q, but intimates that the same fate attended the churches over all the world. For even in France, where the mild Constantius ruled, the persecution went so far as to pull down the churches^r, though the men, the true temples of God, were spared and sheltered under his gentle government. Lactantius lived in France at this time, being tutor to Crispus, the son of Constantine, and grandson of Constantius; and therefore he could not be mistaken in his relation. So that we must interpret Eusebius by him, when he^s says, "Constantius destroyed no

nobis, quorum fides hoc tantummodo habet, ut ad ecclesiam veniant, et inclinent caput suum sacerdotibus, officia exhibeant, servos Dei honorent, ad ornatum quoque altaris vel ecclesiæ aliquid conferant, etc.

^p Lactant. lib. v. c. xi. (Paris. 1748. vol. i. p. 390.) Aliqui ad occidendum præcípites extiterunt, sicut unus in Phrygia, qui universum populum cum ipso pariter conventiculo concremavit.

^q Ibid. de Mort. Persecut. c. xii. (vol. ii. p. 199.) 'Ille dies primus leti primusque malorum causa fuit,' quæ et ipsis et orbi terrarum acciderunt. Qui dies quum illuxisset, agentibus consulatum senibus ambobus octavum et septimum, repente adhuc dubia luce ad ecclesiam præfectus cum Ducibus, et Tribunis, et Rationalibus venit; et revulsis foribus simulacrum Dei quæritur. Scripturæ repertæ incenduntur, datur omnibus præda. Rapiuntur, trepidatur, discurrunt. Ipsi vero in speculis (in alto enim constituta Ecclesia ex palatio videbatur) diu inter se concertabant, utrum ignem potius supponi oporteret. Vicit sententia Diocletianus, cavens ne magno incendio facto, pars aliqua civitatis arderet. Nam multæ ac magnæ domus ab omni parte cingebant. Veniebant igitur Prætoriani, acie structa, cum securibus et aliis ferramentis; et inmissi undique fanum illud editissimum paucis horis solo adæquarunt.

^r Ibid. c. xv. (p. 202.) Constantius, ne dissentire a majorum præceptis videretur, conventicula, id est, parietes, qui restitui poterant, dirui passus est: verum autem Dei templum, quod est in hominibus, incolume servavit.

^s Euseb. lib. viii. c. xiii. (Aug. Taur. 1746. p. 348. A 10.) Μητε τῶν

churches ;” that is, he gave no positive orders, as the other emperors did, to destroy them ; but he connived at such as pulled them down, in policy, to satisfy the other emperors, and make the walls compound for the life and safety of the persons. However it was, both Eusebius and Lactantius agree in this, that there were churches in France before the last persecution. We have the like account of the churches of Britain given by Gildas, who says[†], in general, of the last persecution, “that it occasioned churches all over the world to be destroyed, and particularly in Britain; for the Christians built them new again from the ground, when the persecution^u was over, and founded others beside them, to be as so many public monuments and trophies of their martyrs.” Optatus^w takes notice of forty churches in Rome before the last persecution, which, being taken from the Christians, were afterward restored to them by the order of Maxentius, as St. Austin^x more than once informs us. In Afric, we read of some churches that were demolished in this persecution, as at Zama and Furni, mentioned in the *Gesta^y Purgationis* of Cæcilian and Felix. Others were taken away; and, in the meantime, till they were restored again, both councils and Church assemblies were held in private

ἐκκλησιῶν τοὺς οἴκους καθελὼν, μὴθ' ἑτερόν τι καθ' ἡμῶν καινουργήσας, τέλος ἐυδόκιμον καὶ τρισμακάριον ἀπέλγησε τοῦ βίου.

[†] Gildas de Excid. Britann. in initio. Ad persecutionem Diocletiani tyranni novennem, in quo subversæ per totum mundum sunt ecclesiæ, etc.

^u Ibid. Renovant ecclesias ad solum usque destructas ; basilicas sanctorum martyrum fundant, construunt, perficiunt, ac veluti victoricia signa passim propalant. Vid. Bedæ Histor. Eccles. lib. i. c. vi. et viii. (London, 1838. p. 23.) who speaks almost in the words of Gildas.

^w Optat. lib. ii. (Oberthür, 1789. vol. i. p. 26.) Non enim grex aut populus appellandi fuerant pauci, qui inter quadraginta, et quod excurrit, basilicas, locum ubi colligerent, non habebant.

^x Augustin. Brevic. Collat. diei iii. c. xviii. (Bened. vol. ix. p. 574. F.) Gesta alia recitarunt, in quibus legebatur Melchides misisse diaconos cum litteris Maxentii imperatoris et litteris præfecti prætorio ad præfectum urbis, ut ea reciperent, quæ tempore persecutionis ablata memoratus imperator Christianis jusserat reddi. Et quum his quoque gestis nullum Melchidis crimen et cognitori et Catholicis defensoribus appareret, dixerunt Donatiste, Stratonem diaconum, quem cum aliis Melchides ad recipienda loca ecclesiastica miserat, superioribus gestis recitatum esse traditorem ; etc.

^y Gesta Purgat. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 452.) Et Zamæ et Furnis dirui basilicas et uri scripturas vidi.

houses ; as Optatus^z observes of the Council of Cirta ; and St. Austin after him, who says, “ It was not to be wondered at that a few bishops should hold a council^a in a private house in the heat of persecution, when the martyrs made no scruple, in the like case, to be baptized in prison, and Christians met in prison to celebrate the sacrament with the martyrs.” But, not to multiply instances of this nature, the very tenor of the imperial edicts, which raised the last persecution, is undeniable evidence that the Christians, in all parts of the world, had then their public churches, to which they resorted so long as they had opportunity to frequent them ; for Eusebius^b says, “ The edicts were sent over all the world, commanding the churches to be levelled with the ground, and the Bibles to be burned ;” which is also noted by Theodoret^c, St. Jerome^d, and the Acts of Purgation of Cæcilian and Felix^e at the end of Optatus ; so that a man might as well question whether the Christians had Bibles, as whether they had churches, before the last persecution. The defenders of the contrary opinion here always give up the cause, and contradict themselves ; for, when they have urged the authority of Arnobius and Lactantius against Christians having any temples, they are forced to confess, from the foresaid evidences, that they had churches whilst Arnobius and Lactantius lived, that is, within the third

^z Optat. lib. i. p. 39. (p. 16, edit. cit.) Apud Cirtam civitatem, quia basilicæ nec dum fuerant restitutæ, in domum Urbani Carisi consederunt.

^a Aug. Brevic. Collat. diei iii. c. xvii. (Bened. vol. ix. p. 574. B 9.) Non esse incredibile, quod in privatam domum pauci illi episcopi, persecutionis tempore, convenerunt, ut fervente persecutione, etiam in carcere doceantur baptizati martyres, et illic a Christianis celebrata sacramenta, ubi Christiani propter eadem sacramenta tenebantur inclusi.

^b Euseb. lib. viii. c. ii. (Aug. Taur. p. 331.) Τῶν μὲν προσευκτηρίων τοὺς οἶκους ἐξ ὕψους εἰς ἔδαφος αὐτοῖς θεμελίους καταρρίπτουμένους, τὰς δὲ ἐνθέους καὶ ἱεράς γραφὰς κατὰ μίσας ἀγοράς πυρὶ παραδιδόμενας αὐτοῖς ἐπείδομεν ὀφθαλμοῖς.

^c Theodoret. lib. v. c. xxxix. (Reading, p. 212. A.) Πάσας καταλύσειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἠπέιλησε, καὶ μὲν τοὶ καὶ τέλος ἐπέθηκεν οἷς ἠπέιλησε.

^d Hieron. Comment. in Zach. c. viii. (Vallars. vol. vi. p. 841. D.) In tantam rabiem persecutorum feritas excitata est, ut etiam conciliabula nostra destruerent.

^e Gesta Purgat. Cæcil. p. 277. (p. 96, edit. cit.) Ubi scripture inveniuntur, ipsa domus diruitur. (See Labbe, vol. i. p. 1452. B 8.)

century ; which is to grant and deny the same thing, and load both themselves and those ancient authors with a manifest contradiction. To the testimonies cited by Mr. Mede in the middle of the third century, the reader may add that remarkable story told by Eusebius concerning the martyr Marinus, an. 259, in the time of Gallienus. Marinus, being a candidate for a Roman office at Cæsarea, was informed against as a Christian by an antagonist, who pleaded that he ought not to have the office upon that score. The judge, upon examination, finding it to be so, gives him three hours' time to consider whether he would quit his religion or his life. During this space, Theotecnus, bishop of Cæsarea, meets with him, and, taking him by the hand, carries him^f to the church, and sets him by the holy table, then offers him a Bible and a sword, and bids him take his choice. He readily, without any demur, lays his hand upon the Bible ; whereupon the bishop thus bespake him : " Adhere," says he, " adhere to God ; and in his strength enjoy what thou hast chosen, and go in peace." With this he immediately returns from the church to the judge, makes his confession, receives his sentence, and dies a martyr. Who that reads this story can question whether the

^f Euseb. lib. vii. c. xv. (Aug. Taur. p. 298.) Τιμή τις ἐστὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις τὸ κλῆμα, οὐ τοὺς τυχόντας φασὶν ἑκατοντάρχους γίνεσθαι· τόπου σχολάζοντος, ἐπὶ τοῦτο προκοπῆς τὸν Μαρτῖνον ἢ τοῦ βαθμοῦ τάξις ἐκάλει· ἤδη τε μέλλοντα τῆς τιμῆς ἔχουσιν, παρελθὼν ἄλλος πρὸς τὸ βήματος, μὴ ἐξῆναι μὲν ἰκεῖν τῆς Ῥωμαίων μετέχειν ἀξίας κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς νόμους, Χριστιανῷ γε οὐκ οὐκ οὐκ βασιλεῦσι μὴ θύονται, κατηγορεῖ· αὐτῷ δὲ ἐπιβάλλειν τὸν κλῆρον· ἐφ' ᾧ κινηθέντα τὸν δικαστὴν, Ἀχαιοὺς οὗτος ἦν, πρῶτον μὲν ἐρίσθαι, ποίας ὁ Μαρτῖνος γνώμης εἴη· . . . ὥς δὲ ὁμολογοῦντα Χριστιανὸν ἐπιμόνως ἑώρα, τριῶν ὥρων ἐπιδούναι αὐτῷ εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν διάστημα· ἐκτὸς δὴτα γινόμενον αὐτὸν τοῦ δικαστηρίου, Θεότεκνος ὁ τῷδε ἐπίσκοπος ἀφέλκει προσελθὼν δι' ὀμῆρας· καὶ τῆς χειρὸς λαβὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν προσάγει· εἰσω τε πρὸς αὐτῷ στήσας τῷ ἁγιάσματι μικρὸν τε παραναστείλας αὐτοῦ τῆς χλαμύδος καὶ τὸ προσηρητημένον αὐτῷ ξίφος ἐκδεῖξας, ἅμα τε ἀντιπαρτίτῃσι προσαγαγὼν αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν ὁρίων εὐαγγελίων γραφὴν· κελεύσας τῶν δυεῖν ἐλίσθαι τὸ κατὰ γνώμην· ὥς δ' ἀμελλητὶ τὴν δεξιὰν προτείνας, ἰδέξατο τὴν θείαν γραφὴν· ἔχου τοῖνον ἔχου, φησὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Θεότεκνος, τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τύχοις ὧν εἶλον· πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐναυμουμένος, καὶ βάδιζε μετ' εἰρήνης· εὐθὺς ἐκείθεν ἐπανελθόντα αὐτὸν, κήρυξ ἐβόα καλῶν πρὸς τοῦ δικαστηρίου· καὶ γὰρ ἤδη τὰ τῆς προθεσμίας τοῦ χρόνου πεπλήρωτο· καὶ δὴ παραστὰς τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, καὶ μείζονα τῆς πίστεως τὴν προθυμίαν ἐπιδείξας, εὐθὺς ὥς εἶχεν ἀπαχθεὶς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, τελειοῦται.

worshipping places which Gallienus is said a little before ^s to have restored to the Christians, were properly churches, with holy tables or altars in them? To the testimonies cited from Tertullian, may be added one more, where he plainly distinguishes the parts of their churches, as the discipline of their penitents then required; for, speaking of the unnatural sins of uncleanness, he says, "All such ^h monsters were excluded not only from the nave or body of the church, but from every part of it; they were obliged to stand without door in the open air, and not allowed to come under the roof of it." This discipline was in the church of Antioch, in the time of Babylas, an. 247, when, according to the account given by St. Chrysostom ⁱ and Eusebius ^k, Babylas excluded the Emperor Philip from the church, with all his guards about him, on Easter-eve, and would not suffer him to pray with the faithful till he had set himself in 'the place of the penitents' (*μετανοίας χώρα*, Eusebius calls it), and there made confession of his crimes. I stand not now critically to inquire into the truth of this history, which some learned men ^l question, and others defend ^m: it is sufficient for our present purpose that both Eusebius and St. Chrysostom give us such an account of the ancient churches as necessarily supposes them distinct from common habitations in the middle of the third century. Nay,

^s Euseb. lib. vii. c. xiii. Vid. p. 376. not. (e).

^h Tertull. de Pudicit. c. iv. (Paris. 1675. p. 557. B 9.) Reliquas autem libidinum furias impias et in corpora et in sexus ultra jura nature, non modo limine, verum omni Ecclesiæ tecto submovemus; quia non sunt delicta, sed monstra.

ⁱ Chrysostom. cont. Gentil. (Benedict. vol. ii. p. 545. B 7.) (tom. i. p. 741.) (p. 656. B. Francof.) Τὸν βασιλεία τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας προθύρων ἐξήλασε.— Vid. p. 741. (p. 661.) Τὸν βασιλεία ἀναιδῶς τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐπιτηδῶντα περιβύλοις, καὶ πάντα συγχέοντα, καθάπερ τινὰ κύνα καὶ οἰκίτην ἀγνώμονα τῶν δεσποτικῶν ἀπείργων αὐλῶν.

^k Euseb. lib. vi. c. xxxiv. (Aug. Taur. 1746. p. 259.) Τοῦτον (Φίλιππον) κατέχει λόγος Χριστιανὸν ὄντα, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ὑστάτης τοῦ Πάσχα παννυχίδος τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας εὐχῶν τῷ πλήθει μετασχεῖν ἰθελῆσαι· οὐ πρότερον δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ τηνικάδε προεστῶτος ἐπιτραπῆναι εἰσβαλεῖν, ἢ ἐξομολογήσασθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἐν παραπτώμασιν ἐξεταζομένοις, μετανοίας τε χώραν ἔχουσιν, αὐτὸν καταλείπει.

^l Cave, Prim. Christ. p. 46.

^m Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 247, n. vi.†—Huet. Origenian. lib. i. c. iii. n. xii. tot.

St. Austinⁿ, and the author of the Comments, under the name of St. Ambrose^o, say expressly, that “as soon as the religion of Christ was planted in the world, churches were built to pray for kings, and all that are in authority,” &c. according to the apostle’s direction, 1 Tim. ii. 1; upon which St. Austin founds the use and building of churches. I lay no stress upon the martyrologies, nor such writers as Abdias Babylonius, and Anacletus, which speak of churches built in Persia by Simon and Jude, and at Alexandria by St. Mark, and at Rome by St. Peter, because these are late and spurious writings; but yet, if we may judge of the first conversions by those that happened in the time of Constantine, we may conclude, that as soon as any people were converted, they provided themselves churches for divine service; as, when Frumentius had converted the Indians, Socrates^p says, “he immediately built churches among them;” which is confirmed by Ruffin, who not only takes notice of that, but says further, that “before he had converted them, meeting with some Roman merchants that were Christians, he encouraged them to build themselves^q oratories in all places whither they might resort for prayer, after the custom of the Romans.” Theodoret^r, and Socrates^s, and Ruffin^t, observe the same in the conversion of the nation

ⁿ Augustin. cont. Faust. lib. xii. c. xxxvi. (Bened. vol. viii. p. 244. A 7.) Ex hoc quippe illis credentibus constructa sunt domicilia pacis, basilicæ Christianarum congregationum, etc.

^o Ambros. in Ephes. iv. (Benedict. vol. ii. p. 241. F.) Ubi omnia loca circumplexa est ecclesia, conventicula constituta sunt.

^p Socrat. lib. i. c. xix. Εὐκτήρια πολλὰ ἰδρύει.

^q Ruffin. lib. i. c. ix. Monere cœpit, ut conventicula per loca singula facerent, ad quæ Romano ritu orationis causa confluerent.

^r Theod. lib. i. c. xxiv. (p. 50. B 9.) Τὴν ἀξιάγαστον ἐκείνην καταλαβὼν δοριάλωτον, παρεκάλει δεῖξαι τῆς οἰκοδομίας τὸ σχῆμα· ὁ δὲ [τὸν] Βεσλεὴλ τῆς ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς σοφίας ἐμπλήσας, καὶ ταύτην ἡξίωσε χάριτος, ὡς τὸν θεῖον διαγράψαι νῶν· καὶ ἡ μὲν διέγραψεν· οἱ δὲ ὠρυττόν τε καὶ ψκοδόμουν, κ. τ. λ.

^s Socrat. lib. i. c. xx. (p. 46.) Ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς μαθὼν παρὰ τῆς αἰχμαλώτου τὸ σχῆμα τῶν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἐκκλησιῶν, εὐκτήριον οἶκον ἐκέλευσε γενίσθαι· εὐθύς τε πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν προσέταξεν εὐτρεπίζεσθαι· καὶ ὁ οἶκος ἡγείρετο.

^t Ruffin. lib. i. c. x. Adest captiva, edocet Deum Christum supplicandi ritum venerandique modum, in quantum de his aperire feminæ fas erat, pandit. Fabri-

of the Iberians by a captive woman, who taught them to build churches after the Roman form; which they did, and then sent ambassadors to Constantine (in whose time both these conversions happened) to desire him to send them priests to carry on the work they had thus begun, and to minister in their churches. Now, we may reasonably conclude that some such thing was observed in all conversions from the very first, allowing for the difference betwixt times of persecution and times of peace; for, though they had not such public and stately edifices at some times as they had at others, yet they always had places peculiarly set apart for divine worship before the peaceable reign of Constantine, as the evidences produced above do undeniably prove.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN CHURCHES IN THE FIRST AGES, AND THOSE THAT FOLLOWED; AND OF HEATHEN TEMPLES AND JEWISH SYNAGOGUES CONVERTED INTO CHRISTIAN CHURCHES.

SECT. I.—*The First Churches very simple and plain.*

THE only remaining objection against what has been advanced in the last chapter, is taken from a passage or two of the ancients, which seem to imply that there was a great difference between the apostolical age and those that followed, in reference to this business of churches. Isidore, of Pelusium, treating of this matter, says, “ In the apostles’ days there were ^a no

cari tamen ecclesiam monet, formamque describit : . . . cunctis idem volentibus, ecclesia exstruitur instanter, etc.

^a Isidor. Pelus. lib. ii. ep. cexlvi. (Paris. 1638. p. 236. D 7.) “Οτι ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὅτε ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐκόμα μὲν χαρίσμασι πνευματικοῖς, ἔβρου δὲ πολιτεία λαμπρᾷ, ἐκκλησιαστήρια οὐκ ἦν· ἐπὶ δὲ ἡμῶν τὰ ἐκκλησιαστήρια πλέον τοῦ δέοντος κεκόσμηται, ἡ δ’ ἐκκλησία (ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν βούλομαι δυσχερὲς εἰπεῖν) κωμφοδεῖται· ἐγὼ γοῦν, εἴγε αἵρεσίς μοι προῦκειτο, εἰδόμην ἂν ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς ἐκείνοις γεγενῆσθαι, ἐν οἷς ἐκκλησιαστήρια μὲν οὕτω κεκοσμημένα μὴ ἦν, ἐκκλησία δὲ θείοις καὶ οὐρανόις χαρίσμασιν ἱστεμμένα, ἡ ἐν τούτοις, ἐν οἷς τὰ μὲν ἐκκλησιαστήρια παντοίοις κεκαλλώπισται μαρμάροις, ἡ δὲ ἐκκλησία τῶν πνευματικῶν χαρισμάτων ἐκείνων ἱρήμη καὶ γυμνὴ καθίστηκε.

churches, that is, buildings or temples, when spiritual gifts abounded, and a holy conversation was the bright ornament of the Church; but in our days the buildings are adorned more than is necessary, whilst the Church is fallen into disgrace: and therefore, were I at liberty to choose, I should rather have wished to have lived in those days when there were no such beautiful temples, but yet the Church was crowned with divine and heavenly graces, than in these days when temples are adorned with all kinds of marble, but the Church is deprived of all those spiritual gifts." These words, if they be taken in the strictest sense, may seem to import that, in the age of the apostles, there were no churches builded; for, beyond the apostolical age, he carries not the comparison: but I rather take him to mean that the apostles had not such churches as they had in his time; that is, so stately and magnificent, so rich and beautiful, as many in after-ages; which is certainly true: for, in the first conversion of any nation, the churches were always answerable to the state and condition the converts were in; which was commonly a state of persecution, when not many rich, not many noble, were called. Nay, even in those places where kings gave encouragement to the propagation of the faith, churches were another thing from what they are now, as we may learn from the history of our own nation. "There was a time," Bede tells us, "when there was not a stone church in all the land, but the custom was to build them all of wood;" and, therefore, when Bishop Ninyas built a church of stone, it was such^b a rarity and unusual thing among the Britons, that they called the place *Candida Casa*, 'Whitern,' or 'Whitchurch,' upon it. The same author^c tells us, that "Finan, the second bishop of Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, since called the bishopric of Durham, built a church in the island fit for a cathedral see, which

^b Bed. *Hist.* lib. iii. c. iv. (London, 1837. p. 162.) Vulgo vocatur 'Ad Candidam Casam,' eo quod ibi ecclesiam de lapide, insolito Brittonibus more fecerit.

^c *Ibid.* lib. iii. c. xxv. Finan in insula Lindisfarnensi fecit ecclesiam episcopali sedi congruam: quam tamen, more Scottorum, non de lapide, sed de robore secto, totam composuit atque arundine textit.—Sed episcopus loci ipsius Eadberet, ablata arundine, plumbi laminis eam totam, hoc est, et tectum et ipsos quoque parietes ejus, co-operire curavit.

yet was not of stone, but only timber sawed, and covered with reed: and so it continued, till Eadbert, the seventh bishop, took away the reed, and covered it all over, both roof and sides, with sheets of lead." No one, after this, will wonder at the account which Sulpicius Severus^d gives of the churches of Cyrene, in the deserts of Libya, when he tells us, "he went with a presbyter into one of them, which was made of small rods, interwoven one with another, and not much more stately and ambitious than his own house, in which a man could hardly stand upright. But the men who frequented these churches were men of the golden age and purest morals; they neither bought nor sold any thing; they knew not what fraud or theft was; they neither had, nor desired to have, silver or gold, which other mortals set such a value upon. For," says he, "when I offered the presbyter ten pieces of gold, he refused them, telling me, with some greatness of mind, that the church was not built with gold, but rather unbuilt by it;" *ecclesiam auro non strui, sed potius destrui, altiore consilio protestatus*. These instances may serve to explain Isidore's meaning, when he says, "The apostolical age had no churches, or not such rich and noble structures, as the peace, and affluence, and emulation of after-ages, commonly produced."

SECT. II.—*Reasons for enlarging and altering the State of Ecclesiastical Structures.*

Indeed there were many visible reasons why the state of the structures must needs alter in proportion to the advancement of the state of religion itself; for times of peace and persecution looked with a very different aspect, and had a very different influence upon the affairs of the Church. Persecution was always attended with poverty, paucity of believers, and

^d Sulpic. Sever. Dial. i. c. v. (Lips. 1709. p. 391.) Erat vilibus contexta virgultis, non multo ambitiosior quam nostri hospitis tabernaculum, in quo nisi incurvus quis non poterat consistere. Quum hominum mores quæreremus, illud præclarum animadvertimus, nihil eos æque emere, neque vendere. Quid sit fraus aut furtum, nesciunt. Aurum atque argentum, quæ prima mortales putant, neque habent, neque habere cupiunt. Nam quum ego presbytero illi decem nummos aureos obtulissem, refugit altiore consilio protestatus, ecclesiam auro non strui, sed potius destrui.

unsettled hopes; so that either they needed not stately and sumptuous buildings. or they were not able to erect them; or at least they had no invitation and encouragement to do it, whilst they were under daily apprehensions of seeing them plundered or demolished almost as soon as they had erected them. But, in times of peace, great multitudes of converts forsook the temples, and came over to the Church, and those many times persons of fortune and quality; and, in some of the heathen reigns, the Church enjoyed a more serene and uninterrupted gale of tranquillity; as in that happy interval of near fifty years, between the death of St. Cyprian and the last persecution; and then there was a necessity to build more ample and stately churches, and they had ability to do it, and were not without hopes of continuing to enjoy their works of piety in a settled and lasting peace. So that, then, in that promising interval, as Eusebius* observes, when Diocletian's court and family were almost all become Christians, and great multitudes of believers in all cities came over daily to the faith, their ancient fabrics could not contain them, but they built them more ample and spacious churches in every city from the foundation. And when many of these had been destroyed in the long decennial persecution, they were again rebuilt from the ground more lofty and beautiful than they were before, as the same Eusebius† words it, as soon as Constantine had revived the Christians' hopes by publishing his edicts in favour of their religion.

SECT. III.—*Particularly the Munificence of Christian Emperors contributed towards this.*

But now there were two other reasons concurred, after the emperors were become Christians, which contributed much

* Euseb. lib. viii. c. i. Vid. c. i. sect. xv. not. (h).

† Ibid. lib. x. c. ii. (Aug. T. 1746. p. 140.) *Μάλιστα δ' ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἀνηρτημένοις, ἄλεκτος παρῆν εὐφροσύνη· καὶ τις ἐνθεὸς ἅπασιν ἐπήνθει χαρά· πάντα τόπον πρὸ μικροῦ ταῖς τῶν τυράννων δυσσεβείαις ἡρειπωμένον, ὥσπερ ἐκ μακρᾶς καὶ θανατηφόρου λύμης ἀναβώσκοντα θεωμένοις, νέως τε αὖθις ἐκ βάρων εἰς ὕψος ἀπειρον ἐγειρομένους, καὶ πολὺν κρείττονα τὴν ἀγλαίαν τῶν πάλαι πεπολιορκημένων ἀπολαμβάνοντας.*

toward the state and magnificence of Christian churches; which were, first, the great liberality and munificence of the emperors themselves, who were at great expense in erecting many noble fabrics, in several cities, to the honour of Christ; and, secondly, their orders for converting heathen temples into churches. Constantine spared no charge to erect, beautify, and adorn churches in all parts of the East, as at Jerusalem, Antioch, Nicomedia, Mambre, Heliopolis, in Phœnicia, and many other places; of which the reader that pleases may find a particular account in Eusebius and Socrates^g; but especially at Constantinople, where, among others, he built the beautiful church called *Ecclesia Constantiniana*, to the memory of the twelve apostles; which, as Eusebius^h describes it, was vastly high, and yet had all its walls covered with marble; its roof overlaid with gold; and the outside, instead of tiles, covered with gilded brass. He also laid the foundation of the famous temple called *Sancta Sophia*, and *Magna*, which was finished, and dedicated, thirty-four years after, by his son Constantius (an. 360), who joined the Temple of Peace to it (which was another church built by Constantine), including them both in one, as Socratesⁱ and the author of the *Chronicon*^k *Alexan-*

^g Euseb. de Vit. Const. lib. iii. c. l. tot. c. li. tot.—Socrat. lib. i. capp. xvi. xvii. xviii.

^h Euseb. lib. iv. c. lviii. (Aug. T. p. 596.) 'Ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸ μαρτύριον ἐν τῇ ἑπωνύμῳ πόλει, ἐπὶ μνήμῃ τῶν ἀποστόλων οἰκοδομεῖν παρεσκευάζετο· αὐτὸς δὲ νεῶν ἅπαντα εἰς ὕψος ἀφατον ἐπάρας, λίθων ποικίλαις παντοίων ἐξαστράποντα ἐποίει, εἰς αὐτὸν ὄροφον ἐξ ἐδάφους πλακώσας· διαλαβὼν δὲ λεπτοῖς φατνώμασι τὴν στέγην, χρυσῷ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐκάλυπτεν· ἄνω χαλκὸς μὲν ἀντὶ κεράμου, φυλακὴν τῷ ἔργῳ πρὸς ὑετῶν ἀσφάλειαν παρέιχε· καὶ τοῦτον δὲ πολὺς περιέλαμπε χρυσός· ὡς μαρμαρυγὰς τοῖς πόρρωθεν ἀφορῶσι ταῖς ἡλίου αὐγαῖς ἀντανακλωμέναις ἐκπέμπειν· δикτωτὰ δὲ περὶ ἐκύκλου τὸ δωματίον ἀνάγκυφα, χαλκῷ καὶ χρυσῷ κατεργασμένα.

ⁱ Socrat. lib. ii. c. xvi. (p. 82. D 5.) Κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν ἐκτίzen, ἥτις Σοφία μὲν προσαγορεύεται νῦν συνήπται δὲ τῇ ἑπωνύμῳ Εἰρήνῃ, ἣν ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ βασιλέως μικρὰν οὖσαν τὸ πρότερον, εἰς κάλλος καὶ μέγεθος ἡύξησε· καὶ νῦν εἰσὶν εἰς ἓνα περίβολον ἄμφω ὁρῶμεναι, μιᾶς τὴν προσωνυμίαν ἔχουσαι.

^k Chronic. Alex. alias Paschale dict. an. 360. p. 685. (p. 294, edit. Paris. 1686.) 'Ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς συνόδου τῶν ἐπισκόπων, οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ ἐνθρονισθῆναι τὸν Εὐδόξιον ἐπίσκοπον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, τὰ ἑγκαίνια τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ἐτετέλεσθη, δι' ἐτῶν λδ' μικρῇ πρὸς, ἀφ' οὗ θεμελίους κατεβάλλετο Κωνσταντίνος.

drinum informs us. Constantine's example was followed by the succeeding emperors, but more especially by Justinian, who, among many other works of this nature, rebuilt the church of St. Sophia, which had been burned down in the time of Anastasius. And now it became the glory of the world for its greatness, curious architecture, richness, and beauty; insomuch that Justinian himself, having finished it, was heard to say, *νενίκηκά σε, Σολομών*, "I have outdone thee, Solomon." They who are desirous to read the particular description of this church may find it briefly delineated in Evagrius¹, Procopius^m, and Agathiasⁿ; but more fully and exactly by Paulus Silentarius, and his learned commentator, Du Fresne, whose accurate knowledge in these matters exceeds all that ever came before him. I have extracted out of him such observations as I thought necessary to my own design; but they that please to peruse the whole, may find it at the end of *Johannes Cinnamus*, among the Byzantine historians, published at Paris, 1670.

SECT. IV.—*As also their Orders for converting Heathen Temples into Churches.*

The other reason which (I said) contributed toward the magnificence of Christian churches was, the orders of several emperors for converting heathen temples into churches. At first, indeed, whilst the reformation from heathenism was in its infancy, no idol temples were made use of as churches; but they were either permitted to the heathen for some time, or else shut up or demolished. Till the twenty-fifth year of Constantine (*i. e.* an. 333), the temples were in a great measure tolerated; but in that year he published his laws, commanding temples, altars, and images, to be destroyed, which laws are sometimes referred to in the Theodosian^o Code. And, pursuant to these laws, a great many temples were defaced in all parts of the world, and their revenues confiscated, as appears

¹ Evagr. lib. iv. c. xxxi. tot.

^m Procop. de *Ædificat. Justin.* lib. i. c. i. tot.

ⁿ Agath. lib. v. p. 152, seqq. edit. Par. 1660.

^o Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xvii. de Sepulchris Violatis, leg. ii.

not only from the Christian writers, St. Jerome^p and Eusebius^q, and others, but also from the complaints of the heathen writers, Eunapius^r, Libanius^s, and Julian^t. In some of the following reigns, also, the same method was taken to shut up or to deface the temples, as is evident from the account which Ruffin^u gives of the general destruction of them in Egypt, by the order of Valentinian. But, in the next reign, in the time of Theodosius, another method was taken with some of them; for, as Gothofred observes^w, out of the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* (an. 379), Theodosius turned the famous temple of Helio-
polis, called Balanium, into a Christian church, ἐποίησε αὐτὸ ἐκκλησίαν Χριστιανῶν. And, about the same time, Socrates tells us, that “when Valens had banished the two Macarii, the heads of the Egyptian monks, into a pagan island, they converted all the inhabitants, and turned^x their temple into

^p Hieron. Chronic. an. 332.

^q Euseb. de Vit. Constantin. lib. iii. c. liv. (p. 549. B 6.) “Ἐνθεν εἰκότως ἔγνουντο μὲν αὐτοῖς τῶν κατὰ πόλιν νεῶν τὰ προπύλαια, θυρῶν ἔρημα γινόμενα, βασιλέως προστάγματι· ἐτέρων δ’ ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρόφοις στέγη, τῶν καλυντήρων ἀφαιρουμένων, ἐφθείρετο.

^r Eunap. Vit. Aedesii, (p. 34, Græc. p. 50, Lat. edit. Antverp. 1618. 8vo.) Τούτων οὐδὲν εἶχομεν ἀναγράφειν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἐπέκρυπτεν ἴσως Αἰδῆσιος διὰ τοὺς χρόνους· Κωνσταντῖνος γὰρ ἐβασίλευε, τὰ τε τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπιφανέστατα καταστρέφων, καὶ τὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀνεγείρων οἰκήματα.

^s Liban. Orat. Apologetic. xxvi. p. 591. Κωνσταντῖνον καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου βασιλείαν, ὃς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς σπινθῆρα κακῶν δεξιόμενος εἰς φλόγα πολλὴν τὸ πρᾶγμα προήγαγεν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐγύμνωσε τοῦ πλοῦτου τοὺς θεοὺς· ὁ δὲ κατέσκαψε τοὺς ναοὺς, καὶ πάντα ἱερὸν ἐξαλείψας νόμον, ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν, οἷς ἴσμεν.

^t Julian. Orat. vii. (Paris. 1630.) p. 424. Πατρῷα μὲν ἱερὰ κατεσκάπτετο παρὰ τῶν παίδων, ὀλιγορηθέντα πρότερον ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ ἀποσυληθέντα τῶν ἀναθημάτων· ἃ τίθειτο παρὰ πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων, οὐχ ἥμισυ δὲ τῶν προπατόρων αὐτοῦ· καθαιρομένων δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν, ἀνψικοδομεῖτο παλαιὰ καὶ νέα μνήματα.

^u Ruffin. lib. ii. c. xxviii. Per cunctas Ægypti urbes, per castella, per vicos, per omne rus, per ripas fluminis, per eremum quoque, si qua fana vel potius busta reperiri potuerunt, instantia uniuscujusque episcopi subruta et ad solum deducta sunt, ita ut denuo rus culturæ redderetur, quod injuste fuerat dæmonibus deputatum.

^w Gothofr. Com. in Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Pagan. leg. xxv.

^x Socrat. lib. iv. c. xxiv. (Aug. Taur. 1746. p. 206. B 9.) Εἰς πίστιν τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ ἤγαγον τὸν τε ἱερεῖα καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐκεῖ ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν τῇ νήσῳ· εὐθὺς οὖν τὰ μὴν ἀγάλματα ἐξίβαλον· τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τοῦ ναοῦ εἰς ἐκκλησίας τύπον μεταποιήσαντες, ἐβαπτίζοντο, κ. τ. λ.

the form of a church." The like was done by the famous temple of the *Dea Cœlestis*, at Carthage, by Aurelius, the bishop, in the time of Honorius (an. 399), which the author of the book *De Prædictionibus*, under the name of Prosper⁷, tells, with this remarkable circumstance, "that it had been dedicated before by one Aurelius, an heathen high priest, with this inscription, *Aurelius pontifex dedicavit*; which," our author says, "was left in the frontispiece, to be read by all the people; because, by God's providence, it was fulfilled again in Aurelius, the bishop, for whom it served as well as the former Aurelius, when he had once dedicated it to the use and service of the Christian religion, and set his chair in the place of the goddess. Not long after this, Honorius (an. 408) published two laws in the Western Empire, forbidding the destruction of any more temples in cities, because they might serve for ornament or public⁸ use, being once purged of all unlawful furniture, idols, and altars, which he ordered to be destroyed wherever they were found. These laws, as Gothofred rightly observes, seem to have been published at the instance of the African fathers; who, as appears from one of the canons⁹ of the African Code, petitioned the emperor that such temples as were in the country only, and private places, not serving for any ornament, might be destroyed. Arcadius published such another law for

⁷ Prosper de Promission. lib. iii. c. xxxviii. (Paris. 1711. append. p. 186. D.) Antistes Aurelius, cœlestis jam patriæ civis, cathedram illic loco cœlestis et habuit, et sedit. Ipse tunc aderam cum sociis et amicis; atque (ut se adolescentium ætas impatiens circumquaque vertebat) dum curiosi singula queque pro magnitudine inspicimus, mirum quoddam et incredibile nostro se ingressit aspectui, titulus æneis grandioribusque literis in frontispicio templi conscriptus, 'Aurelius pontifex dedicavit.' Hunc legentes populi mirabantur. Præsaگو tunc Spiritu acta, quæ præscius Dei ordo certo isto fine concluderat.

⁸ Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. x. de Paganis, leg. xviii. Ædes illicitis rebus vacuas, ne quis conetur evertere. Decernimus enim, ut ædificiorum quidem sit integer status.—It. leg. xix. Ædificia ipsa templorum, quæ in civitatibus vel oppidis, vel extra oppida sunt, ad usum publicum vindicentur: aræ locis omnibus destruantur.

⁹ Cod. Afric. can. lviii. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 1086.) 'Ὡν χάριν αἰτῆσαι δεῖ τοὺς θρησκευτικῶτάτους βασιλεῖς, ὥστε τὰ ἐγκαταλείμματα τῶν εἰδῶλων τὰ κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀφρικὴν κελύσαι παντελῶς ἀνακοπῆναι· καὶ γὰρ ἐν πολλοῖς τόποις παραθαλασσίους καὶ διαφόροις κτήσεσιν, ἀκμάζει ἐτι τῆς πλάνης ταύτης ἡ ἀδικία, ἵνα παραγγελθῶσι καὶ αὐτὰ ἀπαλειφθῆναι, καὶ οἱ ναοὶ αὐτῶν, οἱ ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς καὶ ἐν ἀποκεκρυμμένοις τόποις χωρὶς τινος εὐκοσμίας καθιστώτες, παντὶ τρόπῳ κελυνθῶσι καταστραφῆναι.

the Eastern Empire, which relates only to the destruction of temples in country places^b, and not in cities, where now there was no such danger of superstition, since they might be converted to a better use. And upon this ground, the author, under the name of Prosper^c, commends Honorius for his piety and devotion, because he gave all the temples, with their adjacent places, to the Church, only requiring the idols to be destroyed. It is true, indeed, after this we find a law of Theodosius Junior^d, commanding all temples to be destroyed. But, as Gothofred seems rightly to interpret it, the word ‘destroying,’ in that law, is to be understood only of despoiling them of their superstition; because it follows, in the same law, that they were to be expiated by placing the sign of the cross upon them, which was a token of their being turned into churches. And his observation may be confirmed further from what Evagrius^e reports of Theodosius, that he turned the *Tychæum*, or ‘temple of Fortune,’ at Antioch, into a church, called by the name of Ignatius. The like was done by a great temple at Tanis, in Egypt, as Valesius^f has observed out of the Itinerary of Antoninus the Martyr. Cluver also, in his description of Italy, takes notice of a place in the *Jerusalem Itinerary*, called *Sacraria*, between *Fulginum* and *Spoletum*,

^b Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. x. de Paganis, leg. xvi. Si qua in agris templa sunt, sine turba et tumultu diruantur. His enim dejectis, omnis superstitionis materia consumetur.

^c Prosp. de Promiss. lib. iii. c. xxxviii. (append. p. 185, at bottom.) Honorius, Christiana religione et devotione præditus, templa omnia, cum suis adjacentibus spatiis, ecclesiis contulit, simulque eorum simulacra confringenda in potestatem dedit.

^d Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. x. de Paganis, leg. xxv. Cuncta eorum fana, templa, delubra, si qua nunc etiam restant integra, præcepto magistratuum destrui, collectioneque venerandæ Christianæ religionis signi expiari, præcipimus.

^e Evagr. lib. i. c. xvi. (Aug. Taur. 1746. p. 256. B.) Ὑποθεμίνον τοῦ παναγάθου Θεοῦ Θεοδοσίῳ, τὸν Θεοφόρον μίζοσι τιμῆσαι τιμαῖς, ἱερὸν τε πάλαι τοῖς δαίμοσιν ἀνειμένον, Τυχαῖον τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ὀνόμαστο, τῷ ἀθλοφόρῳ καὶ μάρτυρι ἀναθεῖναι· καὶ σηκὸς εὐαγῆς, καὶ τέμενος ἅγιον τῷ Ἰγνατίῳ τὸ πάλαι τυχαῖον γέγονε, κ. τ. λ.

^f Vales. Not. in Sozom. lib. v. c. xxi. p. 196. Memorabile est, quod legitur in Itinerario Hierosolymitano Antonini Martyris, pagina 32, ubi de campo Taneos loquitur: ‘Immensum fuit ibi templum, quod modo est ecclesia: cujus una porta se clausit ante Dominum Jesum, quando Beata Maria cum ipso fugit in Ægyptum, et adhuc non potest aperiri.’

near the head of the river Clitumnus, which, he thinks^g, was originally no other than the temple of Jupiter Clitumnus : though another learned antiquary^h makes it something doubtful as to the present church now standing there. However, we have seen instances enough of this practice ; and Bedeⁱ tells us, that “ Gregory the Great gave Austin the monk instructions of the same nature about the temples here among the Saxons in Britain ; that, if they were well built, they should not be destroyed, but only be converted from the worship of devils to the service of the true God ; ” and so, he observes, it was done at Rome, where, not long after, Boniface IV. turned the heathen temple, called the Pantheon, into the church of All Saints^j, in the time of the Emperor Phocas. Sometimes the temples were pulled down, and the materials were given to the Church, out of which new edifices were erected for the service of religion : as Sozomen^k and Ruffin^l particularly observe of the temples of Bacchus and

^g Cluver. *Ital. Vet.* p. 702. *Sacraria ista nulla alia fuere, nisi quæ ab initio ad varios Clitumni amnis fontes variis Jovis Clitumni nominibus numinibusque posita, ea haud dubie postea in Christianæ religionis usum conversa.*

^h Holsten. *Adnotat.* in Cluver. p. 124.

ⁱ Bed. lib. i. c. xxx. (London, 1838. p. 79.) *Quum Deus omnipotens vos ad reverentissimum virum, fratrem nostrum Augustinum episcopum perduxerit, dicite ei quid diu mecum de causa Anglorum cogitans tractavi ; videlicet quia fana idolorum destrui in eadem gente minime debeant : sed ipsa quæ in eis sunt idola, destruantur ; aqua benedicta fiat, in eisdem fanis adspargatur, altaria construantur, reliquie ponantur. Quia, si fana eadem bene constructa sunt, necesse est, ut a cultu dæmonum in obsequium veri Dei debeant commutari ; ut dum gens ipsa eadem fana sua non videt destrui, de corde errorem deponat, et Deum verum cognoscens ac adorans, ad loca quæ consuevit, familiarius concurrat.*

^j Bed. lib. ii. c. iv. (p. 108.) *Hic est Bonifacius, quartus a beato Gregorio Romanæ urbis episcopo, qui impetravit a Focate principe donari ecclesiæ Christi templum Romæ, quod Pantheon vocabatur ab antiquis, quasi simulacrum esset omnium deorum. In quo ipse, eliminata omni spurcitia, fecit ecclesiam sanctæ Dei genetricis, atque omnium martyrum Christi ; ut exclusâ multitudine dæmonum, multitudo ibi Sanctorum memoriam haberet.*

^k Sozom. lib. vii. c. xv. (p. 272. E 5.) *Ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, Ἀλεξανδρίων ἐπίσκοπος τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς Διονύσου ἱερὸν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν μετεσκεύαζε· δῶρον γὰρ εἰλήφει τοῦτο παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως. . . Τὸ μὲν δὴ Σεράπιον ὡς ἦλθε, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ εἰς ἐκκλησίαν μετεσκευάσθη, Ἀρκαδίου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπώνυμον.*

^l Ruffin. lib. ii. c. xxiii.

Serapis at Alexandria. I have already shown^m, out of Ausonius, that the Roman halls, or *basilicæ*, were likewise turned into churches. The like is reported of some Jewish synagogues by the author of the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, who takes notice particularlyⁿ of a synagogue of the Samaritans, in a place called Gargarida, which Zeno the emperor converted into a large Christian church.

And though it is not agreed by learned men whether the temples said to be built by Hadrian were intended for the worship of himself, or the worship of Christ; (for Casaubon^o and Pagi^p think he designed them for himself; whilst Huetius

^m See chap. i. sect. v.

ⁿ Chron. Alex. sive Paschale, inter Historicos Byzantin. an. 10 Zenonis. *Ἐποίησε τὴν συναγωγὴν αὐτῶν, τὴν οὖσαν εἰς τὸ καλούμενον Γαργαρίδην, εὐκτήριον οἶκον μέγαν.*

^o Casaubon. Not. in Lamprid. Vit. Alexandr. Sever. p. 170. De Tiberio narrat hoc Tertullianus et alii patres Græci ac Latini: de Hadriano vero nemo illorum, si satis memini, simile quidquam. Et mirum profecto, tam nobilem historiam tot fidei Christianæ propugnatores acerrimos, viros undecumque doctissimos, et quorum intererat hoc scire, potuisse fugere. Sed videtur hæc de Hadriano suspicio, multo post ejus sæculum, hominum mentes insedissee: quum neque Justinus Martyr, neque Athenagoras, neque Tertullianus, neque Cyprianus, aut omnino quisquam ex illa veterum patrum manu, vel tenuissimam ejus rei suspicionem fando umquam accepissent. Unde autem vulgo multi sæculo Lampridii hanc de Hadriano concepissent opinionem, declarat auctor, quum subjicit; ‘Qui templa in omnibus civitatibus sine simulacris jusserat fieri: quæ hodie idcirco, quia non habent numina, dicuntur Hadriani, quod ille ad hoc parasse dicebatur.’ En fontem et originem hujus opinionis. Jusserat Hadrianus templa fieri in omnibus civitatibus, suo nomini, sine dubio, consecrandæ: quod et Spart. in vita illius testatur; sed mortuo Hadriano, prius quam hæc templa absolverentur, mansere pleraque illorum imperfecta, neque umquam dedicata sunt. Exemplo potest esse illud, quod Tiberiade magnifice inchoatum, mox relictum est necdum absolutum, tandemque in usum balnearum a civibus destinatum. Epiphanius contra Ebionitas: *ναὸς μέγιστος, κ. τ. λ.* [vid. seq. not. (r)] Talia ædificia in plerisque civitatibus adhuc Lampridii ætate exstabant, inchoata solum, non perfecta, non dedicata: ac proinde, ut ait ipse, sine numine et simulacro ullo. Eo factum, ut in animum inducerent multi, quibus heic adsentitur Lampridius, non sibi Hadrianum illa templa extruxisse, verum Christo, etc.

^p Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 134. n. iv. (Lucæ, vol. ii. p. 133.) Quod ad Lampridium spectat, is de Alexandro Severo in ejus Vita, c. xliii. loquens, ait: ‘Christo templum facere voluit, eumque inter deos recipere, quod et Hadrianus cogitasse fertur, qui templa in omnibus civitatibus sine simulacris jusserat fieri: quæ hodie idcirco, quia non habent numina, dicuntur Hadriani, quæ ille ad hoc parasse dicebatur: sed prohibitus est ab iis, qui, consulentes sacra, repererant omnes Christianos futuros, si id optato evenisset, et templa reliqua deserenda.’

defends^q Lampridius, his relation, who says he designed them for the honour of Christ;) yet it is certain, that after they had been used to other purposes, they were at last, some of them, turned into Christian churches. For Epiphanius^r says, there was a great temple at Tiberias, called the *Hadrianum*, which the Jews made use of for a bath; but Josephus Comes, the converted Jew, in the time of Constantine, turned it into a church. And the like was done by another of them, by Athanasius, at Alexandria, having before been the hall or palace of Licinius, as the same Epiphanius^s informs us. So that now, partly by the munificence of the emperors building churches at their own charge, and partly by their orders for converting heathen temples into churches, and partly by the great liberality and zeal of private Christians in times of peace, churches became another thing from what they were in former ages; that is, more noble and stately edifices, more rich and beautiful; under which advantage we are next to take a view of them in the following part of this Book.

Sed, ut Casaubonus in notis ad eum locum observat, de Tiberio narrat hoc Tertullianus, et alii patres Græci ac Latini, etc.

^q Huet. Demonstrat. Evangel. Propos. iii. sect. xxii. xxiii. p. 65. (pp. 43, 44, edit. Francof. 1722. 4to.)

^r Epiph. Hæres. xxx. n. xii. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 136. B 6.) Ναὸς δὲ μέγιστος ἐν τῇ πόλει προϋπῆρχε, τάχα οἶμαι Ἀδριάνειον τοῦτο ἐκάλουν· ἀτελὲς δὲ τοῦτο τὸ Ἀδριάνειον διαμίνον τάχα οἱ πολῖται εἰς δημόσιον λουτρὸν ἐπειρῶντο ἐπισκευάσαι· ὅπερ εὐρών ὁ Ἰώσηπος, ἐκ τούτου τὴν πρόφασιν ἔσχε, καὶ ὡς ἦδη εὗρε διὰ τετραπύχων λίθων τετραπέδων, ἕως ὕψους τινὸς ἀνεγερμένον, ἐντεῦθεν ἄρχεται ποιεῖσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν . . . πολυτάκεις δὲ κακούντων τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκείνον, εἰς ὕστερον μέρος τι τοῦ ναοῦ ἐν Τιβερίადι οἰκοδομήσας, καὶ μικρὰν ἐκκλησίαν ἀποτελέσαι.

^s Epiph. Hæres. lxi. Arian. n. ii. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 728. B 4.) Εἰσὶ τοίνυν πλείους τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, σὺν τῇ νῦν κτισθείσῃ τῇ Καισαρείᾳ καλουμένων, ὃ πρότερον Ἀδριανὸν ἐτύγχανεν, ὕστερον Δικινιανὸν γέγονε γυμνάσιον, εἴτουν βασιλεῖον· μετέπειτα δὲ ἐν χρόνοις Κωνσταντίου ἔδοξεν αὐτὴν οἰκοδομηθῆναι ἐκκλησίαν.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE DIFFERENT FORMS AND PARTS OF THE ANCIENT CHURCHES; AND, FIRST, OF THE EXTERIOR NARTHEX, OR ANTETEMPLE.

SECT. I.—*Churches anciently of different Forms.*

IT may easily be collected, from what has been discoursed in the former chapter, that anciently churches were not all built precisely in one form or figure; for, since both heathen temples and public halls were turned into churches, it can hardly be imagined that all these should happen to be built exactly in the same form: nor, indeed, was there any universal rule among Christians about this matter. The author of the Constitutions seems to intimate that they were generally oblong, in the figure of a ship^a. This figure was otherwise called ‘dromical,’ *δρομικόν*, because, as Leo Allatius^b, and Suicerus^c after him, conjecture, churches built in this form had void spaces for deambulation; and this is said to be the figure of the famous church of Sancta Sophia, at Constantinople, by Paulus Silentarius and other writers. But this figure was not

^a Constit. Apostol. lib. ii. c. lvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 294. D 6.) Πρῶτον μὲν ὁ οἶκος ἔστω ἐπιμήκης, κατ’ ἀνατολὰς τετραμμένος· ἐξ ἑκατέρων τῶν μερῶν τὰ παστοφόρια πρὸς ἀνατολήν, ὅστις ζοικε νηϊ.

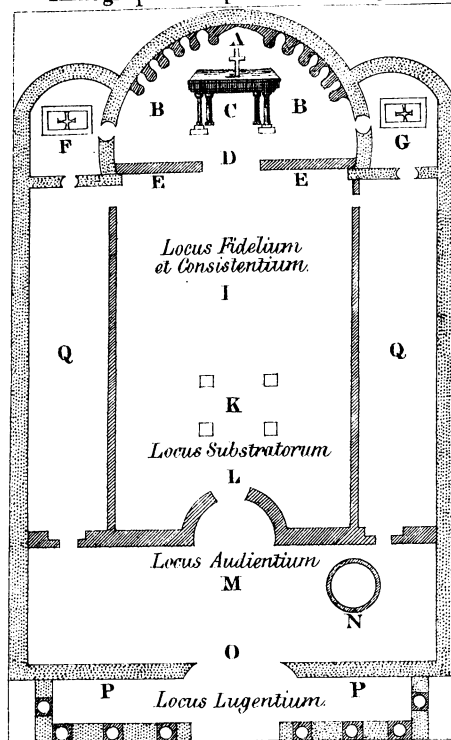
^b Allat. de Templis Græcorum.

^c Suicer. Thes. Eccles. voce *ναός*. (Amstel. vol. ii. p. 389, at bottom.) (tom. ii. p. 390. A.) Alia (templa) sunt *δρομικά*, quæ forma quadrata, lateribus paribus, vel imparibus, substructa sunt; quorum in culmine asseres, seu trabes cantheriis colligantur, et tegulis superpositis conteguntur; adeo ut templi parietes projecturis asserum tegantur. Cur autem *δρομικά* vocentur, explicatu non est facile: si quid tamen conjecturæ dandum, videntur a deambulatione, qua per tabulas super trabibus expansis a facie templi ad sanctuarium ipsum progrediuntur, nomen habere: ex iis enim inferius templi spatium universum hac atque illac percurrabatur. Sic dicta a *δρόμος*, quod ‘cursum et pervagationem’ significat.

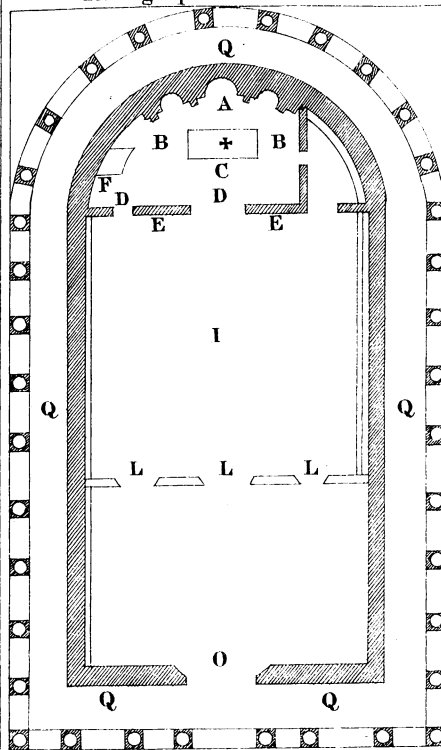
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ICHTNOGRAPHIA TEMPLORUM ORIENTALIORUM.

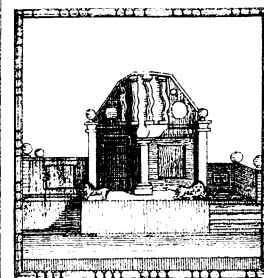
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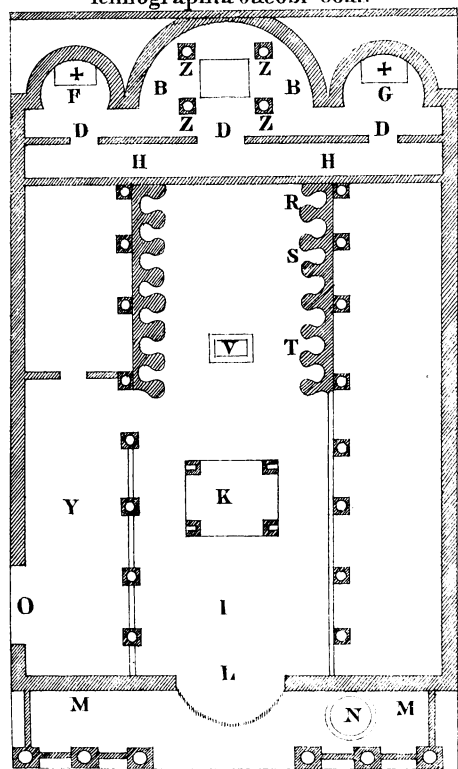
Ichnographia Leonis Allatii.



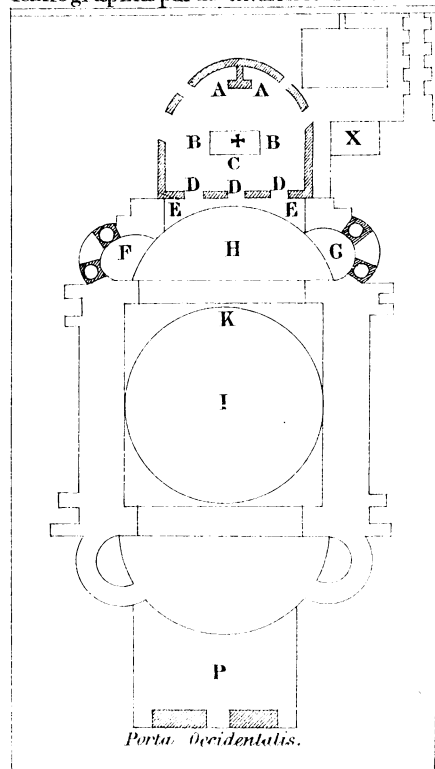
Ambo.



Ichnographia Jacobi Goar.



Ichnographia partis interioris S. SOPHIAE.



- A Synthronus.
- B S.Bema.
- C Altare.
- D Portæ Sanctæ.
- E Cancelli Bema.
- F Prothesis.
- G Diaconicum.
- H Solea.
- I Naos.
- K Ambo.
- L Portæ Speciosæ.
- M Narthex.
- N Baptisterium.
- O Magnæ Portæ.
- P Porticus.
- Q Circuitus.
- R Locus Episcopi, extra S. Bema.
- S Locus Diaconorum.
- T Locus Lectorum.
- V Pulpitum.
- X Sedes Imperialis.
- Y Locus Mulierum.
- Z Abstergium.

so general but that we meet with churches in other forms ; for the church which Constantine built over our Saviour's sepulchre, at Mount Golgotha, was round, as we learn from Eusebius^d and Walafridus^e Strabo. That which he built at Antioch, Eusebius^f says, was an *octagone* ; and such was the church of Nazianzum, built by Gregory, the father of Gregory Nazianzen, as we find in the son's funeral oration^g upon his father, who describes it as having eight sides equal to one another. Other churches were built in the form of a cross, as that of Symeon Stylites mentioned by Evagrius^h. And the church of the Apostles, built by Constantine at Constantinople, was in this form likewise, as we learn from Gregory Nazianzen, in his *Somnium Anastasiæ*, who thus describes it (Carm. ix. tom. ii. p. 79) :—

Σὺν τοῖς, καὶ μεγάλαιον ἔδος Χριστοῦ μαθητῶν,
Πλευραῖς σταυροῦ ποὺς τέτραχα τεμνόμενον.

“ Among these stood the stately church of the apostles of Christ, dividing itself into four wings in the form of a cross.” These were sometimes made so by the addition of a wing of building on each side (which wings the Greeks call *apsides*), as Cedrenusⁱ and Zonaras observe in the Life of Justin Junior, who added two of these *apsides* to the church of Blachernæ, and so made it resemble the form of a cross. Valesius^k has

^d Euseb. Vit. Constant. lib. iii. c. xxxviii.

^e Strabo de Rebus Eccles. c. iv. (Bibl. Patr. Max. tom. xv. p. 183. E.) Verissima relatione didicimus, in ecclesia quam apud Æliam Constantinus Imperator, cum matre Helena, super sepulchrum Domini miræ magnitudinis in ‘rotunditate’ constituit, etc.

^f Euseb. lib. iii. c. l. Εὐκτῆριον οἶκον εἰς ἀμήχανον ἐπάρας ὕψος· ἐν ὀκταῖδρου μὲν συνιστῶτα σχήματι.

^g Naz. Orat. xix. de Laud. Patr. (Paris. 1630. vol. i. p. 313. C 5.) ‘Οκτῶ μὲν ἰσοπλευροῖς εὐθείαις εἰς ἐαυτὸν ἀπαντῶντα, κίωνων δὲ καὶ στοῶν κάλλεσι δι’ ὁρόφων, εἰς ὕψος αἰρόμενον, κ. τ. λ.

^h Evagr. lib. i. c. xiv. ‘Ἡ δὲ τοῦ νεῷ οἰκοδομία, σύγκειται μὲν σταύρου δίκην.

ⁱ Cedren. Vit. Justin. in Compend. Histor. p. 390. Τῷ ζ' ἔτει ἡρξάτο 'Ιουστίνος κτίζειν τὸν ναὸν τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου ἐν τῷ ὀρφανοτροφείῳ· προσέθηκε δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν ναὸν τῶν Βλαχερνῶν τὰς δύο ἀψίδας, καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτὴν στρωτὴν (al. σταυρωτὴν).

^k Vales. Not. in Euseb. de Vit. Constant. lib. iii. c. liii. (Cantab. 1720. p. 608.) De Bethlehem usque ad radicem Mambre sunt millia viginti quatuor : in quo

also observed, out of the *Itinerary* of Antoninus the Martyr, that the church which Constantine built at Mambre was in a quadrangular or square figure, with an open court in the middle; so as one part of it was made use of by the Jews, and the other by the Christians. Some churches were also called *octachora*; but, as Valesius rightly observes, those were the same with the *octagones*, as appears from this ancient inscription in Gruter¹:

- Octachorum sanctos templum surrexit in usus,
Octagonus fons est munere dignus eo.

Suicerus and Allatius take notice also of another form of churches, which they call *τρουλλωτά, κυλινδρωτά, σφωτά, and κυκλοειδή*; that is, 'round, in the figure of an arch or sphere, or a cylinder, or a shield, or a circle,' as the Pantheon of Rome was said to be: but this, properly speaking, was not so much the form of a church as the figure of one part of some churches, as particularly that of Sancta Sophia, the body of which was built in the form of a *trulla*; that is, 'a great round arch or sphere;' but yet the whole was oblong, resembling the form of other churches, as the reader may judge by comparing the several figures in the following table, whereof one is that of Sancta Sophia, taken from Du Fresne's *Constantinopolis Christiana*; another from Dr. Beveridge in his *Pandects*; a third, from Leo Allatius; and a fourth from Goar; all of which being constructed and put together by Schelstrate, in his *Concilium Antiochenum*, are here represented from his copy, with the proper names referring to each part of them. To these I have added another figure, representing the stately church of Tyre, built by Paulinus, and described by Eusebius^m in his panegyric oration upon the church and the founder of it, which the curious reader may see at large in the tenth book of his *Ecclesiastical History*. I shall here, in a great measure, follow his description, as one of the most ancient

loco requiescunt Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob, et Sarra, simul et Joseph ossa. Est ibi basilica ædificata per quadrum, et atrium in medio discoopertum; et per medium cancellum ex uno latere intrant Christiani, ex alio vero Judæi, incensa deferentes multa.

¹ Gruter. Thesaur. p. 1166.

^m Euseb. lib. x. c. iv. tot.

and authentic that we have, only intermixing such other things as are necessary to explain the forms and parts of other churches ; since, as I have observed, they were not all alike, but differed in form, in site, and in several parts, from one another.

SECT. II.—*And different Situation from one another.*

To begin with their situation or posture, they were commonly so placed as that the front or chief entrances were toward the west, and the sanctuary or altar-part toward the east ; yet in some churches it was otherwise, as is evident from the observation made by Socrates^a upon the church of Antioch, that it stood in a different posture from other churches ; for the altar did not look toward the east, but toward the west : which observation is also made by Paulinus^o Nolanus upon one of his own structures ; and the temple of the other Paulinus, of Tyre, seems to have stood the same way ; for Eusebius describes the entrance to it, and not the altar-part, as fronting the rising sun. So that, though the author of the Constitutions^p, among other rules of this nature, gives directions for building churches toward the east ; yet it appears from these instances that the practice was not so universal but that it admitted of exceptions, as necessity or expediency required : which observation has been made not only by Bishop Usher^q and Cardinal Bona^r, but, long before them, by Walafri-
 dus

^a Socrat. lib. v. c. xxii. (Aug. T. p. 251. B 7.) 'Εν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀντίστροφον ἔχει τὴν θίαν· οὐ γὰρ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς δύσιν ὁρᾷ.

^o Paulin. Ep. xii. ad Sever. (Max. Bibl. V. P. vol. vi. p. 193. E 5.) Prospectus basilicæ non, ut usitatioꝛ mos est, Orientem spectat, sed ad domini mei beati Felicis basilicam pertinet, memoriam ejus adspiciens.

^p Constit. Apost. lib. ii. c. lvii. See note (a) p. 389.

^q Usher's Letters (ep. xlix.) to Selden.

^r Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. i. c. xx. n. iv. (Antverp. p. 418.) Quod attinet ad situm, ita erant disposita, ut ad ortum solis æquinoctialem verterentur. . . . Paulinus tamen Nolanus (ep. xii.) adserit, se in basilica, quam ædificavit, hunc morem neglexisse. 'Prospectus,' inquit, 'basilicæ,' etc. [vid. not. (o)]. Quod vero non omnia altaria, quæ in eadem ecclesia sunt, ad ortum respiciant, sic excusat Walfridus Strabo, c. iv. 'Cognoscimus non errasse illos vel errare, qui templis vel noviter Deo constructis, vel ab idolorum squalore mundatis propter aliquam loci opportunitatem in diversas plagas altaria statuerunt, quia non est

Strabo, who says*, “The ancients were not nicely curious which way their churches stood, but yet the most usual custom was for Christians to pray toward the east; and, therefore, the greatest part of the churches were built with a respect to that custom.” But St. Patrick, in Ireland, as Bishop Usher observes† out of Jocelin, the writer of his Life, varied from all others; for he built a church in Sabul, hard by Down, in Ulster, which fronted neither east nor west, but stood from north to south, *ab aquilonali parte versus meridianam plagam*: so that ecclesiastical history affords us instances, if we make a curious inquiry, of churches standing in all postures.

SECT. III.—*Commonly divided into Three Parts, and sometimes Four or Five.*

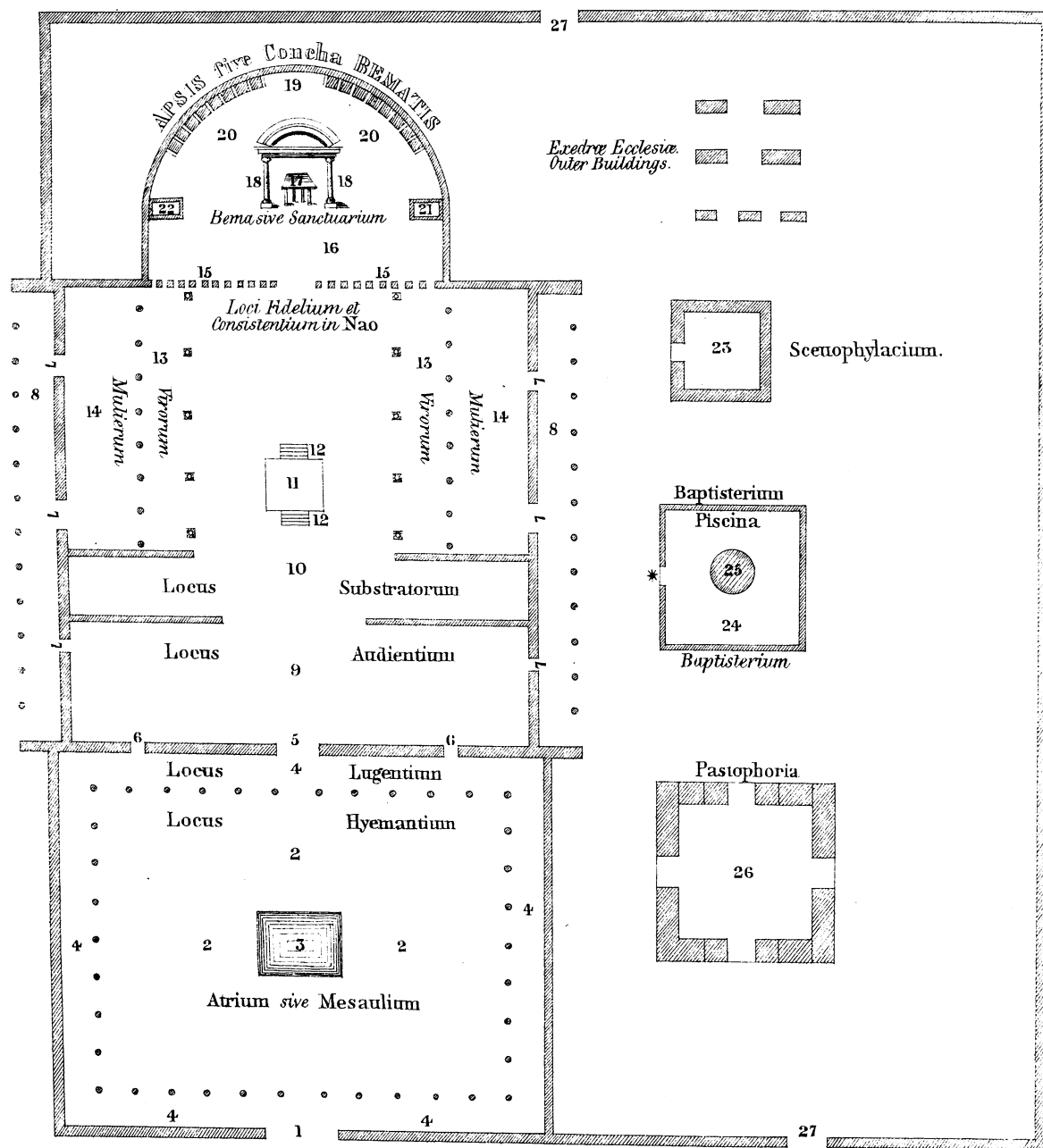
Next, to consider the several parts of the ancient churches, we are to observe, that, as in the temple of God at Jerusalem, not only the Holy and the Most Holy were reckoned parts of the temple, but also the outward courts, and even the court of the Gentiles, which is expressly called ‘the house of God’ and the ‘house of prayer;’ so in Christian churches, which were built with some regard to the Jewish temple, the whole *ambitus*, or ‘circumference,’ about them was esteemed, in a large sense, as part of the church; and, accordingly, when churches became asylums, or places of refuge, under Christian emperors, not only the inner buildings, but the outer courts

locus, ubi non sit Deus. Verissima enim relatione didicimus in ecclesia, quam apud Æliam Constantinus Imperator cum matre Helena super sepulchrum Domini miræ magnitudinis in rotunditate constituit: itemque Romæ in templo, quod ab antiquis Pantheon dictum a S. Bonifacio Papa, permittente Phoca Imperatore, in honorem omnium Sanctorum consecratum est: in ecclesia quoque S. Petri principis apostolorum, altaria non tantum ad orientem, sed etiam in alias partes esse distributa. Hæc quum secundum voluntatem vel necessitatem fuerint ita disposita, improbare non audemus. Sed tamen usus frequentior et rationi vicinior habet in orientem orantes converti, et pluralitatem maximam ecclesiarum eo tenore constitui.’ Narrat Procopius, (lib. i. de Bello Persico, c. xvii.) Dianæ et Iphigeniæ templa in urbe Comana Deo a Christianis consecrata fuisse, nihil immutata structura: in quibus aliisq; similibus necessarium fuit, ad veterem situm altaris constructionem accommodare.

* Strabo de Reb. Eccles. c. iv. (Biblioth. Patr. Max. tom. xv. p. 183. B.)

† Usher’s Letters, ep. xlix.

The PLAN of an ANCIENT CHURCH with its EXEDRÆ
as described by EUSEBIUS and other Writers.



- 1 Propylæum or Vestibulum Magnum, the great Porch or first Entrance into the Area before the Church.
- 2 The Μεσαύλιον, Atrium or Area leading from the Porch to the Church.
- 3 Cantharus or Phiala, the Fountain of Water in the middle of the Square.
- 4 The Porticoes or Cloysters about the Area, otherwise called the Exterior Narthex of the Church, and Place of Mourners.
- 5 The great Gate into the Church.
- 6 The two lesser Gates on each side of the other.
- 7 The Northern & Southern Gates.
- 8 The Cloysters on the North and South side the Church.
- 9 The Ferula or Interior Narthex where the Catechumens and Hearers stood with Jews and Gentiles.
- 10 The Place of the Substrati, or third Degree of Penitents, behind the Ambo.
- 11 The Ambo or Reading Desk.
- 12 The Ascent on both sides the Ambo.
- 13 The Inner Porticoes or Cloysters for Men below.
- 14 The Catechumenia or Hyperoa, Upper Galleries for Women above, Porticoes of the Men upon Pillars.
- 15 Cancelli Bematis, the Rails of the Chancel.
- 16 The Bema, or Chancel.
- 17 The Altar or Communion Table.
- 18 The Pyrgus or Oriborium, the arched Canopy built round the Altar.
- 19 The Bishop's Throne with second Thrones of Presbyters in a Semicircle about the Altar.
- 20 second Thrones of Presbyters in a Semicircle about the Altar.
- 21 Diaconicum Minus, the Inner Vestry.
- 22 Prothesis, or Paratorium.
- 23 Sceuphyllacium or Diaconicum Magnum, the great Repository or Greeting House.
- 24 Baptistry. *The Porch, and Hearers stood with Jews and Gentiles.
- 25 The Font in the middle of the Baptistry.
- 26 Pastophoria Dwelling-Houses for the Clergy, with Schools, Libraries, etc. on each side of Church.
- 27 The Περίβολος or utmost bounds allow'd for Refuge or Sanctuary.

and boundaries were reckoned a sufficient sanctuary, as we shall see in the latter part of this Book. Now, hence, arose a twofold division of churches, as taken in a stricter or a larger sense: in the strictest sense, including only the buildings within the walls, they were commonly divided into three parts—1. The *narthex*, or ‘ante-temple,’ where the penitents and catechumens stood; 2. The *naos*, or ‘temple,’ where the communicants had their respective places; and, 3. The *bema*, or ‘sanctuary,’ where the clergy stood to officiate at the altar: but in a larger sense, there was another ‘ante-temple,’ or *narthex*, without the walls, under which was comprised the *πρόπυλον*, or *vestibulum*, ‘the outward porch;’ then the *atrium* or *area*, ‘the court leading from that to the temple,’ surrounded with porticos or cloisters, as we shall presently see, in the temple of Paulinus. There were, also, several *exedrae*, such as the baptistery, the *diaconica*, the *pastophoria*, and other adjacent buildings, which were reckoned to be either without or within the church, according as it was taken in a stricter or a larger acceptation.

SECT. IV.—*And these subdivided into other Parts. The outward Narthex, or Ante-temple, included, first, the πρόπυλον, or Vestibulum, the Porch.*

Eusebius, in describing the church of Paulinus, takes it in the largest sense; and, therefore, he begins his description with the *περίβολον*, or ‘wall that enclosed the whole circumference of the outward courts,’ which we may call the ‘ante-temple,’ or *exterior narthex*, to distinguish it from the *narthex* within the church. In the front of this sacred enclosure, toward the east, at some distance from the church, the first building that presented itself, was a great and lofty porch, which Eusebius and other Greek writers call the *πρόπυλον μέγα*, and the Latins, *vestibulum magnum*, ‘the great porch,’ to distinguish it from the lesser porches, which joined to the church: he calls it, also, *πρώτην εἴσοδον*, ‘the first entrance,’ to distinguish it from the second, which were the gates of the church.

SECT. V.—2. *The Atrium, or the Area, or Court before the Church, surrounded with Porticos, or Cloisters.*

Between this porch and the church was a large *area*, or ‘square plot of ground,’ which Eusebius^u calls αἶθριον, and Paulus Silentarius αὐλήν^v, in his description of Sancta Sophia. The Latins term it *atrium* and *impluvium*, because it was a court open to the air, without any covering, save only on each side of the square, which was surrounded with porticos, or cloisters; στοιὰι Eusebius calls them, and these built upon columns; whence, as Du Fresne^w observes, this place is called sometimes τετράστυλον, and *quadriporticus* in modern authors. In this place stood the first class of penitents, according to Eusebius, who says^x expressly, “It was the mansion of those who were not allowed to enter further into the church:”—that is, they stood either in the porch or the porticos, to beg the prayers of the faithful as they went into the church; or, perhaps, if they were more notorious criminals, they were cast out of these also, and obliged to wait in the court or open air, and stand there, exposed to the weather, as part of their penance, which seems to be intimated by Tertullian^y, when speaking of some monstrous sinners, he says, “They were expelled not only from the doors

^u Euseb. lib. x. c. iv. (Aug. T. 1746. p. 419. E.) Μέσον αἶθριον ἤφειε εἰς τὴν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κάτωψιν, λαμπρὸν καὶ ταῖς τοῦ φωτὸς ἀκτίσιν ἀνειμένον ἀέρα παρέχον.—It. de Vita Const. lib. iii. c. xxv. (p. 538.) Διέβαινε δ’ ἐξῆς ἐπὶ παμμεγέθη χώρον, εἰς καθαρὸν αἶθριον ἀναπεπταμένον.

^v Paul. Silent. part. ii. vers. 174. (Byz. Hist. Venet. vol. xiv. p. 204.)

Τέτρασιν αἰθούσῃσι περιδρομον ὄψεται αὐλήν,
Ὃν μία μὲν νάρθηκι συνάπτεται, αἶγε μὲν ἄλλαι
Πεπταμέναι τελίθουσι πολυσχιδέεσσι κελύθοις.

^w Du Fresne, Com. in Paul. Silent. p. 536. Observandum, exteriorem vestibuli porticum ad atrii porticum pertinuisse, si non et tertia fuit, quod jam monimus: alioquin atrium Sophianum tribus constitisset porticibus, non vero quatuor, proindeque non τετράστυλον fuisset vel quadriporticus sed triporticus, uti ejusmodi atria dicuntur Anastasio in Hilario PP. ‘Nymphæum et triporticum ante oratorium sanctæ crucis,’ etc.

^x Euseb. lib. x. c. iv. (p. 420. A 6.) Ἡ πρώτη μὲν εἰσιόντων αὕτη διατριβή, κόσμον ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀγλαίαν τῷ παντὶ τοῖς τε τῶν πρώτων εἰσαγωγῶν ἐτι δεομένοις, κατὰλληλον τὴν μονὴν παρεχομένη.

^y Tertull. de Pudicit. c. iv. (Paris. 1675. p. 557.) Reliquas autem libidinum furias . . . non modo limine, verum omni ecclesiæ tecto submovemus, quia non sunt delicta sed monstra.

of the church, but from every place that might afford them any shelter or covering :” so that the *atrium* was always an open place, or court, before the church ; and, therefore, those authors who confound the *atrium* or *vestibulum* and *porticus* into one, wholly mistake the form of the ancient churches ; for these, as I have shown, were distinct parts of the ante-temple.

SECT. VI.—3. *In the middle of which stood a Fountain for washing as they entered into the Church, called Cantharus and Phiala in some authors.*

It is further to be noted, that in the middle of the *atrium*, there was commonly a fountain, or a cistern of water, for people to wash their hands and face, before they went into the church. Eusebius² expressly mentions this in the temple of Paulinus. He says, in the court over against the church, he placed κρήνας, ‘fountains of water,’ as symbols of purification, for such to wash as entered into the church. Paulinus, bishop of Nola, takes notice of the same thing, but gives it the name of *cantharus**, which signifies any capacious ‘vessel that will hold much water,’ and sometimes a ‘statue made to spout out water at its mouth.’ As Du Fresne has observed, that in some places the fountain was surrounded with lions, thus spouting out water ; whence this place has the name of *leontarium* in some modern Greek writers. It is also called by some *nymphæum*, ἐμβάτης, and κολυμβεῖον, which all signify ‘a fountain.’ Paulus Silentarius, in his description of Sancta Sophia, gives it the name of φιάλη, *phiala*, which we may English, ‘the basin.’ And Socrates calls it φρέαρ, ‘the spring.’ For speaking of a skirmish that happened between the Catholics and Macedonian heretics, in the church of Acacius, at Constantinople, he says, “Such a slaughter was

² Euseb. lib. x. c. iv. (Aug. Taur. 1746. p. 420. A 2.) Ἐνταῦθα καθαρσίων ἐτίθει σύμβολα κρήνας ἀντικρυς εἰς πρόσωπον ἐπισκευάζων τοῦ νεώ, πολλὰ τῷ χιτῷματι τοῦ νάματος, τοῖς περιβόλων ἱερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔσω προΐουσι τὴν ἀπόρρυσιν παρεχομένας.

* Paulin. Ep. xii. ad Severum :

Sancta nitens famulis interluit atria lymphis

Cantharus, intrantumque manus lavat amne ministro.

made, that the αὐλή, the *atrium*, or 'court of the church,' was filled with blood; insomuch that the φρέαρ, the 'fountain' that stood in it, was overflowed^b therewith, and ran through the adjoining στοὰ, the 'portico,' or 'cloisters,' even into the street." St. Chrysostom^c, also, speaks of these fountains as of things of common use in the *atria*, or 'courts before the churches, and frequently, in his popular discourses, alludes to the custom of washing their hands before they went into the church^d. Which is also done by Tertullian^e, who exposes the absurdity of going to prayers with washed hands, whilst men retained a filthy spirit and polluted soul. In like manner, Synesius^f speaks of the cisterns or vessels of water, set for washing in their ante-temples.

SECT. VII.—*Whether the superstitious Use of Holy Water be a Corruption of this ancient Custom?*

The writers of the Church of Rome, Baronius^g and others,

^b Socrat. lib. ii. c. xxxviii. (p. 128. B 2.) Γίνεται φόνος ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν ὥστε τὴν αὐλὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκείνης αἵματος πλήρη γενέσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ φρέαρ ὑπερβλῦσαι τοῦ αἵματος, ἰκρίειν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐχομένην στοὰν, ἄχρι τῆς πλατείας αὐτῆς.

^c Chrysost. Hom. lvii. tom. v. edit. Savil. p. 390. Τὰς κρήνας εἶναι ἐν ταῖς αὐλαῖς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν οἶκον νερόμισται.

^d Chrysostom. Hom. lii. in Matth. (Benedict. vol. vii. p. 526. B 6.) (tom. i. p. 566. A. edit. Francof.) Καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοιοῦτον ὁρῶμεν ἔθος κρατοῦν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς, καὶ ὅπως μὲν καθαροῖς εἰσέλθοιεν ἱματίους σπουδάζονται, καὶ ὅπως τὰς χεῖρας νίψαιτο, κ. τ. λ.—Id. Hom. lxxii. in Joan. (Benedict. vol. xi. p. 23. E.) (ibid. p. 465. A.) Εἴτα χεῖρας μὲν νιπτόμεθα εἰς ἐκκλησίαν εἰσιόντες, τὴν δὲ καρδίαν οὐκ ἐτι.—Id. Hom. iii. in Ephes. (Bened. vol. viii. p. 433. C 10.) (tom. v. p. 888.) Εἰπέ μοι, ἄρα ἂν ἔλοιο χερσὶν ἀνίπτους τῇ θυσίᾳ προσελθεῖν; οὐκ ἔγωγε οἶμαι· ἀλλ' ἐθέλοις ἂν μὴδὲ ὅλως προσελθεῖν, ἢ ῥυπαραῖς χερσίν.—Id. in Psalm. cxl. (Benedict. vol. v. p. 431.) (tom. iii. Opusc. p. 477.) Κάθαιρε τοίνυν αὐτὰς (χεῖρας) ἐλεημοσύνη, φιλανθρωπία, προστασία δομῶντων, καὶ οὕτως αὐτὰς εἰς εὐχὰς ἄγε· εἰ γὰρ ἀνίπτους αὐτὰς οὐκ ἐπιτρέπεις εἰς εὐχὴν ἑπαίρεσθαι, πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἀμαρτήμασιν οὐκ ἂν εἴης δίκαιος αὐτὰς μαινεῖν· εἰ τὸ ἔλαττον δέδοικας, πολλῶ μᾶλλον τὸ μείζον φρίξον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀνίπτους χερσὶ προσέχουσθαι, οὐ τοσοῦτον ἄτοπον, κ. τ. λ.

^e Tertull. de Orat. c. xi. (Paris. 1765. p. 133.) Quæ ratio est, manibus quidem ablutis, spiritu vero sordente, orationem obire?

^f Synes. Epist. cxxi. Anastasio. (Paris. 1640. p. 258. B 2.) Ὡς ἔστι γε τὸ δημόσιον ξίφος οὐχ ἦττον, ἢ τὰ ἐν τοῖς προτεμενίσμασι χέρνιβα, πύλεις καθαρήριον.

^g Baron. an. 57, n. cvii. seqq.

commonly derive and defend the use of their holy water from this ancient custom. But Du Fresne^b seems to speak more properly, when he says, "Their lustral water rather succeeded in its room." For the washing of the ancients had nothing of expiation in it; but was only an indifferent ceremony of corporal decency, or at most but an admonishing emblem of that purity of soul, with which men ought to enter the courts of the most Holy God. And, therefore, any one that compares these matters nicely together, must conclude, that the latter custom is but a fond imitation, or mere corruption of the former; if it owe not rather its original to a worse fountain, the *περιρραντήρια*, or 'sprinkling with holy water,' so often spoken of among the heathen. The things are so like one another, that some modern transcribers of Sozomen have mistaken them for one another. For, whereas Sozomen, speaking of Julian's going into a temple to sacrifice in Gaul, with Valentinian to attend him, says, "The priest sprinkled them^l with water as they went in, according to the heathen custom;" Valesius^k has observed, that in some copies it is read, "according to ecclesiastical custom," instead of "heathen custom;" which he imputes to some modern transcribers, who were minded to make church holy water of it; whom he

^b Du Fresne, Com. in Paul. Silent. p. 539. Hæ fontium aquæ quotannis in pervigilio sacrorum Theophaniorum interdum in ipso festo die consecrabantur et benedicebantur, quarum benedictionis ordo habetur in euchologio: unde *νόσων ἀπελαστικάι δαιμόνων φυγαδευτικάι* apud Clement. in Constit. Apost. *ἱερατικὸν ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων*, alibi *ἀμαρτημάτων λυτήριον*, etc. in eodem euchologio dicuntur. Horum loco succedere, præsertim apud Latinos, quæ in templorum valvis exponi solent lustrales undæ, uti, qui de ritibus ecclesiasticis scripsere, pridem docuerunt.

^l Sozom. lib. vi. c. vi. Ἐπεὶ ἐμέλλεν ὑπεραμείβειν τοῦ ναοῦ τὸν οὐδὸν, θαλαοῦς τινὰς διαβρόχους κατέχων ὁ ἱερεὺς, νόμφ Ἑλληνικῇ περιρρᾶναι τοὺς εἰσιόντας.

^k Vales. in h. l. (Cantabr. 1720. p. 226.) In Codice Fuketiano scriptum inveni *νόμφ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ*. Quod idcirco hic retuli, non quod scripturam eam probem, sed ut studiosus lector perspiciat, quam periculosum sit conjecturæ suæ indulgere. Etenim antiquarius, qui codicem illum descripsit, quum adspersionis aquæ mentionem fieri videret hoc loco, id more ecclesiastico factum esse credidit. Quasi non et pagani hujusmodi adspersionibus aquæ lustralis usi fuerint diu ante aquæ lustralis [Christianæ religionis] exordium. Nota sunt veterum Græcorum *περιρραντήρια*.

ingeniously chastises for their ignorance or impudence in corrupting good authors, as they justly deserved.

SECT. VIII.—*The Atrium and Porticos in the Ante-temple only made use of for burying the Dead.*

But, to return to the business of the ancient churches. Whilst we are speaking of the ante-temple, it will not be improper to observe, that for many years after burying-places were allowed in cities, they were still kept out of that which was strictly and properly called the church, and only allowed in those parts of the ante-temple, the *atrium* and porticos, which we have been describing; as appears from a canon of the Council of Nantes, an. 658, which prohibits any to be buried¹ in the church, but allows of it in the *atrium*, or porticos, or *exedrae* of the church. Which I note, only to show what use these parts of the ante-temple were put to. But of this more when we come to treat of cemeteries and the funeral rites of the ancient Church.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE INTERIOR NARTHEX, AND THE PARTS AND USES
OF IT.

SECT. I.—*Of the lesser πρόπυλα, or 'Porches,' before the Doors of the Church.*

HAVING taken a view of the *exterior narthex*, or 'outward ante-temple,' we are next led by Eusebius into the *interior narthex*, or 'ante-temple within the church.' For, in such stately structures as that of Paulinus was, the *narthex*, or πρόναος, which I English 'ante-temple,' was a name common

¹ Conc. Namnetens. c. vi. In ecclesia nullatenus sepeliantur, sed in atrio, aut porticu, aut in exedris ecclesiarum. Labbe (vol. ix. p. 470) reads, *extra ecclesiam*.

to more parts than one. And in some of the most magnificent churches, as that of Sancta Sophia, as Du Fresne has observed, out of Procopius and Paulus Silentarius, there were no less than four distinct *nartheces*. The entrance into the *interior narthex* in the church of Paulinus, was out of the porticos, or cloisters, before the church, by three inner porches (τὰ ἐνδοτάτω πρόπυλα, Eusebius calls them); and as many gates opening out of them, the middle one being the greatest and highest of the three, as we commonly see in our modern cathedrals, only with this difference, that those fronted to the east, and ours to the west. It had also porticos adjoining on the north and ^a south, and as many porches and doors to enter out of them. These porches, in such churches as had no other ante-temple, served to receive the first class of penitents, called the mourners, which otherwise were remitted to the *atrium* and porticos before the church, as I have shown already in the temple of Paulinus. And these things are accurately to be observed by those who would not mistake the ancients, when they seem to speak differently of the place of the mourners. Du Fresne has also observed, out of Paulinus Nolanus ^b, that these porches and gates are sometimes called *arcus*, from the manner of their structure, which was arch-work; and *apsides* for the same reason; for *apsis* denotes any thing that is framed in the figure of an arch, or a convex, as the heavens. And, therefore, he thinks the thirty-second canon of the Council of Carthage is to be understood of this place, when it says ^c, “that such penitents as had committed very notorious and scandalous crimes, known to the whole Church, should have imposition of hands before the *apsis* ;” that is, before the porch or doors of the church. Here it was also that the poor of the Church placed themselves, both before and after divine service, to ask alms of such as came from

^a Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. iii. c. xxxvii. (Cantabr. 1720. p. 598.) Of the Church of Jerusalem. Ἀμφὶ δ' ἐκάτερα τὰ πλευρὰ, διττῶν στοῶν ἀναγίων τε καὶ καταγίων διδυμοὶ παραστάδες τῷ μήκει τοῦ νεῶ συνεξείνοντο.

^b Paulin. Epist. xii. ad Sever. Alma domus triplici patet ingredientibus arcu.

^c Conc. Carth. III. c. xxxii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1171.) Cujuscunque penitentis publicum et vulgatissimum crimen est, quod universa ecclesia noverit, ante apsidem manus ei imponatur.

the altar. Which custom is mentioned by Gregory Nazianzen^d and St. Chrysostom^e, who elegantly, after his manner, upon this account, styles the poor, and aged, and the lame, and the blind, ‘the guards of the royal palace,’ meaning the church.

SECT. II.—Of the Narthex, Pronaos, or Ferula.

Being entered by these gates into the church, the first place that occurs to our view, is the *πρόναος*, or ‘ante-temple,’ within the walls. This, in the modern Greek rituals, is always called the *narthex*, and is peculiarly allotted to the monks, or women; and used to perform the offices of rogations, and supplications, and night-watches in. Here, also, they place dead corpses, whilst their funeral rites are performing, as Suicerus^f shows at large, out of their *Triodion*, *Pentecostarium*, and *Typicum*, and other authors. Morinus thinks^g the ancient churches, for above five hundred years, had no *narthex*, but were divided only into two parts, the *sanctuary*, and *aula laicorum*, ‘the place of the clergy,’ and ‘the place of the laymen;’ and that the *narthex* was first introduced by the Eastern monks in the sixth century: but in this he is evidently mistaken; for, though the name, perhaps, be not very ancient, yet the thing itself is; for this was always a distinct and separate part of the church, as any one will easily imagine that considers the ancient use of it.

^d Naz. Orat. xvi. de Amore Pauperum, (Paris. 1630. tom. i. p. 246. C 5.) Οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ὑπ’ αἰσχύνῃς τὰς πανηγύρεις φεύγουσιν· αὐτὸ μὲν οὖν τοῦναντίον, εἰς ταύτας ὡθοῦνται διὰ τὴν χρεῖαν, ταύτας δὲ λέγω πανδήμους καὶ ἱεράς, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ τῶν ψυχῶν ἐξεύρομεν, ἢ κατὰ τι μυστήριον συνιόντες, ἢ τοῖς μάρτυσι τῆς ἀληθείας πανηγυρίζοντες.

^e Chrysost. Hom. x. in 1 Thess. (Benedict. vol. xi. pp. 494—501.) [I do not find the words alleged by Bingham.]

^f Suicer. Thes. Eccles. voce *νάρθηξ*. (vol. ii. p. 391.) *Νάρθηξ* est locus in ecclesia, etsi alii extra ecclesiam ponant: cujus frequens mentio in libris ecclesiasticis Græcorum. *Triodion* in Sabbato sancto: ‘Ἡ δὲ πρώτη ὥρα ψάλλεται ἐν τῷ νάρθηκι ὁμοίως, καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ λιταὶ ψάλλονται ὁμοίως ἐν τῷ νάρθηκι. *Pentecostarium* in Dominica Resurrectionis: Καὶ ἐξερχόμεθα ἅπαντες ἐν τῷ νάρθηκι διὰ τοῦ βορείου μέρους, κρατοῦντες καὶ τὰ κηρία ἡμμένα. *Typicum*, c. xxv. Καὶ ποιοῦμεν ἐν τῷ νάρθηκι παννυχίδα εἰς τοὺς κοιμηθίντας.

^g Morin. de Poenit. lib. vi. c. i. sect. x. (p. 357. A 4. Antverp. 1682.) *Secundum* est, nusquam apud antiquos auctores nartheeis mentionem fieri. Antiqui

SECT. III.—*The Use of it for the Catechumens, and Penitents of the Second Order.*

For the Church, ever since she first divided her catechumens and penitents into distinct orders and classes, had also distinct places in the church for them. And this lower part of the church was the place of the energumens, and such of the catechumens and penitents as were commonly called ἀκροώμενοι, or *audientes*, that is, ‘hearers,’ because they were allowed to stand here to hear the Psalms and Scriptures read, and the sermon made by the preacher; after which they were dismissed, without any prayers or solemn benediction; as may be seen in the author of the Constitutions^b, and the Canons of St. Basil¹, Gregory Nyssen^k, and several others.

enim Græci, ut et Latini, ecclesias in duas tantum partes distinxerunt, in aulam sive atrium laicorum, et sanctuarium, in quo consistere episcopis, presbyteris, et diaconis tantum licebat. Sanctuarium non modo ἱερατεῖον, sed sæpissime βῆμα vocarunt, ut et ἅγιον τῶν ἁγίων, quandoque etiam ἄδυστα, ἀνάκτορον, et ἱλαστήριον. Usurpari cepit νάρθηξ in typicis et euchologiis post annos a Christo nato quingentos. Tum enim orientales monachi ceperunt ecclesias in tres partes dividere, ἱερατεῖον, ναὸν, καὶ νάρθηκα.

^h Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. v. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 463. A 7.) Μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν τῶν τε ἐπιστολῶν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν εὐαγγελίων, ἀσπασάσθω ὁ χειροτονηθεὶς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν . . . καὶ μετὰ τὴν πρόσρρησιν προσλαλησάτω τῷ λαῷ λόγους παρακλήσεως^c καὶ πληρώσαντος αὐτοῦ τὸν τῆς διδασκαλίας λόγον . . . ἀναστάντων ἀπάντων ὁ διάκονος ἐφ’ ὑψηλοῦ τινος ἀνελθὼν κηρυττέτω^d μήτις τῶν ἀκροωμένων μήτις τῶν ἀπίστων.

¹ Basil. Can. lxxv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1753.) Ὁ ἀδελφῆ ἰδίᾳ ἐκ πατέρος ἢ ἐκ μητέρος συμμιανθεὶς, εἰς οἶκον προσευχῆς μὴ ἐπιτρεπέσθω παρῆναι, ἕως ἂν ἀποστῇ τῆς παρανόμου καὶ ἀθεμίτου πράξεως^e μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐλθεῖν εἰς συναίσθησιν τῆς φοβερᾶς ἁμαρτίας, τριετίαν προσκλαιέτω, τῇ θύρᾳ τῶν εὐκτηρίων οἴκων παρεστῆκώς, καὶ δεόμενος τοῦ λαοῦ εἰσιόντος ἐπὶ τὴν προσευχὴν, ὥστε ἕκαστον μετὰ συμπαθείας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐκτενεῖς ποιῆσθαι πρὸς Κύριον τὰς δεήσεις^f μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ἄλλην τριετίαν εἰς ἀκρόασιν μόνην παραδεχθήτω, καὶ ἀκούων τῆς γραφῆς καὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας ἐκβαλλέσθω, καὶ μὴ καταξιούσθω προσευχῆς^g ἔπειτα εἴπερ μετὰ δακρύων ἐξεζήτησεν αὐτήν, καὶ προσπίπτει τῷ Κυρίῳ μετὰ συντριμμοῦ καρδίας καὶ ταπεινώσεως ἰσχυρᾶς, διδόσθω αὐτῷ ὑπόπτωσις ἐν ἄλλοις τρισὶν ἔτεσι^h καὶ οὕτως ἐπειδὴν τοὺς καρποὺς τῆς μετανοίας ἀξίους ἐπιδείξεται, τῷ δεκάτῳ ἔτει εἰς τὴν τῶν πιστῶν εὐχὴν δεχθήτω, χωρὶς προσφορᾶςⁱ καὶ δύο ἔτη συστάς εἰς τὴν εὐχὴν τοῖς πιστοῖς, οὕτω λοιπὸν καταξιούσθω τῆς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ κοινωνίας.

^k Gregor. Nyssen. Epist. ad Letoium, c. v. (tom. ii. p. 120. B 3. Paris. 1638.) Τρισηνεία γάρ εἰσιν ἑναυτοί, καθ’ ἕκαστον βαθμὸν τῆς ἐννάδος τῶν ἐτῶν

SECT. IV.—*Also for Jews, Heathens, Heretics, and Schismatics, to hear in.*

Hither, also, both Jews, and heathens, and heretics, and schismatics, were sometimes allowed to come to hear the Scriptures read, and the sermon preached, because this part of the service was for their edification and instruction. The Council of Laodicea, indeed¹, prohibits heretics to come within the church. But in Afric and other places, it was allowed; for, in the fourth Council of Carthage^m, there is a canon express to this purpose, “That the bishop shall not prohibit any, whether heathen, heretic, or Jew, to come into the church, and stay there to hear the word of God, till the time of the dismissal of the catechumens.” And it appears, further, from several both of St. Chrysostom’s and St. Austin’s Homilies, that this was the common practice. Now, then, it is reasonable to suppose, that all these had their station together in the lower part of the church, called the *narthex*, or whatever other name it went by.

SECT. V.—*This not the Place of the Font, or Baptistery, as in our Modern Churches.*

Dr. Beveridge and some others, seem here, also, to place the font, or baptistery, as in our modern churches. But there is nothing more certain, than that for many ages the baptistery was a distinct place from the body of the church, and reckoned among the *exedrae*, or ‘places adjoining to the church.’ For which reason, I omit speaking any further of it here, intending to do it more fully in the latter part of this Book, when I come to the *exedrae* of the church.

ὁρισθείσης, ὥστε ἐν μὲν τῇ παντελεῖ ἀφορισμῷ, ἐνναετῇ χρόνον διαγενίσθαι ἀπειργόμενον τῆς ἐκκλησίας· ἄλλα δὲ τοσαῦτα ἔτη ἐν τῇ ἀκροάσει παραμεῖναι, μόνης τῶν διδασκάλων καὶ τῆς τῶν γραφῶν ἀκροάσεως, καὶ μετὰ τῆς τοῦ λαοῦ συστάσεως ἀξιούμενον, κ. τ. λ. (See Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1748.)

¹ Conc. Laodic. can. vi. (tom. i. Conc. p. 1497.) Περὶ τοῦ, μὴ συγχωρεῖν τοῖς αἱρετικοῖς εἰσεῖναι εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐπιμένοντας τῇ αἵρεσει.

^m Conc. Carth. IV. c. lxxxiv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1206.) Ut episcopus nullum prohibeat ingredi ecclesiam, et audire verbum Dei, sive gentilem, sive hæreticum, sive Judæum, usque ad missam catechumenorum.

SECT. VI.—*Why called Narthex, and of the different Sorts of Nartheces in several Churches.*

If it be inquired, why this part of the church was called *narthex*, I answer, because the figure of it was supposed to resemble a *ferula*, which was the Latin name for it, that is, ‘a rod, or staff;’ for any oblong figure, or dromical, as the Greeks called it, was by them called a *narthex*, as Suicerus and Du Fresne have observed out of Theodosius Zygomalaⁿ; and, therefore, this part of the church, being a long but narrow part, across the front of the church, was termed *narthex*, or *ferula*, upon that account. And, it is further to be observed, that some churches had three or four *nartheces*, but those without the walls; for the porticos, or cloisters, of such churches as Sancta Sophia, which were built to the north, and west, and south of them, were called *nartheces*; as Du Fresne^o shows out of Procopius, and Paulus Silentarius, and

ⁿ Zygomala. ap. Auct. Turco-Græc. Νάρθηξ τὸ ἐξω τοῦ ναοῦ δρομικὸν δίκην νάρθηκος. Οὗτος νάρθηκοφόρος, ὁ ῥάβδον φέρων ἐκ νάρθηκος. Πᾶν δρομικὸν νάρθηξ λέγεται.

^o Du Fresn. Com. in Paul. Silentiar. (Byz. Hist. Venet. 1729. vol. xiv. p. 104.) Quatuor in æde Sophiana nartheces statuit Codinus: ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος μέχρι τῶν τεσσάρων νάρθηκων, ut et Anonymus: καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων νάρθηκων κατεχρύσωσε τὰ ὄροφα ἐξ ὑελίνου χρυσοῦ λαμπρότατα. Sed jure addubitari potest, an hoc loco quatuor aliquas porticus exteriores innuerit, binas scilicet ad occidentem, et duas alias ad septemtrionem et meridiem. Quod quidem indicare videtur idem Anonymus, scribens Justinianum statuisse (an vere, alii viderint) ut quisquis pro delictorum modo arceretur a sacris, in his quatuor narthecibus staret: quo quidem loco φίνας nartheces vocat, incomperta mihi ratione, nisi forte quod ad templi fines haberentur porticus istæ exteriores. Certe tertium narthecem ejusdem ædis Sophianæ observare est in sexta Synodo, act. xviii. ubi δικύμβαλον ἐν τρίτῃ νάρθηκι μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας statuitur, nullo alio indicio: qui quidem tertius narthex prima fortassis fuerit e tribus porticiibus, quas ad occidentem ædis Sophianæ stetisse scribit Paulus Silentarius, quæque ἐξώτατος νάρθηξ videtur nuncupari apud eundem Anonymum, p. 248. Nam auctor est Goarus, etiamnum Græcis ἐξωνάρθηκας exteriores porticus, ut interiores ἰσωνάρθηκας dici. Porro δικύμβαλον, ni fallor, locus est constans duabus trullis, κυμβαλικῶς, seu in modum cymbali, quemadmodum fuit major ædis trulla, exstructis. Ita τρικύμβαλον τοῦ τζυκανιστηρίου memorat alicubi Codinus in Orig. Jure igitur Allatius hæc verba de narthece infert: ‘Narthex vero extra ecclesiam forte an antiquis temporibus fuerit, non disputo.’ Nam ut nartheces, quod ex predictis satis patet, olim extra ecclesiam, seu potius extra ecclesiæ septa, fuere, etsi forte, ut pronai, sacri haberentur; ita vicissim pro

the sixth General Council, because these were long narrow buildings, in figure or shape of a *narthex*. And such churches, he thinks, had no other *narthex* within the walls; but these porticos were the proper station of the penitents, and such others as were not allowed to come within the nave of the church. But, in such churches as had no porticos adjoining to them, the *narthex* was the lower part of the church within the walls, which was made to answer the use of porticos in other churches; and this seems to be the true state of the matter, and the only way to reconcile the different accounts that are given by authors, of the ancient *narthex* of the church.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE NAOS, OR NAVE OF THE CHURCH, AND ITS PARTS AND USES.

SECT. I.—*Of the Beautiful and Royal Gates; why so called.*

AFTER the *narthex* followed that part which was properly called *ναὸς*, ‘the temple,’ and *navis*, ‘the nave, or body of the church.’ This was separated from the *narthex* by certain rails of wood, as all other places in the church were commonly distinguished. The entrance into it from the *narthex* was by the gates which the modern rituals and Greek writers call *πύλαι ὡραῖαι* and *βασιλικαὶ*, ‘the beautiful and royal gates;’ which seem to be so named in allusion to the name *basilica*, as denoting the royal palace of God, his house and temple; though, perhaps, another reason might be assigned for it among the modern Greeks, who might call it ‘the royal gate,’ because here their kings were used to lay down their crowns before they proceeded further into the church. Which is

certo haberi debet, posterioribus sæculis narthecem, eam ædis sacræ partem, quam hodie navim vocamus, appellatum, ut patet ex Euchologio et cæteris Græcorum ritualibus libris, et aliquot inferioris ætatis scriptoribus, quos laudat idem Allatius in Dissertat. de Recentiorum Græcorum Templis, p. 110, et seq.

observed by Leo Grammaticus, in the Life of Michael^a the emperor, where he notes it as an insolent and indecent thing in him, that when he came to 'the royal gates,' he did not lay aside his crown, as kings were used to do. Some festivals among them were, for a like reason, called crown-days, *ἑορταὶ θεοστεπταί*, *dies coronati*, because the emperors were used to go in their regalia to the great church of Sancta Sophia on those days, which were twelve particular days in a year. So that, as these days, so those gates of the temple might have their denomination from some particular ceremony, used by the imperial powers at their entrance by them. But I take the other reason to be more probable, and had scarce mentioned this, had it not been to explain a custom or two which fall in our way upon the mention of it.

SECT. II.—*The Nave of the Church usually a Square Building, called by some the Oratory of Laymen.*

This part of the church seems to have been usually a square building in the middle, between the sanctuary and the *narthex*; as we find it described in a Letter of Theodosius and Valentinian, at the end of the Council of Ephesus^b, and inserted also into the Theodosian Code^c; where, speaking of churches as places of refuge, they divide them into these three parts:— 1. the *θυσιαστήριον*, 'the altar-part, or sanctuary;' 2. the *εὐκτήριον τοῦ λαοῦ τετράγωνον*, 'the four-squared oratory of the people;' and, 3. the remaining part from that to the outer doors of the church. Now, as this last is a plain description of the *narthex* forementioned, though it be not called by that name, so is the second a description of the nave, or middle of

^a Leo, Grammatic. Chronograph. p. 466. (edit. Paris. 1672.) Μετὰ δὲ τῶν βασιλικῶν πυλῶν ἰλθὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς, οὐκ ἀπέθετο τὸ στέφος, καθὼς ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι, ἀλλὰ μετ' αὐτοῦ εἰσῆλθεν μέχρι τῶν ἁγίων θυρῶν.

^b (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 1236. C 7.) 'Ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων καίρων, οὐ μόνον τὰ θεῖα θυσιαστήρια, καὶ τὸ εὐκτήριον τοῦ λαοῦ τὸ τετράγωνον τοίχων περιβολῇ τειχιζόμενον, εἰς ἀσφάλειαν συντελεῖν τῶν προσφευγόντων θεσπίζομεν, ἀλλ' εἴ τι καὶ περαιτέρον τούτου τυγχάνει, ἄχρι τῶν τελευταίων θυρῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὧν τοῖς εὐξασθαι προηρημένοις πρῶτον ἐπιβαίνειν συμβαίνει, ἐλθόν μὲν τοῖς προσφεύγουσιν εἶναι προστάττομεν.

^c Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xlv. de his qui ad Ecclesiam confugiunt, leg. iv. p. 366.

the church, called the people's oratory, because the people chiefly filled this place, having their different stations or apartments in it, according to the difference of age, or sex, or quality, or state and condition; which distinctions were anciently observed in some, though perhaps not in all churches.

SECT. III.—*In the lowest Part of which stood the Substrati, or 'Penitents of the Third Order.'*

For here, first of all, at the very entrance of the royal gates, in the lowest station of this part, behind the *ambo*, stood the *ὑποπίπτοντες*, or *substrati*, the 'penitents of the third order;' so called from the custom of prostrating themselves before the bishop or priest as soon as the sermon was ended, to receive his benediction with imposition of hands, and be made partakers of those prayers which the congregation particularly offered to God for them; after which they were obliged immediately to depart before the communion service. This sort of penitents are mentioned in the Council of Nice^d, though no particular place is assigned them; but we may collect from Tertullian and Sozomen that their station was in this part of the church. For Tertullian^e, speaking of the Roman discipline, says, "Pope Zephyrin brought penitents into the church in sackcloth and ashes, and prostrated them, in the midst, before the widows and presbyters," to implore their commiseration, and excite their tears. This must be a different station of penitents from those called 'mourners;' for their station (as we have seen before) was without the church doors; but these before the widows and presbyters in the middle of the church. And so Sozomen^f plainly repre-

^d Conc. Nic. can. xi. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 34.) "Ὅσοι οὖν γυνήσις μεταμέλονται, τρία ἔτη ἐν ἀκρωμένοις ποιήσουσιν οἱ πιστοί, καὶ ἐπτά ἔτη ὑποπεσοῦνται.

^e Tertul. de Pudicit. c. xiii. (Paris. 1675. p. 564. C 8.) Pœnitentiam moechi ad exorandam fraternitatem in Ecclesiam inducens, conciliatum et concinertum cum dedecore et horrore compositum prosternis in medium ante viduas, ante presbyteros, omnium lacinias invadentem, etc.

^f Sozom. lib. vii. c. xvi. (Aug. Taur. p. 262. A.) 'Ἐνθάδε γὰρ ἐκδηλός ἐστιν ὁ τόπος τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ ὄντων· ἐστᾶσι δὲ κατηφέις, καὶ οἰονεὶ πενθοῦντες· ἤδη δὲ πληρωθείσης τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ λειτουργίας, μὴ μετασχόντες ὧν μύσταις θίμεις, σὺν οἰμωγῇ καὶ ὀδυρμῷ πρηνεῖς ἐπὶ γῆς ῥίπτουσι σφᾶς· ἀντιπρόσωπος δὲ

sents it, when he says, "The bishop fell prostrate with them, and all the congregation wept with tears; and then the bishop, rising up, made the proper prayers for them, and dismissed them." These were exercises to be performed in the church, and not at the church door; and therefore this order of penitents are, not without reason, placed by all expositors within the royal gates, behind the *ambo* of the church.

SECT. IV.—*And the Ambo or 'Reading-desk.'*

The *ambo* itself was what we now call the 'reading-desk,' a place made on purpose for the readers and singers, and such of the clergy as ministered in the first service, called *missa catechumenorum*. It had the name of *ambo*, not as Walafridus Strabo imagines, *ab ambiendo*, because it surrounded them that were in it; but from *ἀναβαίνειν*, because it was a place of eminence, to which they went up by degrees or steps; for the original name is *ἄμβων*, which, as Valesius and Habertus have rightly observed, in old Greek writers, Æschylus and Eustathius, signifies the ascent or height of a mountain, and thence it comes to signify this place of eminence in the church. Sozomen^s gives it the name of *βῆμα* upon the same account; but, to distinguish it from the other *bema*, which was the sanctuary or the altar, he calls it *βῆμα ἀναγνωστῶν*, the readers' *bema*, as the other was more properly the bishops' and presbyters'. In St. Cyprian it is called *pulpitum* and *tribunal ecclesie*, and the use of it is also explained by him to be a reading-desk; for here it was the readers stood to read the Gospels and Epistles, as we learn from the account which he gives of Celerinus and Aurelius, two famous confessors, whom^h he ordained readers, that they, who had made confes-

δεδακρυμένος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος προσδραμών, ὁμοίως ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους πίπτει· σὺν ὁλοληγῇ καὶ τὸ πᾶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας πλῆθος δακρύων ἐμπιπλάται.

^s Sozom. lib. viii. c. v. (p. 306. E 7.) Μίσον ἑαυτὸν πᾶσι παρέχων, ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος τῶν ἀναγνωστῶν καθεζόμενος ἐδίδασκεν.—Id. lib. ix. c. ii. (p. 343. D.) Καὶ ἀναλογιζόμενος ἐκ τῆς πείλας παρακειμένης λεωφόρου, εἰκάζω αὐτὴν κείσθαι περὶ τὸν ἄμβωνα· βῆμα δὲ τοῦτο τῶν ἀναγνωστῶν.

^h Cyprian. Ep. xxxiii. edit. Pamel. (ep. xxxviii. edit. Fell.) (Bened. p. 46.) Interim placuit, ut ab officio lectionis incipiat (Aurelius); quia et nihil magis congruit voci, quæ Dominum gloriosa prædicatione confessa est, quam celebrandis divinis lectionibus personare: post verba sublimia, quæ Christi mar-

sion of Christ's Gospel from the rack, might read it also from the pulpit or tribunal of the church. Here it was also that the singers had their station, as is evident from that canon of the Council of Laodicea¹, which forbids all others to sing in the church beside the canonical singers, who went up into the *ambo*, and sung by book. Here also the diptychs, or books of commemoration, were read, as appears from a noted passage in the Council of Constantinople, under Mennas^k, where the people cry out, Τὰ δίπτυχα τῷ ἄμβωνι, 'Let the diptychs be laid upon the reading-desk!' Bona^l thinks the bishop and the presbyters here also made their sermons to the people; for which he cites Prudentius^m and Sidonius Apollinarisⁿ; from whose words he further concludes that the *ambo* was sometimes called *ara*, or 'altar.' But this observation seems to be founded on a mistake; for the bishops anciently did not use to preach from the *ambo*, but more commonly from the rising steps of the altar; as Valesius^o shows that the custom

tyrium prolocuta sunt, evangelium Christi legere, unde martyres fiunt: ad pulpitum, post catastam venire.—Id. ep. xxxiv. (al. xxxix.) (Oxon. p. 77.) Hunc ad nos, fratres dilectissimi, cum tanta Domini dignatione venientem, testimonio et miraculo ejus ipsius, qui se persecutus fuerat, illustrem, quid aliud quam super pulpitem, id est, super tribunal ecclesiæ oportebat imponi, ut loci altioris celsitate subnixus, et plebi universæ pro honoris sui claritate conspicuus, legat præcepta et evangelium Domini, quæ fortiter ac fideliter sequitur †

¹ Conc. Laodic. c. xv. (tom. i. Conc. p. 1500.) Περὶ τοῦ, μὴ δεῖν πλὴον τῶν κανονικῶν ψαλτῶν, τῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄμβωνα ἀναβαινόντων, καὶ ἀπὸ εἰσθέρως ψαλλόντων, ἐτέρους τινὰς ψάλλειν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

^k Conc. Constantin. V. sub Menna, act. v. (tom. v. Conc. p. 184, A.)

^l Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. ii. c. vi. n. iii. (Antverp. 1677. p. 525.) Solebant antiquitus tam epistolæ quam Evangelium legi in ambone seu pulpito, ex quo etiam episcopus conciones habebat.

^m Prud. Hymn. de Hippolyt. 225. (Bibl. V. P. vol. viii. p. 465.)

Fronte sub adversa gradibus sublime tribunal

Tollitur, antistes prædicat unde Deum.

ⁿ Sidon. Carm. xvi. ad Faustum: (Biblioth. M. V. P. Lugd. vol. vi. p. 1149. 124.)

Seu te conspicuis gradibus venerabilis aræ

Concionaturum plebs sedula circumssistit.

^o Vales. in Socrat. lib. vi. c. v. Ex hoc loco Socratis apparet, episcopos olim solitos non esse ex ambone, seu pulpito, concionem ad populum habere. Id enim tantquam singulare quidpiam in Chrysostomo notat Socrates, quod verba facturum conscendere in ambonem consuevisset, ut a populo facilius exaudiretur. Ut plurimum autem episcopi in gradibus altaris concionabantur. Id docet Childeberti

continued in France to the time of King Childebert; and therefore both Socrates^p and Sozomen seem to speak of Chrysostom's preaching in the *ambo* as an unusual thing; but "he did it for convenience," Socrates says, "that he might be the better heard by the people." We cannot hence, therefore, conclude that the *ambo* was the ordinary place of preaching, but rather the altar; and that when we read of bishops preaching from the ascent of the *ara*, it is rather to be understood of the altar than the *ambo*. Yet, in Afric, St. Austin seems to have made his discourses to the people from the *ambo*, which he sometimes calls *exedra*^q, and sometimes *apsis*^r; which I the rather note, because these words are of various significations among the ancients, sometimes denoting the *ambo*, perhaps from its orbicular form; and at other times the cross wings and outer buildings of the church. Some take the *apsis* for the *ambo*, in that canon of the third Council of Carthage which says, "Notorious and scandalous criminals^s shall do penance before the *apsis*." But Du Fresne, as I have noted^t before, takes it in another sense for the porch of the church; and it is not always easy to determine exactly the meaning of it.

SECT. V.—*And above this the Communicants and Fourth Order of Penitents, called Consistentes, had their Places.*

But to proceed: in this part of the church all the faithful, or such as were in the communion of the church, had their place assigned them; and among them the fourth order of

regis constitutio, quam Sirmondus retulit in tomo primo Conciliorum Gallię, p. 300, sed mutilam.

^p Socrat. lib. vi. c. v. (p. 265. B.) 'Ο ἐπίσκοπος, τοῦ Εὐτροπίου ὑπὸ τὸ θυσιαστήριον κειμένου, καὶ ἐκπεληγέτος ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου, καθέσθεις ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀμβωνος, ὅθεν εἰώθει καὶ πρότερον ὁμιλεῖν χάριν τοῦ ἐξακούεσθαι, etc.

^q August. de Civit. Dei, lib. xxii. c. viii. (Bened. vol. vii. p. 672. C 6.) In gradibus exedre, in qua de superiore loquebar loco, feci stare ambos fratres, quum eorum legeretur libellus.

^r Aug. Ep. ccxxv. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 367. C 5.) Honoratiores et graviores, in apsidem adscendentes, cum episcopo colloquuntur, etc.—It. Epist. cciii. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 32. A.) In futuro Christi judicio nec apsidēs [absidæ] gradatæ, nec cathedræ velatæ, etc.

^s Conc. Carth. III. c. xxxii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1171.) Cujuscumque pœnitentis publicum et vulgatissimum crimen est, quod universa ecclesia noverit, ante apsidem manus ei imponatur.

^t Chap. iv. § i.

penitents, whom they called *consistentes*, because they were allowed to stay and hear the prayers of the Church after the catechumens and other penitents were dismissed; but yet they might not make their oblation, or participate of the sacrifice of the altar; in which respect they are said to stand and communicate with the rest of the people, but in prayers only, without the oblation, as the canons of Nice^u and St. Basil^v word it. Whether they were separate from other communicants, in a distinct place by themselves, I find not in any other author, save only Eligius Noviomensis, who lived about the year 640. He, in one of his homilies^w to the penitents, tells them they were placed on the left side of the church, because the Lord, at the day of judgment, would place ‘the sheep,’ that is, the righteous, ‘on his right hand, and the goats,’ that is, sinners, ‘on his left.’ But, because this is a later writer, and learned men^x are also doubtful about his homilies, whether they be genuine or not, we can determine nothing from this passage concerning the original custom of the Church.

SECT. VI.—*The Places of Men and Women usually separate from each other.*

Only this is certain from good authors, that anciently men and women had their different places in this part of the church.

^u Conc. Nic. can. xi. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 33.) Δύο ἔτη χωρὶς προσφορᾶς κοινωνήσουσι τῷ λαῷ τῶν προσευχῶν.

^v Basil. Epist. can. lvi. (Paris. 1622. p. 99.) 'Εν δ' ἔτεσι συστήσεται μόνον τοῖς πιστοῖς, προσφορᾶς δὲ οὐ μεταλήψεται πληρωθέντων δὲ τούτων, μεθίξει τῶν ἁγιασμάτων. — Conc. Ancyran. c. viii. (tom. i. Conc. p. 1460.) Οἱ δὲ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον θύσαντες μετὰ βίας, τετραετίαν ὑποπέσιτωσαν, δύο δὲ ἔτη χωρὶς προσφορᾶς κοινωνησάτωσαν, καὶ τῷ ἑβδόμῳ τελείως δεχθήτωσαν.

^w Eligius, Hom. viii. (Biblioth. M. V. P. vol. xii. p. 309.) Cur ergo in sinistra parte ecclesie positi estis? Non sine causa usus ecclesie hoc obtinuit; sed quia Dominus in judicio oves, id est, justos, a dextris; hædos vero, id est, peccatores, a sinistris ponet.

^x Albertin. de Eucharist. lib. iii. p. 906. Circa idem tempus vivebat Eligius Noviomensis episcopus, sub cujus nomine editæ sunt sexdecim homilie, in quarum octava dicitur, ‘Nos vere,’ etc. Et in decima quinta, ‘Sicut caro,’ etc. . . . Verum non opus est de horum verborum sensu exactius inquirere. Duas enim illas homilias (ut de reliquis taceam) Eligii istius non esse, sed auctoris alicujus eo longe recentioris, ex ipsis aperte liquet, etc.

The author of the Constitutions speaks of it as the custom^y of the Church in his time, when he gives directions about it, that women should sit in a separate place by themselves, and accordingly makes it one part of the office of deaconesses to attend^{*} the women's gate in the church: "Let the door-keepers stand at the gate of the men, and the deaconesses at the gate of the women." St. Cyril^a, also, takes notice of this distinction as customary in his own church at Jerusalem, saying, "Let a separation be made, that men be with men, and women with women, in the church." The like intimation is given us by St. Austin, that each sex^b had their distinct places in the church; and he particularly mentions the women's part as distinct also in the baptistery^c of the church. Paulinus^d takes notice of the same in the Life of St. Ambrose, telling us how St. Ambrose was once furiously assaulted in a church by an Arian woman, who, getting up into the tribunal to him, would needs have haled him by his garments to the women's part, that they might have beat him, and made him fly the

^y *Constit. Apostol. lib. ii. c. lvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 294. E.) Αἱ γυναῖκες κεχωρισμένως καὶ αὐταὶ καθέξισθωσαν.*

^{*} *Ibid. (p. 296.) Οἱ μὲν πυλῶροι εἰς τὰς εἰσόδους τῶν ἀνδρῶν, φυλάσσοντες αὐτάς, αἱ δὲ διάκονοι εἰς τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν.—Id. lib. viii. c. xx. 'Ο ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ μαρτυρίου καὶ ἐν τῇ ναῷ προχειρισάμενος τὰς φρουροὺς τῶν ἁγίων σου πυλῶν.*

^a *Cyrril. Prefat. in Catech. n. viii. Διεσάλθω τὰ πράγματα, ἄνδρες μετὰ ἀνδρῶν, καὶ γυναῖκες μετὰ γυναικῶν.*

^b *August. de Civit. Dei, lib. ii. c. xxviii. (Bened. vol. vii. p. 57. E 5.) Populi confluent ad ecclesias casta celebritate, honesta utriusque sexus discretione.*

^c *Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. xxii. c. viii. (Bened. vol. vii. p. 665. F 2.) Admonetur in somnis Innocentia, appropinquante pascha, ut in parte feminarum observanti ad baptisterium, quaecumque illi baptizata primitus occurrisset, signaret ei locum signo Christi.*

^d *Paulin. Vit. Ambros. p. 3. (p. 39. E. edit. Colon. 1616.) (Paris. 1836. vol. i. p. 4.) Sirmium quum ad ordinandum episcopum Anemium perrexisset, ibique Justinæ tunc temporis reginæ potentia et multitudine coadunata de ecclesia pelleretur, ut non ab ipso, sed ab hæreticis Arianus episcopus in eadem ecclesia ordinaretur, essetque constitutus in tribunali, nihil curans eorum, quæ a muliere excitabantur; una de virginibus Arianorum, impudentior ceteris, tribunal conscendens, apprehenso vestimento sacerdotis, quum illum attrahere vellet ad partem mulierum, ut ab ipsis cæsus de ecclesia pelleretur, ait ei: 'Etsi ego indignus tanto sacerdotio sum, tamen te non convenit vel professionem tuam in qualemcumque sacerdotem manus injicere; unde debes vereri Dei judicium, ne tibi aliquid mali eveniret.'*

church. This distinction was so generally observed in the time of Constantine, that, Socrates^e says, “his mother, Helena, always submitted to the discipline of the Church in this respect, praying with the women in the women’s part;” and it was usually made by rails, or wooden walls, as St. Chrysostom terms them, who has these remarkable words concerning the original of this custom: “Men ought to be separated^f from women,” says he, “by an inward wall, meaning that of the heart; but, because ye would not, our forefathers separated you by these wooden walls: for I have heard from our seniors that it was not so from the beginning, for in Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female. Do we not read that men and women prayed together in their upper room?” Yet Eusebius^g makes this distinction as ancient as Philo Judæus and St. Mark; and many learned men think it came from the Jewish Church into the Christian not long after the days of the apostles. Some are a little too curious in fixing this women’s part always precisely to the north, or right side of the church; for, though this might be the custom of the western churches in later ages, when Amalarius Fortunatus, and Radulphus Tungrensis, and the authors of the *Micrologus* and *Ordo Romanus* lived, which writers are cited by Durante^h

^e Socrat. lib. i. c. xvii. (Reading, p. 41. B 11.) Οὕτω δὲ εἶχεν εὐλαβῶς περὶ ταῦτα, ὡς καὶ συνεύχεσθαι ἐν τῇ τῶν γυναικῶν τάγματι.

^f Chrysostom. Hom. lxxiv. in Matth. (Bened. vol. vii. p. 722. B 9.) (tom. i. p. 783, sub fin. edit. Francof.) Ἐχρῆν μὲν οὖν ἔνδον ἔχειν τὸ τεῖχος τὸ διειργὸν ὑμᾶς τῶν γυναικῶν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐ βούλεσθε, ἀναγκαῖον ἐνόμισαν εἶναι οἱ πατέρες, κἀν ταῖς σάνισιν ὑμᾶς ταύταις διατειχίσαι· ὡς ἔγωγε ἀκούω τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, ὅτι τὸ παλαιὸν οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἦν τὰ τείχεια· ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ οὐκ ἐνὶ ἄρσεν ἢ θῆλυν· καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων δὲ ὁμοῦ, καὶ ἄνδρες, καὶ γυναῖκες ἦσαν· καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἄνδρες, ἄνδρες ἦσαν· καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες, γυναῖκες· τῶν δὲ πᾶν τοῦναντίον, αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες εἰς τὰ τῶν ἑταιρίδων ἐαυτὰς ἐξώθησαν ἥθη· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες, ἵππων μαινομένων οὐδὲν ἄμεινον διάκεινται· οὐκ ἠκούσατε, ὅτι ἦσαν συνηγμένοι ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες ἐν τῇ ὑπερήφῃ; καὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐκεῖνος ὁ σύλλογος ἄξιός ἦν.

^g Euseb. lib. ii. c. xvii. (Reading, p. 63. D 5.) (p. 45. C. edit. Amstel. 1695.) Τί δεῖ τούτοις ἐπιλέγειν τὰς ἐπὶ ταῦτόν συνόδους, καὶ τὰς ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἀνδρῶν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ γυναικῶν ἐν ταύτῃ διατριβάς, καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἔθους εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν πρὸς ἡμῶν ἐπιτελουμένας ἀσκήσεις.

^h Durant. de Ritib. Eccles. lib. i. c. xviii. (Paris. 1632. p. 120.) Separantur viri et feminae in ecclesia, ait Amalar. Fortunat., non solum ab osculo carnali, sed etiam situ locali: et eod. lib. i. cap. ii.: Masculi stant in australi parte, et

for it; yet it appears to have been otherwise anciently in many of the Greek churches. Nor does that funeral inscription, which some produce out of the *Roma Subterranea*, prove the contrary, which speaks¹ of persons lying interred, *sinistra parte virorum*, 'on the south or left side of the church, where the men sat;' for, not to inquire into the antiquity of that inscription, it proves no more but that the men sat on the left side in the Roman churches; which does not hinder the women from having their apartment on that side too, if the same custom was at Rome which was at Constantinople and other Greek churches, which was for the men to sit below, and the women in porticoes or galleries above them, on the left side of the church, if not on the right also. For thus Gregory Nazianzen^k describes his temple of Anastasia, making the men to stand by the rails of the chancel, and the virgins and matrons to be hearkening from their upper galleries above the other; and so it was in the church of Sancta Sophia and many other churches.

SECT. VII.—*Why these Places of the Women were called*
Κατηχούμενα and Ὑπερῶα.

Upon this account, these places of the women are, by such Greek writers as speak of them, termed ὑπερῶα, 'upper rooms,'

feminae in boreali, ut ostendatur per fortiorem sexum firmiores sanctos constitui, in majoribus tentationibus æstus hujus mundi. Ordo Romanus de Offic. Missæ. Ipse vero diaconus stat versus meridiem, ad quam partem viri solent confluere. Plenius Micrologus de Eccles. Observat. c. ix., et Radulph. Tungrens. de Canon. Observant. proposit. xxiii.

¹ Arrhing. *Roma Subterranean*. lib. ii. c. x. n. xxiii. (p. 204, edit. Paris. 1659) :

AD SANCTVM PETRVM APOSTOLVM ANTE REGIA
IN PORTICV COLUMNA SECUNDA QUOMODO INTRAMVS
SINISTRA PARTE VIRORVM
LUCELLVS ET IANVARIA HONESTA FEMINA.

^k Nazianz. *Somn. de Templo Anastas.* (Paris. 1630. vol. ii. p. 78.)

Λαοὶ δ' οἱ μὲν ἔχυντο περιστάδυν, ὥστε μέλισσαι
Σιγκλιδος· ἦν γὰρ ἀγῶν ἀσσοτέρω πελάσαι·
Οἱ δ' ἱεροῖς προθύροισι περιστρίνοντο ῥίοντες,
Οὐασιν ἡδὲ ποσὶν ἴσον ἐπειγόμενοι·
Ἄλλους δ' αὐτ' ἀγοραί τε πολυσχιδίεις θ' ἄμ' ἀγνυαί,
Ποσσί κροαινόμεναι, πέμπον ἱμοῖσι λόγοις·
Αἱ δ' ἄρ' ἀφ' ὑψηλῶν τεγέων εὐκοσμον ἀκουήν
Ἄγναι παρθενικαὶ κλῖνον ἄμ' ἐσθλογάμοις.

as by Evagrius¹, in his description of the temple of Sancta Sophia, and more particularly by Paulus Silentarius^m, who styles them expressly *θηλυτέρων ὑπερώϊα*, 'the upper galleries of the women.' These were also called *κατηχούμενα*, as appears from an edict of the Emperor Leoⁿ, which makes these upper rooms and the *catechumena* to be the same thing. Suicerus^o and Hospinian, and many other learned men, mistake these for the place where the *catechumens* stood, and where the catechetical books were kept; but Du Fresne^p more truly observes, that they were so called because they were places of hearing, where the women sat in their upper galleries to hear divine service. In one of these the empress commonly had her apartment, as Du Fresne observes out of Evagrius. And by that one may easily understand what Paulus Diaconus^q means, when speaking of the Empress Eirene, he says, "she went up by the ascent of the brazen gate into the *catechumenia* of the church," that is, 'into the place of hearing among the women's apartments in the church.' These galleries were sometimes also made use of for councils to sit in; as Leo

¹ Evagr. Histor. lib. iv. c. xxxi. (Aug. T. p. 373. A.) Ὑπερώϊά τε μετεωρίζουσιν ἑτέροις παραπλησίους κίοσι, προκύπτειν τοῖς βουλομένοις διδόντες εἰς τὰ τελούμενα ὅθεν καὶ ἡ βασιλὶς παρούσα ταῖς ἑορταῖς τῇ ἱεουργίᾳ τῶν μυστηρίων ἐφίσταται.

^m Paul. Silent. Descript. S. Sophiæ, pars i. v. 256.

Ἐνθα δὲ θηλυτέρων ὑπερώϊα καλὰ νοήσεις.

ⁿ Leo, Novel. lxxiii. Ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ὑπερώϊοις, ἅπτερ ὁ πολὺς ἄνθρωπος κατηχούμενα καλεῖν ἔγνω, συνοικεῖν τινὰς γυναῖκιν.

^o Suicer. Thes. Eccles. voce κατηχούμενα.

^p Du Fresn. Com. in Paul. Silent. p. 210. Porticus superiores, feminis precantibus addictæ, ut plurimum catechumeniorum vel catechumenorum nomine donantur a scriptoribus: non quod in iis umquam catechumeni constiterint, sed quod divinos, qui a sacerdotibus et oratoribus concinebantur, hymnos ibi auditu exciperent mulieres: unde et κατηχούμενα, loca Dei verbo officisque ecclesiasticis audiendis superne exstructa, recte viri docti interpretantur.—Ibid. p. 553, sect. xl. In istarum aularum superiorum una Imperatrix consistere solebat, quum divinis officiis intererat. Id disertè tradit Evagrius ubi loquitur de columnis Thessalicis, quæ ad septentrionem et meridiem, utramque aream septentrionalem et meridianam suffulciunt: ἐν δεξιῷ δὲ κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον, κίονες αὐτοῖς παρατετάχεται, ἐκ Θεττάλου λίθου πεποιημένοι ὑπερῶα δὲ μετεωρίζουσιν ἑτέροις, κ. τ. λ. Vid. sub litt. antec. (l).

^q Paul. Diacon. Miscel. lib. xxiii. Ascendit Imperatrix Eirene per æneæ porte ascensum in catechumenia ecclesiæ.

Allatius^r has observed of the Council of Constantinople, in the time of Johannes Comnenus, an. 1165, that it was held ἐν τοῖς δεξιόις κατηχουμένοις, ‘in the right-hand galleries of the church’ of Alexius; and some others are mentioned⁴, as held in the same place.

SECT. VIII.—*Private Cells for Meditation, Reading, and Prayer, on the back of these.*

The inner parts of these porticoes were sometimes divided into little cells, or places of retirement, on the walls of the church, and that not only in the women’s parts, but the men’s also: as may be collected from the account which Paulinus Nolanus gives of them, who calls them *cubicula*, ‘little chambers,’ and tells us “the use of them^t was for people to retire into that were minded to give themselves to reading, or meditation, or private prayer.” These were looked upon as parts of the *catechumenia*, and were sometimes abused to profane uses, instead of pious; for, as we may collect from the decrees of the Council of Trullo^u and the Emperor Leo^w, some made

^r Leo Allat. de Consens. Eccles. lib. ii. c. xi. p. 645. Μηνὶ Μαΐῳ, ἰνδικτιῶνος τρίτης, προκαθημένου τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου κυρίου Λέοντος ἐν τοῖς δεξιόις κατηχουμένοις τοῦ ἀγίου Ἀλεξίου, συνιερῶζοντων καὶ ἱερωτάτων ἀρχιερίων, κ. τ. λ.

^s Ibid. c. xii. p. 681. Προκαθημένου τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου, κυρίου Μιχαήλου, ἐν τοῖς δεξιόις κατηχουμένοις τοῦ ἀγίου Ἀλεξίου, κ. τ. λ.

^t Paulin. Ep. xii. ad Sever. (Biblioth. M. V. P. vol. vi. p. 193. D.) Cubicula intra porticus quaterna, longis basilicæ lateribus inserta, secretis orantium, vel in lege Domini meditantium, præterea memoriis religiosorum ac familiarium accommodatos ad pacis æternæ requiem locos præbent.

^u Conc. Trull. c. xevii. (tom. vi. Conc. p. 1183.) Τοὺς ἡ γαμετῇ συνοικοῦντας, ἢ ἄλλως ἀδιακρίτως τοὺς ἱερούς τόπους κοινοποιοῦντας, καὶ καταφρονητικῶς περὶ αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας, καὶ οὕτως ἐν αὐτοῖς καταμένοντας, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐν τοῖς σεβασμίῳ ναοῖς κατηχουμένων ἐξωθεῖσθαι προστάσσομεν.

^w Leo, Novel. lxxiii. Πράγμα κακῶς μὲν καὶ πρὸ τῶν κωλόνων αὐτὸ δικαίῳ γινόμενον, χεῖρον δὲ μετὰ τὸ κωλυθῆναι τολμώμενον (φημί δὲ τὸ ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ὑπερῷοις, ἅπερ ὁ πολλὸς ἄνθρωπος κατηχούμενα καλεῖν ἔγνω, συνοικεῖν τινὰς γυναῖξιν) οὐκ ἄξιον παριδεῖν· οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ παροφθήσεται ἡμῖν· . . . ὀρίζομεν, μηδένα μηδαμῶς μήτε ἱερέα, μήτε τῶν ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ γυναῖξιν συνοικοῦντα, ἐν τοῖς λεγομένοις κατηχουμένοις οἰκεῖν· εἰ δὲ τις ἐνρίσκοιτο τὸν ἅγιον οἶκον οὕτω κοινοποιῶν, τοῦτον μὲν βασιλεῖφ χειρὶ ἀτίμως ἐκείθην ἐξωθεῖσθαι.

use of them for lodgings instead of oratories, and cohabited with their wives there. To correct which abuse, it is ordered in both those decrees that all such persons should be expelled from the *catechumenia* of the church.

SECT. IX.—*The Place of the Virgins and Widows distinguished from others.*

It is to be noted further, that not only men and women had their distinct places, but also virgins and widows a peculiar apartment assigned to them; which we learn from St. Ambrose's Discourse to a Lapsed Virgin, telling her^x, "that she ought to have remembered that place in the church, railed out from the rest, where she was used to stand, whither the religious matrons and noble women came thronging to receive her salutations, which were more holy and better than herself." This appears also from the author^y of the Constitutions, who, speaking of the order in which persons were appointed to sit in the church, first places the virgins, widows, and aged women, in the highest rank; then married women below them, in a place by themselves; then their children,—daughters with their mothers, and sons with their fathers, or next behind them; and, last of all, young men, according to their age, in different stations. This was the order in such churches as had none of those *hyperœa*, or 'galleries,' before spoken of; for otherwise, as has been noted out of Nazianzen, the virgins and matrons had their distinct places in the porticoes above. I do not here allege Origen, after Durantus and Bona, because

^x Ambros. ad Virgin. Lapsam, c. vi. (Paris. 1836. vol. iii. p. 326.) Nonne vel illum locum tabulis separatum, in quo in ecclesia stabas, recordari debuisti; ad quem religiosæ matronæ et nobiles certatim currebant, tua oscula petentes, quæ sanctiores et digniores te erant.

^y Constit. Apost. lib. ii. c. lvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 295. B. 6.) 'Ὡς γὰρ οἱ ποιμένες ἕκαστον τῶν ἀλόγων, αἰγῶν φημί καὶ προβάτων κατὰ συγγένειαν καὶ ἡλικίαν ἰσθῶσι· καὶ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν τὸ ὅμοιον τῷ ὁμοίῳ συντρέχει, οὕτω καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· οἱ μὲν νεώτεροι ἰδίᾳ καθεζέσθωσαν, ἂν ᾗ τόπος· εἰ δὲ μὴ, στηκέτωσαν ὀρθοί· οἱ δὲ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ἤδη προβιβηκότες καθεζέσθωσαν ἐν τάξει· τὰ δὲ παιδία ἐστῶτα προσλαμβάνεσθωσαν αὐτῶν οἱ πατέρες καὶ μητέρες· αἱ δὲ νεώτεραι πάλιν ἰδίᾳ, ἂν ᾗ τόπος· εἰ δὲ μὴγε, ὀπισθεν τῶν γυναικῶν ἰστάσθωσαν· αἱ δὲ ἡδὲ γεγαμηκυῖαι καὶ τεκναρχοῦσαι ἰδίᾳ ἰστάσθωσαν· αἱ παρθέναι δὲ καὶ αἱ χῆραι καὶ πρεσβύτειδες πρῶται πασῶν στηκέτωσαν, ἢ καθεζέσθωσαν.

they plainly mistake the sense of their author, who speaks not of the Christian church, but of the Jewish temple, and that with such a formal story, that it is a wonder any learned men could mistake him. He tells us, "he had it from an old tradition², that there was a place in the temple peculiar for virgins to worship God in, whither no married woman was allowed to come. But the Virgin Mary, after she had brought forth our Saviour, went and stood to worship there; which, when they that knew she had borne a son would not allow of, Zacharias, the father of St. John Baptist, stood up and said, 'She is worthy to stand in the place of virgins, for she is yet a virgin.' Upon which they rose up against Zacharias as a breaker of the law, in permitting a married woman to stand in the place of virgins, and slew him between the temple and the altar." I make no further reflection on this passage at present, but leave it, as I find it, to the judgment of the reader. As to the place of virgins in the Christian Church, I have only this one thing more to remark out of St. Ambrose, which is, that usually some profitable texts of Scripture³ were written upon the walls of the church in this place, proper to the virgin state, such as that of St. Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 34, "There is difference between a wife and a virgin: the unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and in spirit." Which lesson, St. Ambrose tells the virgin he writes to, she ought to have remembered, because it was written before her eyes upon the walls of the church.

SECT. X.—*The Σωλεῖον, or Solea; that is, the Magistrate's Throne in this part of the Church.*

There is one place more to be taken notice of in some churches, before we leave this part of the temple to go into

² Origen. Hom. xxvi. in Matth. p. 162, edit. Basil. (p. 80. M. edit. Paris. 1604.)

³ Ambros. ad Virgin. Lapsam, c. vi. (Paris. 1836. vol. iii. p. 326.) Nonne vel illa præcepta, quæ oculis tuis ipse scriptus paries ingerebat, recordari debuisti, 'Divisa est mulier et virgo: quæ non est nupta, cogitat quæ Domini sunt, quomodo sit sancta corpore et spiritu?' Tu autem in contrarium vertisti dictum, ita cogitans, ita agens, ut nec corpore esses sancta, nec spiritu.

the sanctuary, which is what Codinus^b and some other modern Greeks call the *σωλαῖον*, a place of some note in the church of Sancta Sophia, but not exactly agreed upon by learned men, either what or where it was, or what use it was put to. Gretser, in his notes upon Codinus^c, fancies it to be nothing else but the pavement at the entrance of the sanctuary, or some such thing adjoining to it. Morinus^d and Allatius^e say it was some place between the *bema* and the *ambo*. Schelstrate is a little more particular^f, that it was the place before the rails of the sanctuary, where the emperor had his seat on the right hand, and the readers and subdeacons on the left. But Suicerus^g and Meursius are more positive that it was only the emperor's throne, and called *σωλαῖον*, from the Latin *solium*; and Dr. Beveridge^h inclines to the same opinion. Du Fresne

^b Codin. in Origin. de Templo Sophiæ. 'Εποίησε τὸ κιβώριον, καὶ τοὺς κίονας, καὶ τὰ στήθια τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἐξ ἀργυρίου, καὶ χρυσώσας αὐτά· τὸ δὲ μῆλον, καὶ τὰ κρίνα, καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν τοῦ κιβωρίου ὀλόχρυσα· τὸν δὲ ἄμβωνα, καὶ τὸν σωλαῖα χρυσᾷ.—Id. de Officiis, c. xvii. Καὶ κατέρχεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ ἄμβωνος οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ μέρους μέντοι, οὐπερ ἀνῆλθεν, ἕως τοῦ πρὸς τὰς ὥραιας πύλας ὀρῶντος, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ἐτέρου τοῦ πρὸς τὸν σωλαῖαν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον βῆμα.

^c Gretser in Cod. de Origin. Constant. lib. iii. c. xii.

^d Morin. de Ordin. part. ii. p. 187, n. lii. Græce vario modo scriptum reperitur, ὁ σωλαῖας, ἡ σωλαῖα, ἡ σωλαῖα, τὸ σωλαῖον, ὁ σωλαῖς, aliquando etiam pro σω scribitur σο. Locus est in ecclesiis Græcorum intermedius inter sanctuarium et chorum. A choro ingressus est in sanctuarium, vel a sanctuario in chorum per mediam soleam. Altior est et eminentior choro. Illuc usque procedunt, qui corporis Christi participes esse volunt. Ex una igitur parte cancellis sanctuarii contiguus est; ex altera, choro, etc.

^e Allat. de Templis Græc. epist. ii. sect. v. (p. 44, edit. Colon. 1645.) Quæris, ubinam solea collocanda sit? Respondeo, si conjecturæ non fallunt, bemati ambonique proximum fuisse, colligo ex Codino, c. xvii. de Offic. καὶ κατέρχεται, κ. τ. λ. vid. sub litt. (b): et in Originibus de Templo S. Sophiæ: ἐποίησε τὸ κιβώριον, κ. τ. λ. vid. sub itidem litt. (b).

^f Schelstrat. Concil. Antioch. p. 192.

^g Suicer. Thes. voce σωλαῖας, et Meursius in Glossar.

^h Bever. Not. in Conc. Nicæn. c. xi. Ex his verbis [Sozomeni, lib. vii. c. xxiii. vid. sub litt. (k)] finis, ni fallor, tandem imponatur tortuosæ isti quæstioni, quæ doctorum ingenia huc usque exercuit, quidnam nimum esset soleus ille a recentioribus Græcis toties decantatus, et quem in ecclesia usum habuerit? Inter omnes enim convenit, aliquid fuisse in recentiorum, præsertim Græcorum ecclesiis, σωλαῖαν, σωλαῖαν, σωλαῖον, atque etiam σωλαῖαν, σωλίον, vel σωλεῖον, dictum, idque prope cancellos collocatum fuisse. Consentiant itidem omnes, hoc Latinum esse vocabulum, et plerique nihil aliud esse quam solium; et

allows of this as probable likewise¹; but he also fancies it might signify the *limina cancellorum*, 'the threshold' or 'raised foundation upon which the rails of the chancel were erected,' and be so called from *solum*, whence comes the French name *seuil*, and the English 'sill,' or 'groundsel.' This was usually adorned and beautified very richly, he thinks, with gold and precious stones, and sometimes revered with the kisses or salutations of the people; whence the phrases, *exosculari limina* and *liminibus martyrum affundi*, in Sidonius and Prudentius, are by him interpreted to this purpose. But I conceive the former opinion most probable, which takes it for the emperor's throne, which was toward the east end of the church, in the men's portico, over against the altar, where now the sultan has his seat among the Turks. For that place, which Dr. Beveridge calls the *embolus*, and others the *circuitus*, or side aisles on both sides, were, in the temple of Sancta Sophia, porticoes for men below and women above. And, as the empress had her seat in the upper end of the women's apartment, so the emperors had theirs in the men's apartment, next to the chancel, from the time that Sozomen^k tells us Theodosius submitted to the reproof of St. Ambrose, who blamed him for taking his seat within the rails of the sanctuary (though it had been customary for the emperors so to do); after which admonition both he and his successors always took

tamen quidnam esset istud solium, se ignorare ingenue fatentur: nisi quod Jacobus Goar solium Christi per nomen illud designari adfirmat. Sed miror, nemini de hac re agenti, eorum, quæ supra citantur, Sozomeni verborum in mentem venisse, quibus D. Ambrosius locum imperatoribus in ecclesia adsignasse traditur, ante cancellos altaris. Ubi enim imperator sedere solitus est, solium meritissimo jure nominetur. Ab Ambrosii autem temporibus et deinceps, ut edictis verbis constat, imperatoris sedes erat ante cancellos, ubi omnes uno ore concinunt σωλείον vel σωλείαν collocatum esse; quod haud dubie itaque ipsum erat imperatoris solium sive sedes; quod etiam solii instar erectum fuisse, fidem facit Cedrenus, etc.

¹ Du Fresn. Not. in Paul. Silent. pp. 584—587.

^k Sozom. lib. vii. c. xxv. (Reading, p. 291. A 3.) Ἔθος ἦν τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐν τῷ ἱερατεῖ ἐκκλησιάζειν, κατ' ἐξοχὴν τῶν ὁρίων τοῦ λαοῦ κεχωρισμένους· κολακίας δὲ ἡ ἀταξίας εἶναι τοῦτο συνιδὼν, τόπον εἶναι βασιλῆως ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τέταχθε, τὸν πρὸ τῶν δρυφάκτων τοῦ ἱερατείου· ὥστε τοῦ μὲν λαοῦ τὸν κρατοῦντα τὴν προεδρίαν ἔχειν· αὐτοῦ δὲ τοὺς ἱερέας προκαθῆσθαι ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἀρίστην παράδοσιν ἐπύνησε Θεοδόσιος ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκράτουναν· καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου νυνὶ φυλαττομένην ὀρῶμεν.

their place without the rails, whence that place seems to be called the *solium*, 'the royal seat;' which is confirmed a little by what Suicerus observes out of Cedrenus¹ and Codinus^m, that Justinian made the *solea* of gold and onyx-stone, which are proper materials to adorn a throne, but not so proper to be laid in the pavement of a church. Not far from this, Du Fresneⁿ observes in some modern churches a place called the *senatorium*, which some take to be only another name for the seats of the bishop and presbyters, who were the senate of the Church; but Du Fresne thinks it was rather the seat of the magistrates called senators, whence their apartment had the name of *senatorium* in the church.

¹ Suicer. Thes. (Amstel. 1728.) tom. ii. p. 1209, voce *σωλείας*.—Cedrenus : Ἡ τροῦλλα τῆς ἀγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας φουρνικὴ οὖσα ἔπρεσε, τὸν τε ἄμβωνα, καὶ τοὺς σωλείας ἐξ ὀνυχίτου λίθου ὄντας συνέτριψε, καὶ εἰς χοῦν ἀπετέλεισε.

^m Ibid. Cod. in Originibus de Templo Sophiæ : ἐποίησε, κ. τ. λ. vid. sub lit. anteced. (b).

ⁿ Du Fresn. Comm. in Paul. Silent. p. 215. Presbyterium senatorium videtur appellari in eodem Ordine Romano non semel, voce Latina, quæ idem quod *πρεσβυτέριον* sonat : ubi ad *senatorium* dicitur descendere pontifex, ut suscipiat oblationes principum, vel ut communicet eos, qui in senatorio sunt. Descendit nempe ab altari, ubi sacra peragit, in presbyterium, ut principum et fidelium oblationes suscipiat, vel ut communicet eos, qui sunt in presbyterio, nempe sacerdotes, clericos, atque adeo populum ipsum, quod diserte ibi dicitur. . . . Sed ut verum fatear, nescio, an his locis, in Ordine Romano, senatorium idem sit omnino quod presbyterium. Dubitandi causam movet, quod in eo *locus principum* fuisse dicitur : 'Pontifex autem sustentatus hinc inde dextra lævaque a primicerio notariorum, descendit ad senatorium, quod est locus principum, ut suscipiat oblationes eorum.' Et infra : 'Pontifex descendit ad senatorium, . . . et suscipit oblationes principum per ordines arcuum.' Siquidem enim senatorium locus fuit, in quo consistebant principes, seu magnates, dum sacræ intererant liturgiæ ; idem ille forte fuerit cum solea, seu pavimento editiori ante cancellos bematis, ita appellatus, quod ibi senatores seu principes consisterent. Nam observatum supra, ad sacros cancellos adsignatam fuisse imperatoribus in ecclesia sedem ab Ambrosio. Senatores autem appellatos magnates, apud scriptores Christiano veteres, notum est. Proinde in senatorio pontifex non modo suscipiebat oblationes principum, sed et populum ibidem communicabat, etc.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE BEMA, OR THIRD PART OF THE TEMPLE, CALLED
 ‘THE ALTAR,’ AND ‘THE SANCTUARY,’ AND THE PARTS
 AND USES OF IT.

SECT. I.—*The Chancel, anciently called Bema, or ‘Tribunal.’*

The third, and innermost part of the ancient churches, was that which we now call the chancel; but, originally, it was known by many other names. One of the most common names was that of βῆμα, or ‘tribunal,’ which (as I have noted before) is a word of various signification, denoting sometimes the *ambo*, or ‘reading-desk;’ and sometimes ‘the altar;’ and sometimes ‘the seats or thrones of the bishop and presbyters;’ and sometimes ‘the whole space where these thrones and the altar stood.’ In which sense I understand that canon of the Council of Laodicea^a, which forbids presbyters to go into the *bema*, and sit there before the bishop comes. Suicerus has observed it^b frequently to be thus used in the liturgies of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil. And Chrysostom^c, in one of his

^a Conc. Laodic. c. lvi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1505.) “Οτι οὐ δεῖ πρεσβυτέρους πρὸ τῆς εἰσόδου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰσεῖναι καὶ καθέζεσθαι ἐν τῷ βήματι.

^b Suicer. Thes. Eccles. voce βῆμα. (tom. i. p. 682.) Βῆμα est locus in Templo, tabulato inclusus, sacer ac venerandus, et clericis tantum, viris sæcularibus raro, mulieribus numquam, penetrabilis. In Liturgia Basilii Magni, p. 44. Τοῦ ἱερέως λέγοντος τὴν εὐχὴν μυστικῶς ἐν τῷ βήματι, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καιρῷ λέγει ἔξω τοῦ βήματος τὰ εἰρηνικά. Eadem habes in Liturgia Chrysostomi, p. 79. In eadem Liturgia, p. 77. Εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὸ ἅγιον βῆμα. A Chrysostomo, Hom. xxxv. tom. v. ed. Par. p. 553, vocatur ἱερὸν βῆμα. De Flaviano Episcopo. Εἰ μὴ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἦν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τούτῳ πατρὶ καὶ διδασκάλῳ, οὐκ ἂν ὄτε πρὸ μικροῦ ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν βῆμα τοῦτο, καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἰδῶκεν εἰρήνην, καὶ ἐπεφθέγγασθε αὐτῷ κοινῇ πάντες· καὶ τῷ πνεύματι σου. Ex his patet, βῆμα fuisse elatiorem templi partem, sive chorum, nomen habentem a gradibus, quibus eo adscendebatur.

^c Chrysost. Hom. xxxix. de Pentecost. tom. v. p. 553. (p. 493, edit. Francof.)

homilies, more particularly describes it to be ‘the place whither the bishop went by an ascent into it, to preach, to pray, to stand by the holy temple, and offer the tremendous sacrifice for the people.’ But which it is easy to understand, that he takes it not barely for the altar alone, or the bishop’s throne, but for the whole place where they stood, and where these several offices were performed. And the reason of the name, *bema*, was what Chrysostom also intimates, when he says, “they went up by an ascent into it;” for *bema* and *ambo* have both the same original, from ἀναβαίνειν, because they were places exalted above the rest, and, like the tribunals of judges, had an ascent by steps into them. Now the *bema* was more peculiarly allotted to the clergy; and upon that account, as I have noted before^d, in the former Book, the clergy were sometimes styled οἱ τοῦ βήματος, and τάξις τοῦ βήματος, ‘the order of the *bema*,’ or ‘the sanctuary.’

SECT. II.—*Also Ἅγιον, or Ἱεραεῖον, and Sacrarium, the Holy, or the Sanctuary.*

For the name ‘sanctuary’ was also appropriated to this part of the church. The Greeks peculiarly styled it ἅγιον, ‘the holy;’ and from thence the altar was called ἅγιον ἁγίων, ‘the holy of holies,’ which is the term that Eusebius^e uses in describing the temple of Paulinus. In other places^f he calls it ἁγίασμα, which is the name whereby the Seventy call the sanctuary in the Old Testament. The Latins called it *sacrarium*, ‘the sanctuary:’ as in the first Council of Bracara, which forbids laymen^g to come into the sanctuary to com-

Διδ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀναβαίνουντι μόνον, οὐδὲ διαλεγόμενῳ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οὐδὲ εὐχομένῳ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ταύτην ἐπιφθέγγεσθαι τὴν ῥῆσιν, ἀλλ’ ὅταν παρὰ τὴν ἱερὰν ταύτην ἐσθήκη τράπεζαν ὅταν τὴν φρικτὴν ἐκείνην θυσίαν ἀναφέρειν μέλλῃ.

^d Book I. chap. v. § xi.

^e Euseb. lib. x. c. iv. (Aug. Taur. p. 420. D 5.) ‘Ἐφ’ ἅπασι τε τὸ τῶν ἁγίων ἅγιον θυσιαστήριον ἐν μέσῳ θείας.

^f Ibid. lib. vii. c. xv. Τῆς χειρὸς λαβῶν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν προάγει εἰσω τε πρὸς αὐτῷ στήσας τῷ ἁγιάσματι, κ. τ. λ.

^g Concil. Bracar. I. c. xxxi. Ingredi sacrarium, ad communicandum, non liceat laicis, nisi tantum clericis.

municate. And the Council of Vaison, which^h speaks of the office of ordering or disposing the things of the sanctuary. And the fourth Council of Carthage, which forbids the oblation of such as are at variance one with another, to be receivedⁱ either in the treasury or the sanctuary.

SECT. III.—*And Θυσιαστήριον, 'the Altar Part.'*

The Greeks also termed it *Θυσιαστήριον*, 'the altar part;' for, though that word commonly signifies the 'altar' itself, or 'the Lord's table,' yet in some ancient canons and ecclesiastical writers, as Habertus^j and Mr. Mede^k have observed, it is used to denote the whole sanctuary within the rails, where none but the clergy were allowed. As in the Councils of Laodicea^l and Trullo^m, which forbid women and laymen to come into the *Θυσιαστήριον*, it must mean the whole 'altar part,' or 'chancel.' And so in Socratesⁿ, and Theodoret^o, and many others, who speak of St. Ambrose excluding Theodosius the emperor from within the rails of the sanctuary.

SECT. IV.—Presbyterium and Diaconicum.

St. Cyprian, in his fifty-fifth epistle, calls it *consessus cleri*, 'the presbytery.' And Forbesius^p and some other learned men think it was also called *diaconicum*, from the presbyters

^h Concil. Vasens. c. iii. Cujus officium est sacrarium disponere et sacramenta suscipere.

ⁱ Conc. Carth. IV. c. xciii. Oblationes dissidentium fratrum neque in sacrario neque in gazophylacio recipiantur.

^j Habert. Archierat. p. 663. *Θυσιαστήριον* aliquid aliud præter altare et sacram mensam sæpe significare, nempe spatium sive locum sanctuarii seu sacrarii sacerdotalis τοῦ ἱερατείου, in quo et prothesis minus altare, et sacra mensa altare majus positum est. Quod elucet ex illa formula quotidie in his officiis obvia: εἰσερχεσθαι εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, non vero dicitur εἰσερχεσθαι εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν τράπεζαν.—Can. lxix. in Trullo. Μὴ ἐξέστω τινὶ τῶν ἀπάντων ἐν λαϊκοῖς τελούντι ἔνδον ἱεροῦ εἰσεῖναι θυσιαστηρίου.

^k Med. Comment. Apocalyp. p. 479.

^l Conc. Laodic. c. xlv. (tom. i. Conc. p. 1504.) "Οτι οὐ δεῖ γυναῖκας ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ εἰσερχεσθαι.

^m Conc. Trull. c. lxix. (tom. vi. Conc. p. 1174.) vid. sub litt. (i).

ⁿ Socrat. lib. i. c. xxv.

^o Theodor. lib. i. c. xiv.

^p Forbes. Irenic. lib. ii. c. xi. p. 221, edit. Aberd. 1636, 4to.

sitting, and the deacons ministering, there. Thus they understand the Council of Laodicea^q, which forbids subdeacons to have any place in the *diaconicum*, or to touch the sacred vessels of the Lord's table. But I must note, that though the name *diaconicum* in that canon may signify the 'chancel' or 'sanctuary,' yet it more commonly means the 'vestry,' or 'repository of the sacred vessels;' of which we are to give a further account, when we come to speak of the *exedrae* of the church.

SECT. V.—*Also Chorus, or 'Choir.'*

In some canons it seems, also, to have had the name of *chorus*, whence comes our English 'choir;' as in the fourth Council of Toledo, which thus appoints^r the order and manner of men's communicating in the church, so as that the priests and deacons should communicate before the altar, the inferior clergy in the choir, and the people without the choir: though some take the chorus to signify rather the place of the singers and readers in the other part of the church.

SECT. VI.—*This Place separated from the rest by Rails, called Cancelli, whence comes 'Chancel.'*

Eusebius, describing this part of the temple of Paulinus, says, "it was divided from the rest by certain rails^s of wood, curiously and artificially wrought in the form of net-work, to make it inaccessible to the multitude. These the Latins call *cancelli*, whence comes our English name 'chancel.' In other Greek writers they are termed *κιγκλίδες*: whence, in Theodoret^t, τὰ ἐνδον τῶν κιγκλιδίων, 'the place within the

^q Conc. Laodic. c. xxi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1500.) "Οτι οὐ δὲ ὑπηρέτας ἔχειν χώραν ἐν τῇ διακονικῇ, καὶ ἄπτεσθαι δεισποτικῶν σκευῶν.

^r Conc. Tolet. IV. c. xviii. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1711.) Sacerdos et Levita ante altare communicant, in choro clerus, extra chorum populus. Vid. Conc. Turon. II. can. 4.

^s Euseb. lib. x. c. iv. (Aug. Taur. 1746. p. 420, at bottom.) Αὐθις καὶ τὰδε ὡς ἂν εἴη τοῖς πολλοῖς ἄβυστοι, τοῖς ἀπὸ ξύλου περιέφραττε δικτύοις, εἰς ἄκρον ἐντέχνου λεπτοουργίας ἐξησκημένοις, ὡς θαυμάσιον τοῖς ὁρώσι παρέχειν τὴν θέαν.

^t Theodoret. lib. v. c. xviii. (p. 193. B.) Προσενεγκῶν δὲ, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, ἐνδον παρὰ τὰς κιγκλίδας μεμνήκεν, κ. τ. λ.

rails,' is but another name for the altar part or chancel. And to lay hold of the rails, in the phrase of Synesius^u, is the same thing as to take sanctuary at the altar.

SECT. VII.—*And kept inaccessible to the Multitude, whence it was called Adyta.*

By these rails, as Eusebius words it, this whole altar place was kept inaccessible to all but the clergy in time of divine service. The Council of Laodicea has one canon^v, particularly forbidding women to come within the altar part; and another, in more general terms, allowing none but the *ιερατικοὶ* to communicate there^w: in which canon some take the word *ιερατικοὶ* to mean all the clergy, inferior as well as superior. But Habertus^x thinks it means only the superior clergy, priests, and deacons; and that all the inferiors, subdeacons, readers, &c., were excluded from this part, as well as the people. However, it is agreed on all hands that the people in that age had no place there; for St. Ambrose would not permit the Emperor Theodosius himself to communicate^y in this part, but obliged him to retire as soon as he had made his oblation at the altar. Which custom continued for some ages after, as appears from what Theodosius Junior says of

^u Synes. Catast. p. 303, B. Ὡς ποσάκις ταῖς κυκλίσι τὰ χεῖρε προσμάξομαι;

^v Conc. Laodic. c. xlv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1503.) Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ γυναῖκας ἐν τῷ θυσιαστήριῳ εἰσέρχεσθαι.

^w Ibid. c. xix. (p. 1500.) Καὶ μόνοις ἔξδν εἶναι τοῖς ἱερατικοῖς εἰσεῖναι εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ κοινωνεῖν.

^x Habert. Archierat. part. x. observat. ix. p. 268. Tertium est, 'solis sacerdotibus et diaconis ad altare in sanctuario communicare licuit.' De solis sacerdotibus Concilium Laodicenum decernere nonnulli arbitrantur, ob hec verba canonis xix. καὶ μόνοις, κ. τ. λ. vid. sub litt. (w.) 'Et solis sacerdotibus licere ad altare accedere et communicare.' Ita vertit heterodoxus auctor. Verum τὸ ἱερατικοῖς melius reddiderat Dionysius Exiguus, 'sacro ministerio deditis,' quo sensu et diaconi saltem comprehenduntur, qui heic etiam ad altare in sanctuario communicant: nam hypodiaconi et lectores extra sanctuarium, ad ejus limen.

^y Theodoret. lib. v. c. xviii. (p. 193. B 8.) Τὰ ἐνδον, ὧ βασιλεῦ, μόνοις ἐστὶν ἱερεῖσι βατά· τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἅπανιν, ἀδυνά τε καὶ ἀψανστα· ἔξιθι τοῖνον, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κοινωνεῖ τῆς σάσεως.—Sozom. lib. vii. c. xxv. vid. c. v. sect. x. lit. (k).

himself in the Acts of the Council of Ephesus^a, that he only went up to the altar to make his oblation; and, having done that, retired again to the exterior court, or *atrium*, of the people. And so we find it decreed, correspondent to this practice, in the Council of Trullo^a, “that no layman whatsoever should come into the altar part, except only the emperor, when he had made his oblation to the Creator, according to ancient custom.” And hence it was, that this part of the church was called *ἄβαρα*, and *ἄδυνα*, by Theodoret^b, and Eusebius, and other Greek writers, and *adyta* by the Latins; that is, ‘inaccessible,’ because there was no place of access here for the people, who were wholly excluded from it. Though I must note, that, according to the difference of times and places, different customs seem to have prevailed in this matter; for the most ancient custom was, both for men and women to come up to the altar and communicate there, as it appears to have been in the third century, in the time of Dionysius of Alexandria, who speaks both of men^c and women^d standing at the holy table, and reaching forth their hands to receive the eucharist there: and so Valesius understands it^e. And the same privilege was allowed the people in France in the sixth century; for the second Council of Tours, an. 567, orders the

^a Edict. Theod. ad calcem Conc. Ephes. (Conc. tom. iii. p. 1237. D.) Τοῦ ἀγιοτάτου θυσιαστηρίου διὰ μόνην τὴν τῶν δωρεῶν προσφορὰν ἐφαπτόμεθα· καὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν θείων κύκλων περιστοιχουμένην ἑπανυλιν ἅμα τῷ εἰσελθεῖν ὑπεκβαίνομεν· καὶ οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς ἀγγιστευούσης θεϊότητος ἑαυτοῖς ἀπονέμομεν.

^a Conc. Trull. c. lxix. Μὴ ἐξίστω τινὶ τῶν ἀπάντων ἐν λαϊκοῖς τελοῦντι ἔνδον ἱεροῦ εἰσιέναι θυσιαστηρίον· μηδαμῶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐργομένης ἐξουσίας καὶ αὐθεντίας, ἥνικα ἀν βουληθῇ προσάξει δῶρα τῷ πλάσαντι, κατὰ τινὰ ἀρχαιοτάτην παράδοσιν.

^b Theodoret. lib. v. c. xviii. vid. lit. (y).

^c Dionys. ap. Euseb. lib. vii. c. ix. (Reading, p. 289. A 10.) Τραπέζῃ παραστάντα, καὶ χεῖρας εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τῆς ἁγίας τροφῆς προτεινάντα, &c. &c.

^d Dionys. Epist. ad Basilidem, c. ii. de mulieribus, quæ menstruo sanguinis fluxu laborant: Οὐδὲ αὐτὰς οἶμαι πιστάς οὖσας καὶ εὐλαβεῖς, τολμήσειεν οὕτως διακειμένας ἢ τῇ τραπέζῃ τῇ ἁγίᾳ προσελθεῖν, ἢ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσάψασθαι.—Ad quem Dionysii locum recte notat Balsamon; Ὡς εἶοικε δὲ, τὸ παλαιὸν εἰσῆρχοντο γυναῖκες εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης μετελάμβανον.

^e Vales. Not. in Euseb. lib. vii. c. ix. (Cantab. 1720. p. 330.) Fideles communicaturi ad altare accedebant, ibique corpus Christi de manu presbyteri, stantes, non ut hodie genibus flexis, accipiebant.

holy of holies^f to be open, both for men and women, to pray and communicate in at the time of the oblation; though, at other times, when there was any other service without the communion, they were not allowed to come within the *chorus* of the singers, or 'rails of the chancel.' By which, also, we learn what part of the church, in this age, in France, was called the *chorus*; namely, that which was immediately within the rails of the chancel, where the inferior clergy had their station in the time of the oblation.

SECT. VIII.—*The Holy Gates and Veils or Hangings, dividing the Chancel from the rest of the Church.*

The modern Greeks call the entrance into this part the holy gates, because they open from the body of the church into the holy of holies. But there is little mention made of these in ancient writers; but they often speak of the use of veils or hangings in this place to cover the prospect of the altar. Athanasius calls them βῆλα τῆς ἐκκλησίας, 'the hangings of the church.' For, speaking of the fury of the Arians, and their ravaging a church in the time of Constantius, he says, "They took the bishop's throne, and the seats of the presbyters^g, and the table which was of wood, and the veils of the church, and whatever else they could, and carried them out and burned them." In Synesius^h, they are called καταπέτασμα μυστικόν, 'the mystical veils.' And in Chrysostom and Evagrius, ἀμφίθυρα, from their opening in the middle as 'folding-doors.' These were sometimes richly adorned with gold; as that which (Evagriusⁱ says) Chosroes gave to the

^f Conc. Turon. II. c. iv. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 854.) Ut laici secus altare, quo sancta mysteria celebrantur, inter clericos tam ad vigiliis quam ad missas, stare penitus non præsumant: sed pars illa, quæ a cancellis versus altare dividitur, choris tantum psallentium pateat clericorum. Ad orandum vero et communicandum, laicis et feminis, sicut mos est, pateant sancta sanctorum.

^g Athan. Ep. ad Solitar. tom. i. p. 847. (edit. Paris. 1627.) Ἀρπάσαντες τὰ συμφύλλα, καὶ τὸν θρόνον, καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν, ξυλίνην γὰρ ἦν, καὶ τὰ βῆλα τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τὰ τε ἄλλα, ὅσα ἡδυνήθησαν ἐξενέγκαντες, ἔκασαν.

^h Synes. lxvii. ad Theophil. (p. 240, edit. Paris. 1605, 8vo.) (Paris. 1640. p. 212. C 8.) Τοῦτο δὲ, εἰ διὰ τῶν παναγεστάτων τὰ ἱεράστατα κρίναιτο, εὐχή, καὶ τράπεζα, καὶ καταπέτασμα μυστικόν, ἐφόδον βίαιας ὁργανά.

ⁱ Evagr. lib. vi. c. xxi. (p. 424. C 7.) Ἀμφίθυρον Οὐννικὸν κεκοσμημένον χρυσίῳ.

church of Antioch. The use of them was, partly, to hide the prospect of this part of the church from the catechumens and unbelievers; and, partly, to cover the sacrifice of the eucharist in the time of consecration; as we learn from these words of Chrysostom; "When the sacrifice is brought forth; when Christ, the Lamb of God, is offered; when you hear this signal given, 'Let us all join in common prayer;' when you see the veils^k withdrawn, then think you see heaven opened, and the angels descending from above." There were also several other veils, to note this by the way, in other parts of the church; for Paulinus^l speaks often of veils before the doors of the church. And St. Jerome commends Nepotian, for that, among other parts of his concern, for the decency of the church, as he took care that the altar, and the walls, and the pavement, should be kept clean, so also that the doors should have their keepers, and the gates^m their veils. In like manner, Epiphaniusⁿ, speaking of the church of Anablatha, in Palestine, says, "He found a veil hanging before the doors of the church, which he tore in pieces, not because it was a veil, but because it had the image of Christ, or some saint, painted on it, which was contrary to the rules of the Christian Church. He, therefore, ordered the guardians of

^k Chrysost. Hom. iii. in Eph. p. 1052. (p. 888. B. edit. Francof.) Ἐνταῦθα ἐκφερομένης τῆς θυσίας, καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τεθυμένου, καὶ τοῦ προβάτου τοῦ δεισποτικοῦ, ὅταν ἀκούσης, δεηθῶμεν πάντες κοινῇ, ὅταν ἴδῃς ἀνελκόμενα τὰ ἀμφίθυρα, τότε νόμισον διαστέλλεσθαι τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄνωθεν, καὶ κατεῖναι τοὺς ἀγγέλους.

^l Paulin. Natal. Felic. iii. 'Aurea nunc niveis ornantur limina VELIS.'—Id. Natal. vi. 'Pulchra tegendis VELA ferant foribus.'

^m Hieron. Epitaph. Nepotian. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 340.) Erat sollicitus, si niteret altare, si parietes absque fuligine, si pavimenta tersa, si janitor creber in porta, vela semper in ostiis, etc.

ⁿ Epiphani. Epist. ad Joannem Hierosolym. (Colon. 1682. vol. ii. p. 317. C 5.) p. 319. Quum venissem ad villam, quæ dicitur Anablatha, vidissemque ibi præteriens lucernam ardentem, et interrogassem quis locus esset, didicissemque esse ecclesiam, et intrassem, ut orarem; inveni ibi velum pendens in foribus ejusdem ecclesie tinctum atque depictum, et habens imaginem, quasi Christi, vel sancti cujusdam. Non enim satis memini, cujus imago fuerit. Quum ergo hoc vidissem, in ecclesia Christi contra auctoritatem scripturarum hominis pendere imaginem, scidi illud, et magis dedi consilium custodibus ejusdem loci, ut pauperem mortuum eo obvolverent et efferrent. Illique contra murmurantes dixerunt: 'Si scindere voluerat, justum erat, ut aliud daret velum, atque

the church to bury some poor man in it; and sent them, at his own expense, another plain one in its stead." There were also veils between the pillars of the *hyperœa*, or 'women's galleries,' to be drawn in time of the oblation; as Du Fresne^o has observed, out of Paulus Silentarius; and Amphilochius, in the Life of St. Basil; and some others, of like nature, will easily be observed by a curious reader.

SECT. IX.—*The Highest Part of the Chancel, called Apsis, Exedra, or Conchula Bematis.*

At the upper end of the chancel was commonly a semi-circular building, which, from the figure and position of it, is, by some authors, called *apsis*, and *exedra*, and *conchula bematis*; for these are words that signify any arched or spherical building, like the canopy of heaven; to which St. Jerome applies the name of *apsis*^p. It was called *concha*, because, in figure, it resembled something the fashion of a 'shell;' as Du Fresne shows, out of Procopius, and Paulus Silentarius, and Paulinus, and other writers. Du Fresne^a thinks it is also called *exedra* by St. Austin; who says, the

mutaret.' Quod quum audissem, me daturum esse pollicitus sum, et illico esse missurum. Paullulum autem morarum fuit in medio, dum quæro optimum velum pro eo mittere: arbitrabar enim de Cypro mihi esse mittendum. Nunc autem nisi quod potui reperire, et precor, ut jubeas presbyteros ejusdem loci suscipere velum a latore, quod a nobis missum est: et deinceps præciperes in ecclesia Christi ejusmodi vela, quæ contra religionem nostram veniunt, non appendi.

^o Du Fresn. Comment. in Paul. Silent. (Byz. Hist. Venet. 1729. vol. xiv. p. 211.) Quod ait Evagrius, pleteis incumbentibus mulieribus divina sacrificia intueri licuisse, id intelligendum est de loco sacrificii, ac bemate: nam dum illud peragebatur, velum statim ad intercolumnia subducebatur; neque iis capita aut oculos ad illa inspicienda promittere, sub anathematis pœna, fas erat. Id omnino colligere est ex vita S. Basilii, quæ Amphilochio tribuitur, qui ritus illius auctor fuisse videtur.

^p Hieron. lib. ii. in Ephes. c. iv. (p. 223, edit. Basil. 1565.) In summo cœli fornice, et, ut ipso verbo utar, apside.

^a Du Fresn. Comment. in Paul. Silent. p. 218. Per 'exedram,' seu 'apsida' 'concha' intelligi videtur apud Sanctum Augustinum in Gestis cum Emerito Donatistarum episcopo, (tom. v. p. 250, edit. 1637.) 'Quum Deuterius episcopus metropolitanus Cesariensis, una cum ceteris episcopis in exedram processisset, præsentibus presbyteris et diaconis et universo clero ac frequentissima plebe,' etc.

conference between the Catholics and Emeritus, the Donatist bishop, was held in the *exedra* of the church; which he interprets the place where the bishop and presbyters had their usual residence, in the upper end of the *bema*, beyond the altar. But Valesius^r and other learned men take *exedra* here, in the common sense, for one of the outer buildings of the church; and it is not easy to determine so nice a controversy between them.

SECT. X.—*This, anciently, the Place of the Thrones of the Bishop and his Presbyters.*

However, this is certain, that the bishop's throne, with the thrones of his presbyters on each side of it, were always fixed in this part of the church, in a semicircle above the altar; for, anciently, the seats of the bishop and presbyters were joined together, and all called thrones; as is evident from Eusebius's description of the temple of Paulinus, who^s says, "He adorned it with thrones, set on high, for the honour of the presidents or rulers of the people;" that is, the bishop and presbyters together. Hence it is, that Nazianzen, speaking of the presbyters^t as the rulers of the people, and venerable senate of the Church, calls their seats the second thrones. Constantine, in his Letter to Chrestus, bishop of Syracuse, summoning him to the Council of Arles, uses the same phrase, bidding^u him to bring with him two of the second

^r Vales. Not. in Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. iii. c. li. (Cantabr. 1720. p. 606.) 'Exedrae' dicebantur aedes exteriores, in circuitu basilicae construi solitae, in quibus sedere et requiescere licebat, ut docet Eusebius. De his Augustinus in libro de Gestis cum Emerito Donatista: 'Quum Deuterius,' etc. See preceding note.

^s Euseb. lib. x. c. iv. (Aug. Taur. p. 420. D 2.) Θρόνοις τε τοῖς ἀνωτάτω εἰς τὴν τῶν προέδρων τιμὴν, κ. τ. λ.

^t Nazianz. Carm. Iambic. xxiii. (Paris. 1630. vol. ii. p. 244.)

Πρῶτον μὲν οἱ τὰ δεύτερα

Θρόνων λελογχότες,

Λαοῦ πρόεδροι πρεσβύται,

Σεμνὴ γερουσία,

Πεφῆνασιν ἡμῖν οὐ καλοὶ, κ. τ. λ.

^u Apud Euseb. lib. x. c. v. (Reading, p. 431. A 6.) Ἐπειδὴ πλείστους ἐκ διαφόρων καὶ ἀμυθῆτων τόπων ἐπισκόπους εἰς τὴν Ἀρελατησίῳ πόλιν εἰσω Καλανδῶν Ἀγούστων συνελθεῖν ἐκελεύσαμεν καὶ σοὶ γράψαι ἐνομίσαμεν,

throne, that is, two presbyters. I know, indeed, Carolus a Sancto Paulo^v, by those of the second throne, understands bishops, in opposition to primates or metropolitans, which he reckons to be those of the first throne. But the use of the phrase, both in Eusebius and Nazianzen^w, leads us rather to believe that he meant presbyters who sat with their bishop in the church upon thrones, as they style them, of the second order. For this, as I have had occasion to show in another^x place, was the difference between them, that the bishop's was generally termed the high throne, and the presbyter's the second throne; or, as Athanasius^y calls them, the throne, and the joint-chairs, or seats of the presbyters. The bishop's throne was otherwise called βῆμα, the 'tribunal;' as we may see in Eusebius^z, where he relates the censure of the Council of Antioch, passed on Paulus Samosatensis for erecting his throne or tribunal too stately, with a veil or *secretum* to it, in imitation of the tribunals of secular judges, which they did not allow of in the Christian Church: and hence the whole chancel

ἵνα λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου Λατρωνιανοῦ τοῦ κοντήκτορος Σικελίας δημόσιον ὄχημα, συζεύξας σεαυτῷ καὶ δύο γέ τινας τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου θρόνου, οὗς ἂν σὺ αὐτὸς ἐπιλέξασθαι κρίνῃς, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τρεῖς παῖδας τοὺς δυνησομένους ὑμῖν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὑπηρετήσασθαι παραλαβὼν, εἰσω τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τῷ προειρημένῳ τόπῳ ἀπάντησον.

^v Carol. a S. Paulo Geogr. Sacr. (p. 44, edit. Amstel. 1711.) Quod in ea (urbe Syracusis) fuerit sedes metropolitana, hisce rationibus conjicio. Primum ex tractoria Constantini ad Chrestum Syracusanum episcopum, qua hunc ad Synodum Arelatensem invitat: 'Quoniam,' inquit, 'plurimos,' etc. vid. lit. (u). Quis enim non videt, duo ex his verbis colligi? Primum in Sicilia quosdam episcopos secundæ sedis fuisse, et alios vel saltem alium primæ. Id clare verba sonant: unde et perspicuum est, in ea metropolitam fuisse, quum a primæ sedis episcopo non differat. Secundum autem, quod Chrestus Syracusanus ipse primæ sedis episcopus fuerit, quum ad eum directa sit tractoria, ejusque arbitrio commissum, ut quos secum adducendos judicaret, ipse eligeret: id enim non nisi metropolitæ convenit, etc.

^w Vid. Naz. de Vita Sua, p. 6. B.

Κάμπτει βιαίως εἰς θρόνων τοὺς δευτέρους.

Id. Somn. Anastas. v. 4, seq. See, below, note (a).

^x Book ii. chap. ix. sect. vii. book ii. chap. xix. sect. v.

^y Athanas. Epist. ad Solitar. tom. i. p. 847. Θρόνον καὶ συμψέλλια. Vid. sub lit. (g).

^z Euseb. lib. vii. c. xxx. (Reading, p. 316. B 5.) Βῆμα μὲν καὶ θρόνον ὑψηλὸν ἑαυτῷ κατασκευασάμενος, οὐχ ὥς Χριστοῦ μαθητῆς, σῆκητον δέ, ὥσπερ οἱ τοῦ κόσμου ἄρχοντες, ἔχων τε καὶ ὀνομάζων.

was sometimes called the *bema*, as I have shown before. The Latins more commonly use the names of *sedes* and *cathedra* for a bishop's throne; whence come our English names of 'cathedral' and 'see,' for a church where the bishop's chair or seat is fixed. The manner of their sitting is noted by Gregory Nazianzen, in his description of the church of Anastasia, where he speaks of himself as bishop^a, sitting upon the high throne, and the presbyters on lower benches, on both sides, about him. And so it is described by the author^b of the Constitutions, and Theodoret^c, who calls the bishop's throne the middle seat upon this account. And there are some learned persons^d who suppose all this to be done in imitation of the Jewish synagogues, in which, according to Maimonides, at the upper end, looking toward the Holy Land, the law was placed in the wall in an arch, and on each side the elders were seated in a semicircle. The bishop's seat was usually covered with some decent covering, suitable to the dignity of his office and person; as we learn from Athanasius, in his second Apology^e to Constantius, where he asks, "How they could have any concern for the throne episcopally covered, who sought to kill the bishop that sat thereon?" And St. Austin^f seems plainly to allude to this, when he tells Maximinus, the Donatist bishop, that "when bishops came to stand before the tribunal of Christ at the last judgment, they themselves would then have no tribunals, no lofty seats, or covered chairs,

^a Nazianz. Somn. Anast. tom. ii. p. 78.

"Εξέσθαι δοκίεσκον ὑπέρθρονος, οὐχ ὑπέροφρυς,

Οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ὄναρ τίον ἀγνηορίην.

Οἱ δέ μοι ἀμφοτέρωθεν ὑφιδριόωντο γεραιοί,

Ποίμνης ἡγεμόνες, ἑκκριτος ἡλικίῃ.

^b Constit. Apost. lib. ii. c. lvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 294.) Κείσθω δὲ μέσος ὁ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου θρόνος· παρ' ἑκάτερα δὲ αὐτοῦ καθεζίσθω τὸ πρεσβυτέριον.

^c Theodoret. lib. v. c. iii. (Aug. Taur. p. 174. B. 3.) Εἰ ὁ μέσος θῶκος τὴν ἔριν γεννᾷ, ἐγὼ καὶ ταύτην ἐξελάσαι πειράσομαι.

^d Vid. Bishop Hooper's Disc. of Lent, pt. ii. chap. vi. p. 249.

^e Athan. Apol. ii. tom. i. p. 736, Paris. 1627. (p. 138. A. Paris. 1698.) Πῶς οἱ θρόνον τὸν ἐστολισμένον ἐπισκοπικῶς ὀδυρόμενοι, τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ καθήμενον ἐπίσκοπον ἀνελεῖν ζητοῦσι.

^f Aug. Ep. cciii. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 32. A.) In futuro Christi judicio, nec apsidæ gradatæ, nec cathedræ velatæ—quæ pro tempore, propter ecclesiæ utilitatem, honori nostro exhibentur.

though such honours were exhibited to them for a time in this world, for the benefit and advantage of the Church."

SECT. XI.—*And of the Altar or Communion-Table.*

This, doubtless, was the posture anciently of the thrones of the bishop and presbyters in the Christian Church, as they are represented in the several models of the primitive structures. From which it will be easy to observe, further, that the place of the communion-table, or altar, was not close to the wall at the upper end, but at some little distance from it, so as that the bishop's throne might be behind it, and room enough left in a void space to encompass or surround the altar. This seems pretty plain from an expression in Synesius^g, who, speaking of his being forced to take sanctuary, says, "he would fly into the church, and encompass the altar;" which implies, that it was set in such manner as that he might go round it. And this is the meaning of Eusebius, when, having first spoken of the thrones of the bishop and presbyters in the church of Paulinus, he then adds, that "he set^h the holy of holies, the altar, in the middle." Which is not to be interpreted, as some have misunderstood it, of the altar's being placed in the middle of the *nave*, or 'body of the church,' but in the middle of the *bema*, or 'sanctuary,' at such a distance from the upper end, as that the *synthronus*, 'the seat of the bishop and presbyters,' might be behind it. St. Austin seems to refer to the same thing, when he says, "The table of the Lordⁱ stood in the middle." And in the Council of Constantinople, under Mennas^k, it is represented in such a posture, as that it might be encompassed round; for it is said, when the names of Pope Leo and some others, which had been struck

^g Synes. Catastas. p. 203. (Paris. 1640. p. 302.) Βαδιῶμαι πρῶτον ἐπὶ τὸν πῆλιν τοῦ Θεοῦ· κυκλώσομαι τὸ θυσιαστήριον.

^h Euseb. lib. x. c. iv. (p. 419. D 5.) Τὸ τῶν ἁγίων θυσιαστήριον ἐν μέσῳ θείας.

ⁱ Aug. Sermon. xlvii. de Verbis Domini, (Bened. vol. v. p. 645. F 9.) Christus quotidie pascit: mensa ipsius est illa in medio constituta.

^k Conc. Constant. act. v. (tom. v. Conc. p. 185. C.) Τοῦ ἁγίου μαθήματος κατὰ τὸ συνήθες λεχθέντος καιρῷ τῶν διπτύχων συνέδραμον ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος κύκλῳ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου.

out of the diptychs, were inserted again, the people, for joy, at the time when the diptychs were read, after the repetition of the Creed, ran round about the altar for to hear them. Dr. Hammond¹ and some other learned men think, not improbably, that this posture of the altar in Christian churches, was something in imitation of the altar in the Jewish temple; to which the Psalmist alludes, when he says, "I will wash my hands in innocency, and so will I compass thine altar," Psalm xxvi. 6: from whence they suppose the phrase περικυκλοῦν θυσιαστήριον, 'compassing the altar,' in the ancient rituals, to be taken.

SECT. XII.—*Both these Names indifferently used in the Primitive Church.*

Great dispute has been raised in the last age about the name of the communion-table, whether it was to be called the 'holy table,' or an 'altar.' And, indeed, any thing will afford matter of controversy to men in a disputing age; but we never read of any such dispute in the primitive Church. For the ancient writers used both names indifferently; some calling it 'altar;' others, 'the Lord's table,' 'the holy table,' 'the mystical table,' 'the tremendous table,' &c.; and sometimes both 'table' and 'altar,' in the same sentence together. Mr. Mede thinks it was usually called 'altar' for the two first ages, and that the name 'table^m' is not to be found in any author of those ages now remaining. Ignatius uses only the nameⁿ θυσιαστήριον, 'altar,' in his genuine epistles; three of which are alleged by Mr. Mede, to which the reader may add another testimony out of his Epistle^o to the Magnesians, where he uses both the name 'temple' and 'altar.' Irenæus^p

¹ Hammond, cont. Blondel. Dissert. c. xiii. n. viii.

^m Mede's Discourse of Altars, p. 386.

ⁿ Ignat. Ep. ad Ephes. n. v. (Coteler. vol. ii. p. 13.) Μηδεὶς πλανάσθω, ἐὰν μή τις ᾗ ἐντὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, ὅστερεῖται τοῦ ἄρτου τοῦ θεοῦ.—Id. Ep. ad Trallian. n. vii. (p. 66.) Ὁ ἐντὸς θυσιαστηρίου ὢν, καθαρὸς ἐστίν.—Id. Ep. ad Philadelph. n. iv. Ἐν θυσιαστήριον, ὡς εἰς ἐπίσκοπος.

^o Ignat. Ep. ad Magnes. n. vii. Πάντες οὖν ὡς εἰς ναὸν συντρέχετε θεοῦ, ὡς ἐπὶ ἕνα Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν.

^p Iren. lib. iv. c. xxxiv. Sicut et ideo nos quoque offerre vult munus ad altare frequenter sine intermissione. Est ergo altare in cœlis, et templum, etc.

and Origen^q use the same name when they speak of the communion-table. Tertullian frequently applies to it the name of *ara Dei et altare*. "Will not your station or fast," says he^r, "be more solemn, if you stand at the altar of God?" that is, receive the communion on a fast-day. So also in his book^s, *Ad Uxorem*, and *De Castitate*^t. But they are led into an error by the corrupt edition of Rhenanus, who cite his book *De Pœnitentia*, for the same thing; for though, in that edition, we find mention made^u of 'kneeling at the altar,' *aris Dei adgeniculari*; yet better editions since teach us to read it more truly, *charis Dei adgeniculari*, 'kneeling down to the beloved of God,' alluding to the custom of the penitents falling down at the church doors, to beg the prayers of the faithful as they went in. Cyprian, the disciple of Tertullian, sometimes uses both names, 'table' and 'altar,' as when he says, "Those words of Solomon (Prov. ix. 2), 'Wisdom hath furnished her table,' &c. typified the Christian ^w altar. But more commonly he uses the name 'altar' alone^x, which argues that to have

^q Origen. Hom. x. in Num. (Oberthür, 1783. vol. vi. p. 338.) (tom. i. p. 207, edit. Basil. 1571.) (p. 129, edit. Par. 1604.) Vereor, ne permanentibus in nobis peccatis nostris, accidat nobis illud, quod de semetipsis dicunt Judæi, quia non habentes altare, neque templum, neque sacerdotium, et ob hoc nec hostias offerentes, peccata, inquit, nostra manent in nobis; et ideo venia nulla subsequitur. (p. 339.) Mandata quidem certa sunt et evidentiâ, ut observare debeamus custodias tabernaculi, et altaris, et sacerdotii.

^r Tertul. de Orat. c. xiv. (Paris. 1675. p. 136. A.) Nonne solennior erit statio tua, si et ad aram Dei steteris?

^s Tertul. ad Uxor. lib. i. c. vii. (Paris. 1675. p. 165. C 3.) Quantum detrahant fidei, quantum obstrepant sanctitati nuptiæ secundæ, disciplina Ecclesiæ et præscriptio Apostoli declarat, cum digamos non sinit præsidere, cum viduam adlegi in ordinem, nisi univiram, non concedit: aram enim Dei mundam proponi oportet.

^t Ibid. de Exhortat. Cast. c. x.

^u Ibid. de Pœnitent. c. ix.

^w Cypr. Ep. lxiii. ad Cæcil. (Oxon. p. 150.) Per Solomonem Spiritus Sanctus typum Dominici sacrificii ante præmonstrat immolatæ hostiæ et panis et vini, sed et altaris et apostolorum faciens mentionem, Sapientia, inquit, ædificavit sibi domum, et subdidit columnas septem. Mactavit suas hostias, miscuit in cratera vinum suum, et 'paravit mensam suam.'—It. Testimon. advers. Jud. lib. ii. c. ii. (Bened. p. 285.) Quod Sapientia Dei Christus; et de sacramento incarnationis ejus, et passionis, et calicis, et altaris, et apostolorum, qui missi prædicaverunt: apud Solomonem in proverbiiis: 'Sapientia ædificavit,' etc.

^x Vid. Cypr. Ep. xl. (Oxon. p. 83.) Aliud altare constitui, aut sacerdotium

been at least a very usual name in his time in the African and Latin Churches. Mr. Mede cites also Zeno Veronensis as an author of the third century, contemporary with Cyprian, who is indeed one that speaks plain enough both of the *cancelli* ^y and the altar; but now learned men ^z are agreed to thrust him down a whole century lower; so that he is not a competent witness for the third age, but he may serve for the fourth: in which age, one may venture to say, there is scarce an author that speaks of the 'Lord's table,' but he also calls it 'altar.' On the other hand, it is certain they did not mean by the 'altar' what the Jews and heathens meant; either an altar dressed up with images, that is, idol gods, as the heathens commonly had theirs adorned; or an altar for bloody sacrifices, which was the use of them both among Jews and Gentiles.

SECT. XIII.—*In what Sense the Ancients say they had no Altars.*

In the first sense, they always rejected altars, both name and thing; for their altars had no images either above, or about, or upon them, as the heathen altars always had: and upon that account the ancient apologists, Origen ^a, Minucius Felix ^b, Arnobius ^c, and Lactantius ^d, when the heathens object

novum fieri, præter unum altare et unum sacerdotium, non potest. Ep. xlii. (Bened. p. 56.) Considerantes pariter et ponderantes, quod in tanto fratrum religiosoque conventu, considentibus Dei sacerdotibus et altari posito, nec legi debeant nec audiri. Ep. lv. (Bened. p. 88.) Quid superest, quam ut ecclesia Capitolio cedat, et recedentibus sacerdotibus ac Domini altare removentibus, in cleri nostri sacrum venerandumque congestum simulacra atque idola cum aris suis transeant. Ep. lxiv. (Bened. p. 111.) Quasi post aras diaboli accedere ad altare Dei fas sit. Ep. lxx. (Bened. p. 125.) Sanctificare non potuit olei creaturam, qui nec altare habuit, nec ecclesiam.

^y Zeno, Scrm. ix. ad Neophyt. Ecclesia sacri altaris feliciter enutrita cancellis.

^z Cave, Histor. Litter. p. 176. (Oxon. 1740. vol. i. p. 224.) Zeno, episcopus Veronensis, quem alii martyrem faciunt, et circa annum 360 passum esse volunt: sed nulla ratione, nulla auctoritate fulti. Probabile est, claruisse circa annum 360, aliquot ante D. Ambrosium annis, et fuisse Syagrii Veronensis episcopi decessorem.

^a Origen. cont. Cels. lib. viii. p. 389. Ἡμᾶς βωμοὺς καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νεὼς ἰδρύνθαι φεύγειν.

^b Minuc. Octav. p. 29. (Oberthür, p. 565.) Cur nullas aras habent, templa nulla, nulla nota simulacra?

to them, that they had no altars, roundly and freely confess it, in the sense that the objection was made; that is, that they had no altars furnished with idol-gods, and fitted for idol-worship, such as the heathen pleaded for. In like manner they denied that they had any altars in the Jewish sense, for offering bloody sacrifices upon; but for their own mystical unbloody sacrifice, as they called the eucharist, they always owned they had an altar, which they scrupled not to term indifferently *θυσιαστήριον*, *ara*, *altare*, and sometimes *βωμός*: for, though Mr. Mede thinks they never used that name, yet it appears, that with the addition of *ἀναίμακτος*, they sometimes did; for Synesius^c, speaking of the holy table, expressly styles it *ἀναίμακτον βωμόν*, 'the unbloody altar.'

SECT. XIV.—*Of the Names Holy Table, Mystical Table, &c.*

Yet these same authors, to distinguish their notion more exactly, commonly use the name 'table' for the altar, with the addition of some singular epithet, implying the peculiar use of it in the Christian Church. In Chrysostom^f it is most usually termed *τράπεζα μυστική* and *φρικτή*, 'the mystical and tremendous table;' sometimes the spiritual, divine, royal, immortal, heavenly table; of which the reader may find instances enough collected by Suicerus^g out of that author. St. Austin

^c Arnob. cont. Gent. lib. vi. Non altaria fabricemur, non aras. See note (k) page 371.

^d Lactant. lib. ii. c. ii. Quid sibi templa, quid aræ volunt? etc. Conf. c. i. sect. xvi.

^e Synes. Catast. (Paris. 1640. p. 303. C 4.) Οὐ μὴν ὄγε Θεὸς περιόψεται τὸν βωμόν τὸν ἀναίμακτον ἱερώς αἵματι μαινόμενον.

^f Chrysost. Hom. xxi. Quod oportet hæreses esse. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 246.) (tom. v. p. 313.) (Hom. xx. tom. v. p. 281. D. edit. Francof. 1684.) Εἰτα ἐπὶ τὴν μυστικὴν τράπεζαν ἐξάγει τὸν λόγον, μειζόνως αὐτοὺς φοβῆσαι βουλόμενος. — Ibid. Εἰ γὰρ ἡ τράπεζα ἡ φρικώδης κοινὴ πᾶσι πρόκειται καὶ πλουσίῳ καὶ πένητι, κ. τ. λ. — It. Hom. xxxix. de Pentecost. p. 553, (p. 494, fin. edit. Francof.) "Ὅταν παρὰ τὴν ἱερὰν ταύτην ἐσθήκῃ τράπεζαν· ὅταν τὴν φρικτὴν ἐκείνην θυσίαν ἀναφέρειν μέλλῃ.

^g Suicer. Thes. Eccles. (p. 1280.) voce *τράπεζα*.—A Chrysostomo vocatur φοβερά καὶ μυστικὴ τράπεζα.—In Psalm. cxlv. Πνευματικὴ τράπεζα.—In Psalm. xc. μυστικὴ τράπεζα.—Sic etiam a Gregorio Nazianz. Orat. xi. p. 660. Αἰδέσθητι τὴν μυστικὴν τράπεζαν, ᾧ προσῆλθες· τὸν ἄρτον, οὐ μετέληφας· τὸ ποτήριον, οὐ κεκοινώνηκας, τοῦ Χριστοῦ πάθει τελειούμενος.—Βασιλική

usually gives it^h the name of *mensa Domini*, ‘the Lord’s table;’ whence *mensa Cypriani*, in that author, signifies eitherⁱ the ‘altar’ or the ‘church,’ erected in the place of St. Cyprian’s martyrdom. It were easy to add a thousand other testimonies out of Athanasius, Synesius, Socrates, Sozomen, Paulinus, and the rest of that age, where the altar is called the ‘holy table,’ to signify to us their notion of the Christian sacrifice and altar at once, that it was mystical and spiritual, and had no relation either to the bloody sacrifices of the Jews, or the more absurd idolatries of the Gentiles, but served only for the service of the eucharist and oblations of the people.

SECT. XV.—*Altars generally made of Wood till the time of Constantine.*

If any is desirous to know the matter and form of the ancient altars or tables, St. Austin will inform him that they were of wood, in his time, in the African churches; for, speaking of a great outrage committed by the Donatists against a Catholic bishop, whilst he stood ministering at the altar, he says, “They beat him cruelly with clubs and such-like weapons, and at last^k with the broken pieces of the timber of the altar.” This is further confirmed by the testimony of Optatus, who, objecting to the Donatists their sacrilegious abuse of the Catholic altar, says, “They broke them^l in pieces in such places as would afford them plenty of wood to make new ones of;”

τράπεζα, a Chrysostomo, Hom. xxiv. in 1 ad Corinthios, et Hom. xvii. in Epist. ad Hebræos.—*Ἀθάνατος τράπεζα*, ab eodem, Hom. xiii. in Epist. ad Hebræos.—*Ἱερά τράπεζα*, ab eodem, Hom. x. tom. v. p. 40.—*Φρικτή τράπεζα*, ab eodem, Hom. xxi. tom. v. p. 129.—*Φρικτή καὶ θεία τράπεζα*, Hom. lxxii. tomi ejusd. p. 518.—*Φρικώδης τράπεζα*, ab eodem, Hom. xxi. tom. v. edit. Par. p. 313.

^h August. Epist. lix. ad Paulin. (tom. iii. opp. p. 299. D. edit. Basil. 1569.) (Bened. vol. ii. p. 509.) Ut ‘precationes’ accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione Sacramentorum, antequam illud, quod est in Domini mensa, incipiat benedici.

ⁱ Homil. xxvi. ex editis a Sirmondo, ‘ad mensam Cypriani.’

^k Aug. Ep. l. ad Bonifac. p. 84. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 654. F.) Stantem ad altare, fustibus et ejuscemodi telis, lignis denique ejusdem altaris effracti, immaniter ceciderunt.

^l Optat. lib. vi. (Oberthür, p. 97.) Alio loco, copia lignorum, frangi jussit; aliis, ut altaria raderent, lignorum inopia, imperavit.—Ibid. Calida de fragmentis altarium facta est. Vid. p. 98, ibid. (ed. Par. 1679, p. 112.)

but in places where there was a scarcity of wood, they contented themselves with scraping or shaving them, by way of pretended expiation. Nay, the workmen who wrought in this egregious service had wine given them, heated with fires, made of the fragments of the altars." Athanasius has likewise occasion to tell us their communion-tables were of wood, in a parallel story upon the Arians, who, in one of their mad humours, as he complains, went into a church, and took the thrones and seats of the presbyters, and the table, which was of wood^m, and the veils, and whatever other combustible matter they could find, and carried them out and burned them. So that there is no question to be made but that about this time the altars were only tables of wood in Afric and Egypt, as these testimonies plainly imply. Bonaⁿ thinks they had stone altars before, even in times of persecution; but he offers no proof but his own opinion. Yet it is generally thought by Hospinian^o and other learned men, that they began to come in from the time of Constantine, together with the stateliness and magnificence of churches. The Pontifical speaks of silver altars, dedicated by Constantine; and Gerson and others, alleged by Hospinian, make Pope Sylvester, who lived in the time of Constantine, to be the author of a decree, that all altars should be of stone; but these authorities are of no weight, and the stories contradict one another. What is certain in the case is this, that about the time of Gregory Nyssen, altars, in some places, began to be of stone; for he, in his Discourse of Baptism, speaks of a stone altar. "This altar," says he, "whereat we stand^p, is by nature only common

^m Athan. Epist. ad Solitar. Vitam Agentes, tom. i. p. 847. (edit. Par. 1621.) Vid. supr. sect. viii. lit. (g).

ⁿ Bon. Rer. Liturg. lib. i. c. xx. n. i. (1677. p. 417.) *Primis ecclesiæ sæculis an lignea fuerint vel lapidea (altaria), non liquet. Utraque crediderim tempore persecutionis usitata, prout rerum locorumque opportunitas ferebat.* (p. 251.)

^o Hospin. de Templis, lib. ii. c. vi. p. 34, edit. Tigr. 1581. (p. 86, edit. Genev. 1681.) *Nec tamen negare auserim, Constantino M. tempore, cum magnificis templis etiam magnifica et splendida altaria multis in locis originem sumsisse, eaque fixa et de lapidibus aut simili materia exstructa fuisse.*

^p Gregor. Nyssen. de Baptismo Christi. (tom. iii. p. 369. D 9.) *Τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦτο τὸ ἅγιον, ᾧ παριστήκαμεν, λίθος ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν κοινὸς, οὐδὲν διαφέρων τῶν ἄλλων πλακῶν, αἱ τοὺς τοίχους ἡμῶν οἰκοδομοῦσι, καὶ καλλωπί-*

stone, nothing different from other stones, whereof our walls are made, and our pavements adorned; but after it is consecrated and dedicated to the service of God, it becomes an holy table, an immaculate altar, which may not be promiscuously touched by all, but only by the priests in time of divine service." In the next age, in France, we find a general decree, made in the Council of^a Epone, an. 509, that "no altars should be consecrated but such as were made of stone only." And this seems to be the first public act of this nature that we have upon authentic record in ancient history. And, from the time of this change in the matter of them, the form or fashion of them changed likewise; for whereas before they were in the form of tables, they now began to be erected more like altars, either upon a single foot or pillar in the midst, or upon an edifice, erected like a tomb, as if it were some monument of a martyr; as Bona tells us there are some such now to be seen in the catacombs of Rome^r and other places.

SECT. XVI.—*But one Altar anciently in a Church.*

It will, perhaps, be something more material to remark here, that anciently there was never above one altar in a church. "One bishop and one altar in a church^s," is the known apho-

ζουσι τὰ ἰδέαφ' ἐπειδὴν δὲ καθιερώθη τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ θεραπείᾳ, καὶ τὴν εὐλογίαν ἐδέξατο, ἔστι τράπεζα ἁγία, θυσιαστήριον ἄχραντον, οὐκ ἐστὶ παρὰ πάντων ψηλαφώμενον, ἀλλὰ μόνων τῶν ἱερέων, καὶ τούτων εὐλαβουμένων.

^a Conc. Epaunens. c. xxvi. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1579.) *Altaria, nisi lapidea, unctione non sacrentur.*

^r Bona, *Rer. Liturgic. lib. i. c. xx. n. i.* (Antverp. 1677. p. 417.) *Erant olim diversæ altariorum structuræ: nam aliquando uni tantum columnæ mensa lapidea superjacebat, quale describitur (lib. xx. Historiæ Miscellæ) altare Deiparæ virginis in Blachernis; qualia sunt etiam hodie altaria quædam subterranea Romæ, in ecclesia S. Cæcilie. Aliquando quatuor columnis eadem mensa suffulta erat; et de his altaribus loquitur Synesius in fine Catastasis: 'Sacratas columnas amplectar, quæ puram et incontaminatam a terra mensam sustinent.'* Interdum duæ solæ columnæ ex utroque latere ipsum altare sustinebant; suntque adhuc Romæ in cryptis et cœmeteriis quædam hujusmodi altaria duabus vel pluribus innixa columnis, quibus Christiani, tempore persecutionis, ibidem latentes utebantur. Denique nonnulla quadro superposita ædificio tumuli formam referebant, tamquam martyrum sepulchra; quæ proprie altaria, quasi altæ aræ, dicebantur.

^s Ignat. Ep. ad Philadelph. n. iv. "Ἐν θυσιαστήριον, ὡς εἰς ἐπισκοπος.—

rism of Ignatius. And Eusebius is supposed, upon this account, to call the altar in the church of Paulinus, at Tyre, *μονογενὲς θυσιαστήριον*, the 'single altar'; as Habertus truly observes upon it, who ingeniously confesses that it has ever been the constant custom of the Greek churches to have but one altar in a temple; in confirmation of which he cites Athanasius, Nazianzen, Synesius, Socrates, Theodoret, Evagrius, and many others. Cardinal Bona^u also owns, he could find no footsteps of the contrary practice till the time of Gregory the Great, and then only in the Latin Church; for the Greeks have always kept to the ancient custom. He thinks, indeed, the contrary custom was in the Latin Church of old; but he only shows his willingness to believe it without proof; and

Vid. Ep. ad Magnes. n. vii. Πάντες ὡς εἰς ἓνα ναὸν συντρέχετε Θεοῦ, ὡς ἐπὶ ἓν θυσιαστήριον.

^t Habert. Archierat. p. 661, ex Euseb. lib. x. c. iv. Unitas altaris ab unitatis Christi analogia: unde eleganter *θυσιαστήριον μονογενὲς*, vocat vetus ecclesiæ Tyriorum orator, in panegyrico encenienorum, qui Paulino Tyri episcopo dictus est; quem adeo magni fecit Eusebius Cesariensis, ut eam historiæ suæ libro x. insereret. . . . Græci ab illo patres, tractatores et historici, unius in una ecclesiā altaris meminerunt. S. Athanasius in Apologia ad Constantium, S. Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. xxxii. in Concilio Constantinop. habita. Synesius in Catastasi. Βαδίουμαι πρῶτον ἐπὶ τὸν νεὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ, κεκλώσομαι τὸ θυσιαστήριον δάκρυνσι, βρίζω τὸ τιμαλφίσσατον ἰδαφος, κ. τ. λ. Et postea idem altare ad eum modum, quo in hoc ritu describitur, innuit, προσφύσομαι τῶν κίωνων τῶν ἱερῶν, αἱ τὴν ἀσυλον ἀπὸ γῆς ἀνέχουσι τράπεζαν, βωμὸν τὸν ἀναίμακτον. Sic unius altaris meminere Socrates, lib. i. de Alexandro CP. Εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον εἰσελθὼν, ὑπὸ τὴν ἱερὰν τράπεζαν ἐαυτὸν ἐπὶ στόμα ἐκτείνας, κ. τ. λ. — Ita Theodoretus, lib. iv. c. xx.; Evagrius, lib. v. c. xxi.; Theophylactus, Histor. Mauric. lib. v. c. xiv.; Nicephorus, Patr. Constantin. Porphyrogen. Zonaras, Cedrenus, Nicetas, et alii passim. Codinus in Originibus ad finem, in descriptione S. Sophiæ.

^u Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. i. c. xiv. n. iii. p. 385. Non leve tandem indicium Missæ peculiariter actæ præbet altarium multitudo in eadem ecclesia, de quibus veterum patrum testimonia non desunt. — Gregorius Magnus, lib. v. ep. 1. ad Palladium Santonensem episcopum: 'Veniens,' inquit, 'lator præsentium insinuavit nobis, fraternitatem vestram ecclesiam construxisse, atque illic tredecim altaria collocasse, ex quibus quatuor necdum dedicata comperimus remansisse.' Loquitur autem de altaribus ad usum sacrificii . . . Plura item altaria Romæ fuisse in basilica Principis Apostolorum, non solum ad orientem juxta ritum ecclesiæ, sed et in alias partes distributa, scribit Walfridus, c. iv. . . . Græcorum alia est consuetudo; unicum enim altare in singulis ecclesiis habent; nec fas esse putant, intra septa ejusdem templi sacrum eadem die iterare. Ideo patres et historici Græci unius tantum altaris in una ecclesia mentionem faciunt, &c.

Schelstrate ^w very justly censures him for it, showing, out of Optatus and St. Austin, that the Latins, as well as the Greeks, had then but one altar in a church; for Optatus ^x speaks of the altar of Cyprian's church as one only, and no more, both in the time of Cyprian and afterward; and thence concludes that the Donatists were schismatics, because they went from Cyprian's altar, and set up another altar against it; and St. Austin argues against them ^y upon the same foundation, that there ought not to be two episcopal altars in one city. This supposes, then, but one altar in a church among the Latins, as well as the Greeks; and so Christianus Lupus ^z and Pagi ^a, the learned corrector of Baronius, affirm it to have been the constant practice of the primitive Church, though now (to see what improvement has been made in later ages)

^w Schelstrat. Concil. Antioch. p. 193. Quum altaris mentio facta est, notandum cum Christiano Lupo, olim in basilicis unicum duntaxat fuisse altare, idque alte clamare antiquas Romanorum basilicas, in quibus altare inverso modo constructum videmus ad initium sacrarii, unde et celebrans non respicit ad tribunal aut synthronum, sed potius ad fideles et populum: Africæ basilicas describit S. Optatus Milevitanus episcopus, libro i. contra Parmenianum: 'Conferat,' inquit, 'erat ecclesia populis; plena erat cathedra episcopalis: erat altare loco suo, in quo pacifici episcopi retro temporis obtulerant, Cyprianus, Lucianus, et ceteri. Sic exitum est foras, et altare contra altare erectum est.' Ac si diceret, Carthaginensem basilicam, in qua Cyprianus et Lucianus obtulerant, unicum duntaxat habuisse altare loco suo collocatum. Hinc et magnus Hipponensis antistes Augustinus tractatu iii. in epistolam Joannis: 'Si cum Donatistis in unitate sumus, quid in hac civitate faciunt duo altaria?' Altaria pro basilicis sumit Augustinus, ac si diceret, duas basilicas habuisse duo duntaxat altaria, quorum unum alteri esset oppositum; unde scripsit S. Optatus, 'altare contra altare' fuisse erectum. Et hinc colligitur, immerito dubitare eminentissimum Cardinalem Bona, lib. i. Rer. Liturg. c. xiv. num. iii. num olim in Latinis ecclesiis unicum duntaxat altare, &c.

^x Optat. lib. i. (Oberthür, p. 14.) Erat cathedra episcopalis; erat altare loco suo, in quo pacifici episcopi retro temporis obtulerant, Cyprianus, Lucianus, et ceteri. Sic exitum est foras, et altare contra altare erectum est. (Edit. Par. 1631.)

^y Aug. Hom. iii. in 1 Johan. Si in unitate sumus, quid faciunt in hac civitate duo altaria?

^z Lupus, Concil. tom. iii. Respons. ad Michael. Cerular.

^a Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 313, n. xv. (Lucæ, vol. iii. p. 554.) (n. xvii. edit. Antwerp.) Lupus (tomo iii. Conciliorum) in Responsis ad Michaëlis Cerularii calumnias notat, primis ecclesiæ temporibus, ob paucitatem fidelium, non fuisse in civitatibus plures quam unam ecclesiam; in ecclesia unum, non plura altaria; et ad altare illud unum, non plura sacrificia, eodem die fuisse oblata.

there are no less than twenty-five altars, besides the great altar, in St. Peter's church at Rome; and the great altar itself is no less than twenty-five feet square, with a cross of twenty-five inches long upon it, as Dr. Potter observes, out of Onuphrius and Angelus Roccha, in his ingenious book^b of the number six hundred sixty-six.

SECT. XVII.—*And sometimes but one in a City, though several Churches, according to some Authors.*

Some improve this observation of one altar in a church a little further, and think that anciently there was but one altar in a whole city, or diocese, and country region, belonging to a bishop; though there might be many lesser churches, as there were many synagogues among the Jews, though but one temple and one altar. Mr. Mede^c is of opinion that it was so when Justin Martyr wrote his second Apology, because of those words of his: "On Sundays, all that live in the towns or in the country, meet together in one place, for the celebration of the eucharist." And he concludes the same from several of Cyprian's epistles^d, where bishop and altar are made correlatives. Christianus Lupus and Pagi seem to think^e it

^b Synops. Criticor. in Apocal. xiii. 18. (Ultraject. vol. v. p. 1895.) In ecclesia S. Petri Romæ xxv. altaria numerat Onuphrius, præter magnum illud altare, cui crux superimposita est xxv. palmas alta, teste Angelo Rocca. Magni hujus altaris figura quoque est perfecte cubica, et mensura uniuscujusque lateris est pedum xxv. mensuræ quadratæ, ut dicunt Baronius et Onuphrius. Numerus quoque xxv. in omnibus ipsorum altaribus manifesto imprimitur, v. Christi vulneribus, ut vocant, in quinque locis diversis impressis. (Potter, Oxf. 1642, p. 172.)

^c Mede's Discourse of Churches. (Cambr. 1677. p. 326.) [In Justino Martyre hæc verba reperio, (Benedict. 1742. p. 84:) Τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέραν κοινῇ πάντες τὴν συνέλευσιν ποιούμεθα: quæ vero non penitus id probare videntur, ad quod probandum a Medo pariter et Binghamo adlegantur.—Grischor.]

^d Cyprian. Epist. xl. Vid. supra sect. xii. lit. (x). Vide sis etiam Epist. lxxii. lxxiii.

^e Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 313, n. xv. (Lucæ, vol. iii. p. 554.) (edit. Par. 1689.) (n. xvii. edit. Antverp. 1705, fol.) Quæ omnia ex variis antiquitatis monumentis constant, ex quibus apparet, usum obtinuisse, ut episcopi, diebus dominicis, in ecclesia sacrificium offerendo præsentem populum ex oblatis communicarent, ad absentem vero ex oblati consecratis mitterent. Hinc Justinus Martyr, in Apologia pro Christianis, testatur, diebus solis seu Dominicis sacramenta per diaconos ad absentes delata fuisse. Per absentes autem non solum

continued the custom within the walls of Rome to the time of Pope Innocent I. ; for he seems to say, in one of his epistles^f, that “ the presbyters of the several *tituli*, or ‘lesser churches,’ within the city, had the sacrament sent to them every Sunday from the bishop’s altar ; but the presbyters of the cemeteries, or churches without the walls, had liberty to consecrate the eucharist in them, because the sacraments were not to be carried to places at too great a distance.” But Dr. Maurice^g and other learned men think the Roman *tituli* had always communion tables, and the communion administered in them from the beginning, only the consecrated bread was sent to them from the oblations made at the bishop’s altar. For the oblations, they think, at first were only made at the bishop’s altar, and always blessed at the bishop’s altar, though not always consecrated there : upon which account the name of ‘altar’ might be appropriated to that of the bishop’s church. I shall not pretend to make any judgment or decision in this dispute, being a matter involved in great obscurity, but leave the reader to judge for himself. Dr. Hammond heretofore passed^h the same censure on it, thinking it too dark a point to be over boldly determined. All I shall say further upon it is only this, that it makes nothing for the congregational way

infirmos et captivos, sed etiam sacerdotes, qui missæ pontificali adesse non poterant, Lupus intelligit.

^f Innocent. I. Epist. i. ad Decent. c. v. (citante Pagio, *ibid.* et tom. ii. Conc. p. 1247.) De fermento, quod die dominica per titulos mittimus, superflue nos consulere voluisti, quum omnes ecclesiæ nostræ intra civitatem sint constitutæ. Quarum presbyteri, quia die ipsa propter plebem sibi creditam nobiscum convenire non possunt, ideoque fermentum a nobis confectum per acolythos accipiunt, ut se a nostra communione, maxime illa die, non judicent separatos. Quod per parochias fieri debere non puto, quia nec longe portanda sunt sacramenta : nec nos per cœmeteria diversa constitutis presbyteris destinamus, et presbyteri eorum conficiendorum jus habeant atque licentiam.

^g Maurice, *Dioces. Epis.* p. 37.—Bona (*Rer. Liturg. lib. i. c. xxiii. n. ix.*) (*Ant.* 1677, p. 444) differs in this, that he thinks every Church had her own oblations, and the Eucharist consecrated out of them. Nemo certe absurdum, aut a moribus ecclesiæ, prout illa ferebant tempora, alienum existimabit, quod presbyteri Romani, accepta a Pontifice eucharistia, quæ fermentum dicebatur, Missam nihilominus diebus Dominicis agerent, et alium panem, oblatum de more a fidelibus, consecrarent, atque ex utroque se et alios communicarent.

^h Hammond, *Dissert. cont. Blondel.* c. viii. n. xv. In re incomperta non est audacter nimis pronunciandum.

(as some pretend), though it were certain there was but one altar in a diocese at the first ; for there might, notwithstanding, be many churches. Or, if there was but one church in a diocese, while the number of believers was very small ; yet it does not follow that there ought to be no more, when their number so increased in any city or territory, that one church would not contain them.

SECT. XVIII.—*Of the Ciborium, or ‘Canopy of the Altar.’*

But I return to the business in hand. In some of the more stately churches, as that of Sancta Sophia, the altar was overshadowed with a sort of canopy, which, from the fashion of it, is termed by Paulus Silentariusⁱ πύργος, ‘the turret ;’ by others^k, *umbraculum* ; but, among the Greeks, most commonly κιβώριον ; which Durantus^l and other modern ritualists usually mistake for the *pyxis*, where the host is kept ; but Du Fresne shows^m it to have been anciently quite another thing, viz. an ornamental canopy hanging over the altar. This was raised in the form of a little turret, upon four pillars, at each corner of the altar. The heads of the pillars were adorned with silver bowls, which was an usual ornament in those days, as is evident from the description which Eusebiusⁿ gives of the

ⁱ Paul. Silent. part ii. v. 303, seqq.

Χρυσείης δ’ ἐφύπερθε παναχράντοιο τραπίζης.

Ἄσπετος εὐρυκίλευθον ἐς ἡέρα πύργος ἀνίστη,

Τετραπόρους ἀψῖσιν ἐπ’ ἀργυρίῃσι βεβηκώς.

Κίοσι δ’ ἀργυρείοισιν αἰρείται, ὧν ἐπὶ κόρησι

Ἀργυρίους ἔδρυνε πόδας τετράζυγος ἀψίς.

^k Ordo Romanus, (Biblioth. Patr. Max. tom. viii. p. 724. B.) Præfatio ciborii, id est, ‘umbraculi,’ altaris.

^l Durant. de Ritib. Eccles. lib. i. c. xvi. (Paris, 1632, p. 106.) Leo Papa IX. ad Michaëlem Imperatorem scribit, Hierosolymis Eucharistiam in pyxide pro advenis, et quotidie eam sumere volentibus, adversari solitam. Hanc pyxidem Græci vocarunt κιβώριον, quam vocem et Latini et Galli de Græcis retinuerunt, ciboriumque Latine, Gallice *ciboire* nuncuparunt.

^m Du Fresn. Com. in Paul. Silent. p. 219. Sacræ mensæ imminebat ‘ciborium :’ ita autem appellabant umbraculum quoddam altius eductum, quo universa mensa sacra tegebatur. (Vide sis totam istam paginam et sequentes plures.)

ⁿ Euseb. de Vit. Constant. lib. iii. c. xxxviii. (Reading, p. 539.) Τούτων δ’ ἀντικρὺν, τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦ παντὸς ἡμισφαρίου ἦν, ἐπ’ ἅκρου τοῦ βασιλείου ἐκτεταμένον· ὃ δὴ δυωκαίδεκα κίονες ἐστεφάνουν, τοῖς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀποστόλοις

twelve pillars in Constantine's church at Jerusalem. The top of it was in the form of a sphere, adorned with graven flowers, whence it has sometimes the name of *sphæra*, *lilia*, and *malum*. Above the sphere stood the cross, as Paulus Silentarius^o represents it; and the several arches below, between the pillars, were hanged with veils or curtains, called, as some others, *ἀμφίθυρα*, which served also to cover or conceal the whole altar. I have been the more particular in describing this ornamental structure about the altar, after Du Fresne, because the common ritualists so generally apply the name *ciborium* only to the *pyxæ*; whereas, in the most ancient writers, it signifies this beautiful fabric about the altar.

SECT. XIX.—*Of the Peristerion, or Columbæ.*

In some places, after images and pictures began to be allowed in churches, the Holy Ghost was represented in the effigies of a silver dove hovering over the altar; and their baptisteries had the same, as we learn from the complaint against Severus, bishop of Antioch, in the Council of Constantinople, under Mennas, an. 536, where he is accused for diverting^p to his own use, among other treasures of the church, the silver and golden doves that hanged over the baptistery and the altar as types or symbols of the Holy Ghost. And this, I think, is the first time we meet with any thing of this kind; for no credit is to be given to the author of the Life of St. Basil, under the name of Amphilochius, when he says, "St. Basil was used to reserve the eucharist in one of these silver doves," because he is known to be a spurious writer. However, when the thing came to be in use, the place over the altar, where it hung, was called *peristerion*, from *περιστερά*, the Greek name for a 'dove,' as Du Fresne and others have

ισάριθμοι, κρατῆρσι μεγίστοις ἐξ ἀργύρου πεποιημένοις τὰς κορυφὰς κοσμούμενοι· οὓς δὲ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς ἀνάθημα κάλλιστον ἐποιεῖτο τῷ αὐτοῦ Θεῷ.

^o Paul. Silent. *ibid.* vv. 320, 321.

. . . ὑψόθι δ' αὐτοῦ

Σταυρὸς ὑπερέλλων ἀναφαίνεται . . .

^p Conc. Constant. act. v. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 260. B 10.) Τὰς εἰς τύπον τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, χρυσῆς τε καὶ ἀργυρᾶς περιστερὰς κρεμασμένας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τῶν θείων κολυμβηθρῶν καὶ θυσιαστηρίων, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐσφειτερίσατο.

observed. If it be inquired where the eucharist was reserved, according to ancient custom, I answer, in times of persecution the priests seem to have had it^q in their own private custody at home, as may be collected from an epistle of Dionysius, in Eusebius, where he relates how Serapion had the eucharist sent him in the night by a boy, the presbyter being sick, and not able to attend upon him. At other times it was kept in one of the *pastophoria*, which were certainly places distinct from the altar, for so the author of the Constitutions^r plainly informs us. In process of time, it came to be kept at the altar, either in those silver doves we have been speaking of, or in an ark or pyxe, at the foot of the cross, which, by some canons, is ordered to be placed upon the altar; for, in the second Council of Tours, an. 567, a decree was made^s, that the eucharist should not be kept in the *armarium*, but under the figure of the cross, upon the altar. And so, in process of time, the pyxe took the name of *ciborium*, which originally is an Egyptian name for the ‘husk of a bean,’ as Suicerus^t notes out of Hesychius; and thence used by the Greeks to signify ‘a large cup or bowl,’ broad at the bottom and narrow at the top; and from that resemblance, perhaps, it came also to be the name of this turret, or spiral structure, about the altar.

^q Euseb. lib. vi. c. xlv. (Aug. Taur. p. 276.) Ἐδραμε ὁ παῖς ἐπὶ τὸν πρεσβύτερον· νύξ δὲ ἦν κάκεινος ἡσθίνει· ἀφικέσθαι μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἠδυνήθη . . . βραχὺ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ἐπέδωκεν τῷ παιδαρίῳ, ἀποβρέξαι κελεύσας, καὶ τῷ πρεσβύτῃ κατὰ τοῦ στόματος ἐπιστάξαι.

^r Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. xiii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 485. A.) Ὅταν πάντες μεταλάβωσι καὶ πᾶσαι, λαβόντες οἱ διάκονοι τὰ περισσεύσαντα εἰσφέρētωσαν εἰς τὰ παστοφῶρια.

^s Conc. Turon. II. can. iii. Ut corpus Domini in altari, non in armario, sed sub crucis titulo componatur. So it is read in Crabbe's edition. But others, (Labbe, vol. v. p. 853) instead of ‘armario,’ read ‘in imaginario ordine,’ and explain it by ‘ciborium.’ See Du Fresne, p. 575.

^t Suicer. Thes. Eccles. voce κιβώριον. (vol. ii. p. 100.) Κιβώρια sunt ‘loculi fabarum.’ Ab eorum similitudine κιβώριον Græcis ‘poculi genus,’ scypho simile, quod ab inferiore parte in angustum contrahatur, ut ciborium fabæ Ægyptiæ. Hesychius disertè, κιβώριον, Αἰγύπτῳ ὄνομα, ἐπὶ ποτηρίου.

SECT. XX.—*When first the Figure of the Cross set upon the Altar.*

From the forementioned Canon of the Council of Tours it is plain, that, in the French churches, the figure of the cross was another part of the ornament of the altar; since the eucharist, or sacramental body of Christ, is ordered to be laid under it; but when crosses came first to be set up in churches, is not so easy to be determined. That they were not in use for the three first ages, seems evident enough from the silence of all the writers of those times, and from Eusebius, who has frequent occasion to describe minutely the churches of Constantine and others, but never once mentions a cross erected in them, though he speaks frequently of crosses set up in other public places; as a learned writer ^u has judiciously observed out of him, who thinks they began not to be set up in churches till after the year 340. Chrysostom ^w speaks of the sign of the cross, as used at the Lord's table, in the consecration of priests, and celebration of the eucharist; but that seems to be meant of the transient sign made in the forehead (which St. Austin ^x and the author of the Constitutions ^y speak of likewise), and not of any material cross set upon the

^u Dallæus, de Cultu Relig. lib. v. c. viii. (Genev. 1664. p. 773.) Eusebii tam pertinax de erectis crucis signis silentium, in quibuscumque locis de ecclesiarum structura loquitur, evincit, nulla adhuc istis temporibus (id est, ad annum usque Domini 336) adfigi solita ecclesiis signa crucis. Argumento per se valido vis præterea inde accedit, quod idem scriptor posita, sed in aliis locis communibus et profanis scilicet, a Constantino crucis symbola non tacuit, ut Romæ, 'in urbe media, loco celebri ac multum a populo frequentato,' etc.

^w Chrysost. Demonstr. quod Christus sit Deus, c. ix. tom. v. p. 840, (p. 752, edit. Francof. 1684.) Οὗτος [σταυρός] ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ τραπέζῃ, οὗτος ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἱερῶν χειροτονίαις, οὗτος πάλιν μετὰ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ μυστικὸν δεῖπνον διαλάμπει.

^x August. Tract. cxviii. in Johan. (Bened. vol. iii. part. ii. p. 801. E.) Quid est signum Christi nisi crux Christi? Quod signum nisi adhibeatur, sive frontibus credentium, sive ipsi aquæ ex qua regenerantur, sive oleo quo chrismate unguuntur, sive sacrificio quo aluntur; nihil eorum rite perficitur.

^y Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. xii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 474. B 8.) Εὐξάμενος οὖν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἅμα τοῖς ἱερεῦσι, καὶ λαμπρὰν ἱσθῆτα μετενδύς καὶ στάς πρὸς τῇ θυσιαστηρίῳ τὸ τρόπαιον τοῦ σταυροῦ κατὰ τοῦ μετώπου τῇ χειρὶ ποιησάμενος εἰς πάντας, εἰπάτω, κ. τ. λ.

altar. But Sozomen^a speaks of material crosses lying upon the altar, though not in the time of Constantine (as Gretser^a mistakes, whose error is justly corrected by Valesius^b), but in his own time. And, after him, Evagrius speaks of silver crosses, given by^c Chosroes to one of the churches of Constantinople, to be fixed upon the altar; so that the original of this custom is not to be deduced from Constantine, as many suppose, but from the following ages of the Church.

SECT. XXI.—*Of some other Ornaments and Utensils of the Altar.*

But it is more certain, that the altars were always covered with some decent cloth used for ornament, not for mystery as in after ages. Optatus, pleading against the Donatists, that the altars could not be polluted by the Catholics' touching them (as the Donatists vainly pretended), uses this argument to confute them: that if any thing was polluted it must be the coverings, and not the tables; for every one knew that the tables^d were covered with a linen cloth in time of divine service: so that, while the sacrament was administering, the covering might be touched, but not the table; and, for this reason, they pretended to wash the palls (as he calls them in another place), in order to give^e them an expiation. Victor

^a Sozom. lib. ii. c. iii. (p. 46. B 10.) says of one Probianus that he saw in a vision, Ὡδὲ δὲ ἔχοντι γνώμης, θεία προφανείσα ὅψις εἰδείξε τι σταυροῦ σύμβολον τῶν ἀνακειμένων τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ τῆς ἐνθάδε ἐκκλησίας.

^b Gretser. de Cruce, lib. ii. c. xiii.

^b Vales. in Sozom. lib. ii. c. iii. Cruces argenteas intelligo, quæ in altari ecclesie statui solebant, ut ex hoc loco apparet. . . . Plura vide apud Gretserum in libro ii. de Cruce, cap. xiii.: ubi tamen fallitur, dum scribit Probianum, cujus hic fit mentio, vixisse temporibus Constantini Magni; idque Sozomenum ac Nicephorum tradidisse. Atqui neuter eorum id scripsit.

^c Evagr. lib. vi. c. xxi. (Read. p. 424. C.) Παρ' αὐτὰ οὖν ἐπεμψα τὸν αὐτὸν σταυρὸν, καὶ τὴν τοῦτου τιμὴν ἐν τῷ πανσέπτῳ σου οἴκῳ, κελεύσας ἐκ τῆς τοῦτου τιμῆς δίσκον ἓνα καὶ ποτήριον ἐν γενέσθαι, εἰς λόγον τῶν θείων μυστηρίων· ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ σταυρὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ πηχθῆναι ὀφείλοντα ἐπὶ τῆς τιμῆς τραπέζης, καὶ θυμιατήριον, τὰ πάντα χρυσᾷ.

^d Optat. lib. vi. (Oberthür, p. 99.) Quis fidelium nescit in peragendis mysteriis ipsa ligna lintamine cooperiri? Inter ipsa sacramenta velamen potuit tangi, non lignum. (p. 113, edit. Par. 1679.)

^e Ibid. p. 98. (p. 118.) Lavastis procul dubio pallas, &c.

Uticensis makes a like complaint of one Proculus, an agent of King Geisericus, who having plundered the Catholic churches in Zeugitana, made himself^f a shirt and breeches of the palls of the altar. Isidore, of Pelusium, takes notice also of the *sindon*^g, or 'fine linen,' upon which the body of Christ was consecrated; but sometimes they were of richer materials, and more sumptuous. Palladius speaks^h of some of the Roman ladies, who, renouncing the world, bequeathed their silks to make coverings for the altar; and Theodoretⁱ says of Constantine, that, among other gifts which he bestowed upon his new-built church of Jerusalem, he gave βασιλικά παραπετύσματα, a 'royal pall,' or 'piece of rich tapestry,' for the altar. But that may signify the curtains, or hangings of the *ciborium*, as well as the covering of the altar; and so every utensil, or ornament about the altar, may be supposed to be rich and splendid in such churches as were of a royal foundation. The holy vessels which they made use of to administer the eucharist in, were another part of the ornament of the altar. But the richness of these was not always estimated from the materials they were made of, but from the use they were put to, for the

^f Victor de Persecut. Vandal. lib. i. (Biblioth. Max. V. P. vol. viii. p. 678. F.) (Bibliothec. Patr. tom. vii. p. 1896. E.) Mittit Proculum quendam in provinciam Zeugitanam, qui aretaret ad tradendum ministeria divina vel libros cunctos Donini sacerdotes; ut primo armis nudaret, et ita facilius inermes hostis callidus captivaret. Quibus se non posse tradere clamentibus sacerdotibus, ipse rapaci manu cuncta depopulabatur, atque de pallis altaris (proh nefas!) camisias sibi et femoralia faciebat. Qui tamen Proculus, hujus rei executor, frustatim sibi comedens linguam, in brevi turpissima consumtus est morte.

^g Isidor. Pelus. lib. i. ep. cxxiii. (Paris. 1638. p. 44.) 'Ἡ καθαρὰ σινδὼν, ἡ ὑφαπλουμένη τῇ τῶν θείων δώρων διακονίᾳ, ἡ τοῦ Ἀριμαθέως, ἐστὶν Ἰωσήφ λειτουργία' ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνος, τὸ τοῦ Κυρίου σῶμα σινδόνι ἐνειλῆσας, τῷ τάφῳ παρέπεμψε, δι' οὗ ἅπαν τὸ γένος ἡμῶν τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐκαρπώσατο· οὕτως ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ σινδόνης τὸν ἄρτον τῆς προθέσεως ἀγιάζοντες σῶμα Χριστοῦ ἀδιστάκτως εὐρίσκομεν, ἐκείνην ἡμῖν πηγάζον τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν, ἣν ὁ παρὰ Ἰωσήφ μὲν κηδεύεις, ἐκ νεκρῶν δὲ ἀναστὰς Ἰησοῦς ὁ σωτὴρ ἐχαρίσατο.

^h Pallad. Histor. Lausiac. (tom. ii. Biblioth. Patr. Græco-Lat. p. 1036.) Γημαμένη οὖν δεκατριῶν ἐτῶν, καὶ συζήσασα τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐπτά ἔτη, τῷ εἰκοστῷ ἔτει ἀπετάξατο· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν πάντα αὐτῆς τὰ σερικά ἡμιφόρια καλύμματα τοῖς θυσιαστηρίοις ἰδωρήσατο· τοῦτο δὲ πεποίηκεν καὶ ἡ σεβασμωτάτη Ὀλυμπίας.

ⁱ Theodor. lib. i. c. xxxi. (p. 56. D 6.) Διεκοσμήτο δὲ καὶ τὸ θεῖον θυσιαστήριον βασιλικοῖς τε παραπετάσμασι καὶ κειμηλίοις λιθοκollήτοις χρυσοῖς.

materials were sometimes no better than plain glass or wood. Irenæus^l, and Epiphanius^k after him, speaking of Marcus, the father of the Marcisian heretics, say, "He used a glass cup in the celebration of the eucharist," which is not noted as any singular thing in him; for both Baronius^l and Bona^m think it was then the common custom of the Church. And it is evident it continued in some places to the time of St. Jerome; for he, speaking of Exuperius, bishop of Toulouse, and commending his frugality, tells usⁿ, "that he ministered the body of Christ in a basket of osiers, and the blood in a glass cup." Baronius and Bona will furnish the reader with a great many other instances to the same purpose. I shall only add, that in one of our own synods, here in England, the synod of Calcuth, an. 787, there is a canon^o which forbids the use of horn cups in the celebration of the eucharist, which seems to imply that they were in use before. But yet, I must note, that it was

^l Iren. lib. i. c. ix. [Not. de poculis quidem hic aliquid, sed de vitreis nihil invenio. *Grisch.*]

^k Epiphani. Hæres. xxxiv. n. i. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 233.) Φασὶ τρία ποτήρια λευκῆς ὑάλου παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐτοιμάζεσθαι, κεκραμένα λευκῷ οἶνῳ· καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπιτελουμένῃ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιδῶν τῇ νομιζομένῃ εὐχαριστίᾳ, μεταβάλλεσθαι εὐθὺς, τὸ μὲν ἱερὸν ὡς αἷμα, τὸ δὲ πορφύρεον, τὸ δὲ κῦάνεον.

^l Baron. an. 216, n. xiii. (Lucæ, vol. ii. p. 445.) 'Ego ejus pastoris scripturam haurio, quæ non potest frangi : plane significans ea allusione, calices illos fuisse vitreos; sed et patenas quoque ministeriales fuisse vitreas, ejusdem Zephyrini Pontificis decretum ostendit. At de antiquo et diu perseverante calicis vitrei usu, plura diximus in notationibus ad Romanum Martyrologium, &c.

^m Bona, Rer. Liturg. p. 465. lib. i. xxv. n. i. Ex qua materia primis ecclesiæ sæculis fabricari solerit (calix), heic primo loco investigandum est. In Concilio Triburiensi sub Formoso, c. xviii., celebre apophthegma refertur S. Bonifacii episcopi Moguntini: 'Vasa quibus sacrosancta conficiuntur mysteria, calices sunt et patenæ, de quibus Bonifacius martyr et episcopus interrogatus, si liceret in VASCULIS LIGNEIS sacramenta conficere, respondit: Quondam sacerdotes aurei LIGNEIS CALICIBUS utebantur, nunc e contra lignei sacerdotes aureis utuntur calicibus.' . . . Fuisse in aliqua ecclesia calicem ligneum, vel propter rerum penuriam vel propter incuriam sacerdotum, non inficior. . . . Fuerunt et calices vitrei, qui procul dubio mundiores et decentiores erant, et ideo antiquior et frequentior eorum usus.

ⁿ Hieron. Epist. iv. ad Rustic. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 947.) (p. 41, edit. Paris. 1643.) Nihil illo ditius, qui Corpus Domini canistro vimineo, sanguinem portat in vitro.

^o Synod. Calcuthens. c. x. apud Spelman. Concil. Britan. tom. i. p. 295. Vetuinus etiam, ne de cornu bovis calix aut patina fieret ad sacrificandum, quod de sanguine sunt.

commonly necessity that drove the Church to use vessels of such ordinary materials, either when she laboured under extreme poverty, or thought fit to dispose of her silver and gold plate for the redemption of captives, or the relief of the poor, of which I have given a great many instances^p in another place; which show, that the Church had her vessels of silver and gold: else she could not have melted them down for such pious uses. Nay, even in times of persecution, when there was some danger of being plundered and despoiled, the wealthier Churches had their sacred vessels of silver and gold. This is evident from what Prudentius observes in the Roman Church in the time of Laurentius, the martyr, who suffered in the persecution of Valerian. It was part of his crime, that he would not deliver up the golden plate^q, in which they were used to celebrate their sacred mysteries. And that we may not think he spake only with a poetical flourish, we may see the same thing observed by Optatus of the Church of Carthage, in the Diocletian persecution; for when Mensarius, the bishop, was forced to go to Rome to have his trial there, he was at some loss^r what to do with the plate, and other silver and gold ornaments of the church, which he could neither hide in the earth, nor carry with him. At last, he comes to this resolution, to leave them with the elders of the Church, first taking an inventory of them, which he gave to a deaconess, with these instructions, that, if he never returned, she should, when times of peace returned, give it to the person whom she found seated on the bishop's throne, which she did as soon as Cæcilian was chosen bishop; who, calling upon the elders to deliver up their trust, they having embezzled the things, denied that ever they had received them; and, to be revenged of Cæcilian,

^p See book v. chap. vi. sect. vi.

^q Prud. *περί στεφάνων*, hymn. ii. vv. 65, seq. (Bibl. V. P. vol. viii. p. 437.)

Hunc esse vestris orgiis
Moremque et artem proditum est;
Hanc disciplinam foederis,
Libent ut auro antistites.
Argenteis scyphis ferunt
Fumare sacrum sanguinem, etc.

^r Optat. lib. i. (Oberthür, 1789. p. 13.) (p. 41, edit. Paris. 1631.) (p. 19, edit. Par. 1679.) Erant ecclesiæ ex auro et argento quamplurima ornamenta, quæ nec defodere terræ nec secum portare poterat, etc.

they joined with his antagonists, Botrus and Celeusius, who were competitors with Cæcilian for the bishopric, and the first authors of the schism of the Donatists. What this inventory contained we may judge by another, about the same time given up to the persecutors by Paul, bishop of Cirta, who was of those called 'traditors' upon that account. There we find two* gold cups, six silver cups, six silver water-pots, a silver *cucumellum* (which I take to be a 'flagon' or 'bowl'), seven silver lamps, &c. : all which were vessels or utensils belonging to the service of the church and the altar; for as they had vessels for the wine, so they had vessels also for the water, which, in those days, was always mingled with the wine, and was used also for washing their hands in the time of the oblation, of which customs it will be more proper to speak in another place. These vessels (we here see) were of silver, in the church of Cirta, as well as others. Their candlesticks or lamps were of the like precious substance, and some golden, as Prudentius[†] represents them, when he brings in the tyrant demanding of Laurentius, the Roman deacon, the golden lamps which they used in their night assemblies. These are frequently mentioned by Athanasius[‡] and the Apostolical Constitutions[§], which allow oil to be offered for the lamps. Paulinus also[¶] and St. Jerome[‡] speak of them, and seem to

* *Gesta Purgat. Cæciliani.* (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1444. C 9.) Calices duo aurei : item calices sex argentei ; urceola sex argentea : cucumellum argenteum : lucernæ argenteæ septem : cereofala duo, etc.

† Prudent. de Coron. hymn. ii. v. 71. See note (p).

Auroque nocturnis sacris

Adstare fixos cereos.

‡ Athan. Ep. ad Orthodox. (tom. i. p. 946, edit. Paris. 1627.) (p. 114, edit. Par. 1698.) Τὰς λυχνίας παρ' αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ τοιχείῳ ἀπειθισαν, τοὺς κηρύλλους τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῖς εἰδώλοις ἀνῆπτον.

§ Can. Apost. c. iii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 26.) Μὴ ἐξὸν ἔστω προσάγεσθαι τι ἕτερον εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ἢ ἔλαιον εἰς τὴν λυχνίαν, καὶ θυμίαμα τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἁγίας προσφορᾶς.

¶ Paulin. Natal. iii. S. Felicis (Biblioth. M. V. Patr. vol. vii. p. 273. D.)

Clara coronantur densis altaria lychnis :

Lumina ceratis adolentur odora papyris.

Nocte dieque micant : sic nox splendore diei .

Fulget : et ipsa dies, cœlesti illustris honore,

Plus micat innumeris lucem geminata lucernis.

‡ Hieron. Ep. liii. Accensique ante eorum tumulos cerei, idololatriæ insignia, sunt ! etc.

intimate that, in their time, they were lighted by day as well as by night, which was an innovation upon the old custom: for the first and primitive use of them was owing to necessity, when Christians were forced to meet in nocturnal assemblies, for fear of persecution, at which time they did not allow or approve of lighting them by day. Nor does St. Jerome^y say, "there was any order of the Church, or so much as general custom, to authorize it;" but only it was tolerated in some places, to satisfy the ignorance, and weakness, and simplicity, of some secular men; and all he pretends to offer in justification of it, is only, that there was no idolatry in it, as Vigilantius had heavily laid the charge upon it. However, there was this difference between the age of St. Jerome and those which went before, that the former ages positively condemn it; for, not to mention what Lactantius^z and others say, to expose the like custom among the heathens, the Council of Eliberis expressly forbids it in a very plain canon^a, though the reason be something dark that is given for the prohibition: "Let no one presume to set up lights in the day-time in any cemetery or church; for the spirits of the saints are not to be molested." I shall not now stand to inquire into the meaning of this reason—it is sufficient that the thing was then prohibited in plain terms; from whence it is evident the contrary custom must be new, though prevailing both in the east and west in the time of Paulinus and St. Jerome. Some, also, plead hard for the antiquity of censers and incense, deriving them down from apostolical custom and practice. So Cardinal Bona^b and others of the Romish Church; but there are no footsteps of these

^y Hieron. cont. Vigilant. (tom. ii. p. 123, edit. Basil. 1565.) Aliqui propter imperitiam et simplicitatem sæcularium hominum . . . hoc pro honore martyrum faciunt.

^z Lactant. lib. vi. c. ii. (Oberthür, vol. i. p. 365.) Mactant opimas et pingues hostias Deo, quasi esurienti; profundunt vina, quasi sitiendi; accendunt lumina, quasi in tenebris agenti.

^a Conc. Illib. c. xxxiv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 974.)

^b Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. i. c. xxv. n. ix. (Antverp. 1677. p. 474.) Turibulum sive thymiamaterium, quod etiam 'suffitorium' dicitur ab Anastasio, vas est, in quo tura et varii odores incenduntur in solemnī oblatione, idque ex apostolica traditione, et Mosaicæ legis exemplo. Nulla est ecclesiastica cærimonia, cujus crebrior mentio fiat in antiquis et recentioribus omnium gentium liturgiis, quam turis et thymiamatis, quod sæpe inter sacrificandum adoletur.

things in the three first ages of the Church. The Canons under the name of the 'Apostles,' indeed^c, mention incense in the time of the oblation; but it still remains a question, whether those Canons belong to any of the three first ages. Hippolytus Portuensis is another author produced by a learned person^d of our own Church in this cause. But, besides that his authority is as questionable as the former, all that he says may be interpreted to a spiritual or figurative sense; for, speaking of the times of Antichrist, and the desolations of the Church in those days, he says, "The Church shall mourn with a very great mourning, because her oblation and incense is not duly^e performed;" which may mean no more than the liturgy, or service of the Church, will be abolished: for the prayers and worship of the saints are called the 'Christian incense' (Rev. v. 8): and so, I think, we are to understand those words of St. Ambrose^f also; who, speaking of the angel's appearing to Zacharias, standing on the right side of the altar of incense, says, "I wish the angel may stand by us, when we incense the altar, and offer our sacrifice; yea, doubtless, the angel stands by us at the time that Christ stands there, and is offered upon the altar." Here I take it, the sacrificing of Christ, and the incensing of the altar, are both of the same nature, that is, spiritual and mystical; and, therefore, hence nothing can be concluded for the use of incense and censers, in the most strict and literal sense, as yet, in the Christian Church. Neither do we find any mention made of censers in any part of the Constitutions under the name of the

^c Can. Apostol. c. iii. *Θυμίαμα τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἁγίας προσφορᾶς*. See note (v).

^d Bever. Cod. Can. Vindicat. lib. ii. c. ii. n. v. (in Append. ad Cotel. Patr. Apostol. tom. ii. p. 87, Antwerp. 1698, fol.) Immo quidem Hippolytus Portuensis Episcopus, Clementis Alexandrini discipulus, ac propterea ejusdem fere ac Tertullianus ætatis, in Oratione de Consummatione Mundi disertissimam hujus rei mentionem facit, *πενθοῦσαι δὲ ἐκκλησίαι πίνθος μέγα, διότι οὕτε προσφορὰ οὕτε θυμίαμα ἐκτελείται*, κ. τ. λ.

^e Hippol. de Consum. Mundi (Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. tom. ii. p. 357.) Note, the words are not in the genuine Hippolytus published by Combefis, 'Auctario Novissimo.'

^f Ambros. Com. in Luc. i. 11, p. 599. (Paris. 1836, vol. . p. 433.) Utinam nobis quoque adolentibus altaria, sacrificium deferentibus, assistat angelus, imo præbeat se videndum. Non enim dubites assistere angelum, quando Christus assistit, quando Christus immolatur.

‘Apostles;’ which is an argument, that when the author of those Collections wrote, they were not yet become utensils of the altar, as they were when Evagrius^g wrote his history; for he mentions golden censers, as well as golden crosses, given by Chosroes to the Church of Constantinople. By which we may guess, that crosses and censers were the product of one and the same age, and came into the Church together. Images and relics upon the altar are usages also of later ages; and so are many utensils of the present Greeks, as the *lancea*, *asteriscus*, *dicerion*, *tricerion*, and *cochlear*; which, Bona^h says, were never known in the Latin Church, much less in the ancient Church. So I shall not stand to explain them, nor say any thing here of the Bible, the diptychs, and their ritual books, which were both utensils and ornaments of the altar, because these will be spoken of in other places. The *altare portatile*, or ‘moveable altars’ of the Latins, and the *antimensia*, or ‘consecrated cloths’ of the Greeks, to be used in places which have no altars, I omit likewise, as being a modern invention of later ages. Habertusⁱ, indeed, is very solicitous to have their portable altars thought as old as St. Basil, because St. Basil, in one of his epistles, speaks of ἱδιαί τράπεζαι, ‘private tables,’ in some churches. But he wholly mistakes his author’s meaning: for he is only speaking of the rudeness of some heretics, who, according to their usual custom, pulled down the Catholic altars, and set up their own altars or tables in the room; so that it is not those portable altars he is discouraging of, but heretical altars set up in opposition to the

^g Evagr. lib. vi. c. xxi. Καὶ θυμιατήριον, τὰ πάντα χρυσᾶ. See note (c) at page 457.

^h Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. i. c. xxv. n. vi. (Antverp. 1677. p. 472.) Alia quedam sacri ministerii instrumenta habent Græci, Latinis ignota, nempe ‘lanceam’ sive gladiolum, lanceæ figuram habentem, qua hostiam consecrandam ab integra panis massa secant. ‘Asteriscum,’ qui duobus arcubus constat radiis ad instar stellæ fultis, quo hostias consecrandas cooperiunt, ne vela eas tangant, et ordinem particularem turbent. ‘Dicerion,’ quod est cereus bisulcus; et ‘tricerion,’ quod est cereus trisulcus, quibus episcopus celebrans sæpe populo benedicit, et utrumque frequenter manibus gestat. ‘Cochlear’ ab ipsis ‘labida’ dictum, quo utuntur ad communionem fidelibus porrigendam.

ⁱ Habert. Archierat. p. 664. Portatilia illa altaria videntur dici a Basilio ἱδιαί τράπεζαι, ep. lxxii.

Catholics, which Habertus would hardly own to be the altars of the Romish Church. Durantus^l and Bona^k do not pretend to find them in any author before the time of Bede and Charles the Great; and therefore we may conclude they were a modern invention. But the *ρίπίδια*, or *flabella*, are somewhat more ancient, being mentioned by the author of the Constitutions^l; who makes it one part of the deacon's office, in the time of the oblation, to stand on each side of the altar; and with these instruments in their hands ('brushes' or 'fans,' we may English them,) to drive away all such little insects as might drop into the cups or infest the altar. The author of the *Fasti Siculi*, or *Chronicon Alexandrinum*^m, calls them *τίμια*

^l Durant. de Ritib. Eccles. lib. i. c. xxv. n. vii. (Paris. 1632. p. 272.) Vitus Amerbachius ad finem Constitutionum Caroli Magni, testatur se vidisse in monasterio S. Emerami altare, quo Carolus Magnus in castris utebatur.

^k Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. i. c. xx. n. ii. (p. 417.) Sunt et alia altaria portatilia et motoria; quæ episcopi iter agentes secum olim ferebant, ut in his possent extra ecclesiam in locis ab ea remotis celebrare. Horum meminit Vener. Beda, lib. v. Hist. c. xi. et Hincmarus Remensis in Capitulis editis anno 12 sui episcopatus, hoc de illis sancivit: 'Nemo presbyterorum in altari ab episcopo non consecrato cantare præsumat. Quæ propter si necessitas poposcerit, donec ecclesia vel altaria consecrentur, et in Capellis etiam, quæ consecrationem non merentur, tabulam quisque presbyter, cui necessarium fuerit, de marmore vel nigra petra, aut litio honestissimo, secundum suam possibilitatem, honeste adfectatam habeat, et nobis ad consecrandum adferat, quam secum quum expedierit, deferat, in qua sacra mysteria secundum ritum ecclesiasticum agere valeat.' Ex hoc decreto palam fit, quinam veteri ritu altaris portatilis usus sit; nimirum quum in altaribus fixis nondum consecratis, vel in oratoriis privatis, quæ consecrari nec solent nec debent, celebrandum est. Ipsa vero privata oratoria in domibus principum et nobilium virorum permittuntur, ut notissimum est: et de iis canonicæ sanctiones insertæ sunt Capitularibus Caroli Magni, lib. vi. cap. ci. et ccv. et lib. vii. cap. cccxix. prohibetur, ne missæ celebrantur in locis non consecratis et incongruentibus, nisi causa hostilitatis et longinqui itineris; et id in altaribus, ab episcopo consecratis, etc.

^l Constit. Apostol. lib. viii. c. xii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 474. B 4.) Δύο δὲ διάκονοι ἐξ ἐκατέρων τῶν μερῶν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου κατεχέτωσαν ἐξ ὑμένων λεπτῶν ῥιπίδιον, ἢ πτερῶν ταῦνος, ἢ ὀθόνης· καὶ ἡρέμα ἀποσοβέτωσαν τὰ μικρὰ τῶν ἵπταμένων ζώων, ὅπως ἀν μὴ ἐγχερίπτωνται εἰς τὰ κύπελλα.

^m Chron. Alexandr. p. 892, edit. Monach. 1615. 4to. (alias Chron. Paschale inter Scriptores Byzantin. p. 390. D. edit. Paris. 1688. fol.) Τοῦτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἡμεῖς Ἀρτεμισίῳ, κατὰ Ῥωμαίους Μαίῳ τῆς ιβ' ἰνδικτιῶνος, ἐπὶ Σεργίου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ἐπεινοήθη ψάλλεσθαι μετὰ τὸ μεταλαβεῖν πάντας τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων, ἐν τῇ μέλλειν τοὺς κληρικὸς ἐπὶ τὸ σκευοφυλάκιον ἀποκαθιστάναι τὰ τίμια ῥιπίδια, δισκάρια, καὶ ποτήρια, καὶ ἄλλα ἱερὰ σκεύη, κ. τ. λ.

ῥιπίδια, and reckons them among the holy utensils of the altar, which were laid up among the rest, in the *sceuphyllacium*, or, 'vestry' of the church; for which reason I thought it not improper to mention them, whilst we are speaking of the utensils of the altar.

SECT. XXII.—*Of the Oblationarium, or Prothesis.*

In many churches, besides the communion-table, in one of the lesser recesses or conchas of the *δωμα*, there was a place where the offerings of the people were received, out of which the bread and wine was taken that was consecrated at the altar. In the liturgies, under the name of Chrysostom^a and St. James^o, and other modern Greek writers, this is called *πρόθεσις*, and *παρατάπεζον*, the 'side-table.' In the *Ordo Romanus*, it has the name of *oblationarium* and *prothesis* also; for the one is made the explication of the other. And here also it is termed *paratorium*, because, when the offerings were received, preparation was made out of them for the eucharist. There is little question to be made but that the ancient churches had something answerable to this, but it went under other names; for we never meet with a *prothesis* or *paratorium*, or *oblationarium*, in express terms, in any ancient writer. But the thing itself we often find. Cyprian^p seems to speak of it under the borrowed name of the *corban*, rebuking a rich and wealthy matron for coming to celebrate the eucharist without any regard to the *corban*, and partaking of the Lord's Supper without any sacrifice of her own, but rather eating of the oblations which the poor had brought. In the fourth

^a Chrysostom. Liturg. (Biblioth. Patr. Gr.-Lat. tom. ii. p. 74.) Πληρωθείσης τῆς εὐχῆς, εὐχονται ὁμοῦ τὸν χειρουβικὸν ὕμνον, καὶ τρεῖς ἐν τῇ λέγειν αὐτὸν προσκυνοῦντες· εἰτα καὶ τὸν πεντηκοστὸν ψαλμὸν μυστικῶς· καὶ προσκυνοῦντες τρεῖς, ἀπέρχονται ἐν τῇ προθείσει, προπορευομένου τοῦ διακόνου μετὰ θυμιάματος, κ. τ. λ.

^o Missa Jacobi, p. 21. Καὶ ὅτε μέλλει ὁ διάκονος τιθεῖν εἰς τὸ παρατάπεζον, λέγει ὁ ἱερεὺς· Εὐλόγητὸν τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.—Ibid. Καὶ πάλιν ὅτε ἐπαίρει τὸν δίσκον ἀπὸ τοῦ παρατραπέζου, λέγει, Κύριε, εὐλόγησον.

^p Cyp. de Opere et Eleemos. (Bened. p. 242.) (p. 203, edit. Rigalt. Par. 1648.) Locuples et dives es; et dominicum celebrare te credis, quæ [corban] corbonam omnino non respicis; quæ in dominicum sine sacrificio venis; quæ partem de sacrificio, quod pauper obtulit, sumis.

Council^a of Carthage this place goes by the general name of the *sacrarium* or 'sanctuary,' as being that part of the sanctuary where the oblations for the altar were received. For they had two repositories for the offerings of the people; the one without the church, called the *gazophylacium* or 'treasury;' and the other within the church, which was this *sacrarium* or *corban*. And therefore it is that that Council forbids the offerings of such Christians as were at variance one with another, to be received either in the treasury or the sanctuary. Paulinus is more exact in describing this place than any other ancient writer, yet he gives it a different name, calling it one of the *secretariums* of the church. For he tells us^r there were two *secretariums*, one on the right hand, and the other on the left hand, of the altar. That on the right hand was the same with the *prothesis* or *paratorium* we are speaking of; and the use of it he describes in these verses which is set over it:

Hic locus est veneranda penus qua conditur, et qua
Promitur alma sacri pompa ministerii.

'This is the place where the holy food is repositied, and whence we take provision and furniture for the altar.' That on the other side was the same with the *diaconium bematis*; the use of which he describes in part, in these two other verses, set over it also:

Si quem sancta tenet meditandi in lege voluntas,
Hic poterit residens sanctis intendere libris.

"If any one," that is, any of the priests, "whose apartment this was, is minded to meditate in the law of God, here he has room to sit and read the holy books." A little before^s, he makes the like description of these two secret apartments in prose, telling us that the one was the place which 'prepared'

^a Conc. Carth. IV. can. xciii. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 1207. B.) Oblationes dissidentium fratrum neque in sacrario, neque in gazophylacio recipiantur.

^r Paulin. Epist. xii. ad Sever. p. 154, edit. Antverp. 1622, 8vo. (p. 193, in Bibl. Patr. tom. vi. Lugd. 1677.)

^s Paulin. Epist. xii. ad Sever. p. 152, (p. 193. E 7.) Quum duabus dextra lævaque conchulis intra spatiosum sui ambitum aspis sinuata laxetur, una earum immolanti hostias jubilationis antistiti patet; altera post sacerdotem capaci sinu receptat orantes.

the host of oblation of joy for the priest ; whence doubtless, in after ages, as I noted before, it got the name of *paratorium*; and the other was a place whither the clergy retired after the sacrifice was ended, and the people were dismissed to make their concluding prayers in private.

SECT. XXIII.—*Of the Sceuophylacium, or Diaconicum Bematis.*

This latter place was a sort of vestry within the church, whither the deacons brought the vestments and vessels, and utensils belonging to the altar, out of the greater *diaconicum*, to be in a readiness for divine service. And, in this respect, it had also the name of *σκευοφυλάκιον*, the ‘ repository of the sacred utensils ;’ because hither they were carried back immediately by the deacons as soon as the service was ended, or whilst the post-communion-psalm was singing by the people, as the author of the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* represents it. Here the priests also put on their robes they used to officiate in. And hither they came again when the public service was ended, to make their private addresses to God, as has been noted already out of Paulinus; and in the liturgies ascribed to St. James, St. Mark^u, St. Chrysostom, there are the forms of prayer appointed to be used in this place ; one of which, particularly in St. James’s Liturgy, is ushered in with this title or

^t Chron. Alexandr. p. 892. (p. 390, edit. Paris.) Ἐπενοήθη ψάλλεσθαι μετὰ τὸ μεταλαβεῖν πάντας τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων, ἐν τῷ μέλλειν τοὺς κληρικούς ἐπὶ τὸ σκευοφυλάκιον ἀποκαθιστάναι τὰ τίμια ῥιπίδια, δισκάρια, καὶ ποτήρια, καὶ ἄλλα ἱερὰ σκεύη, μετὰ τὸ ἐκ τῶν παρατραπεζίων τὴν διάδοσιν ἀποτεθῆναι πάντα εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν τράπεζαν, καὶ ψαλθῆναι τὸν τελευταῖον στίχον τοῦ κοινωνικοῦ, λέγεσθαι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ τροπάριον, Πληρωθῆτω τὸ στόμα ἡμῶν αἰνίσεως, Κύριε, ὅπως ἀνυμνήσωμεν τὴν δόξαν σου, ὅτι ἡξίωσας ἡμᾶς τῶν ἁγίων σου μετασχεῖν μυστηρίων. Τήρησον ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ σὺ ἁγιασμῷ, ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν μελετῶντας τὴν δικαιοσύνην σου. Ἀλληλούια.—Vid. Coteler. Not. in Constitut. Apostol. lib. vii. c. xii. tom. i. p. 398, n. 65.

^u Liturg. Marci. (Bibl. Patr. Gr.-Lat. tom. ii. p. 41. C.) Ὁ ἱερεὺς εὐχεταὶ ἐν τῷ διακονικῷ λέγων, Ἐδωκας ἡμῖν δέσποτα τὸν ἁγιασμὸν ἐν τῇ μετουσίᾳ τοῦ παναγίου σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, κ. τ. λ. —Liturg. Chrysostom. ibid. p. 88. Εἰ δὲ ἐστὶ διάκονος, ὁ αὐτὸς ποιεῖ· ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς ἀπέρχεται ἐν τῷ σκευοφυλακίῳ, καὶ ἐκδύει ἑαυτὸν, λέγων τρίς τὸ Ἅγιος ὁ Θεός· καὶ τὸ Παναγία τριάς· καὶ τὸ Πάτερ ἡμῶν· τότε λέγει τὸ ἀπολυτικὸν τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, κ. τ. λ.

rubric ^w,—"The prayer to be said in the *sceuoptylacium*, after the dismissal of the people." The deacons commonly had the care of this place, and thence it is often called the *diaconicum*, and *bematis diaconicum*, to distinguish it from another *diaconicum*, which we shall find in the next chapter, among the *exedrae*, or 'outer buildings of the church.' Du Fresne ^x thinks, also, that the name *diaconicum* was sometimes more peculiarly given to that part of the *bema*, or 'chancel,' which was between the veils of the chancel and the veils of the *ciborium*, or 'altar;' and that the place within the veils of the altar was distinguished particularly by the name of *presbyterium*, because it was the place of the presbyters, as the other was the place of the deacons; alleging for this a canon of the

^w Liturg. Jacobi. (Bibl. Patr. Gr.-Lat. tom. i. c. p. 23.) Εὐχή λεγομένη ἐν τῷ σκευοφυλακίῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν.

^x Du Fresn. Com. in Paul. Silent. 225. Non desunt, qui totum bematis extra altaris vela, atque adeo extra majorem concham spatium, 'diaconicum' appellatum volunt: quod quum intra vela seu *παραπέτασμα* solis sacerdotibus consistere liceret, quæ bematis pars inde *ἱερατεῖον* proprie dicta est, reliqua diaconis permissa esset, ut qui ad utramque conchulam, 'prothesin' scilicet et 'diaconicum,' pro officii ratione pergendi, et in iis consistendi necesse haberent. Nam Symeon Thessalonicensis (lib. de Templo) ait, nulli licere in sacro synthrono sedere, præterquam sacerdotibus, ac ne ipsis quidem diaconis, quibus alius attributus est locus, ὃς ἀκολουθῶς ὠνόμασται διακονικόν, ἐνθα καὶ καθῆσθαι τούτοις οὐκ ἀκόλουτον, 'diaconicum' nempe locus sic dictus, in quo considerare eis licitum sit. Huic quidem sententiæ nescio an faveat Lexicon Gr. MS. quod exstat in Bibl. Reg. Cod. 2062: ubi *παραπέτασμα τὸ διακονικόν, τὸ παρακάλυμμα*, esse dicitur: videtur enim *διακονικόν* appellari velum altaris; quasi totum bematis spatium, quod extra vela altaris patet, diaconicum sit, et quia in eo et consistere et progredi, pro functionis suæ ratione, non autem sacrarium ingredi illis liceret: quemadmodum subdiaconis eadem bematis spatia: quum subdiaconi et lectores in solea extra bematis cancellos consistentent, ut docet idem Thessalonicensis. Atque inde colligitur, quid statuatur canon xxi. Synodi Laodicenæ, dum ait: οὐ δεῖ ὑπηρετὰς χώραν ἔχειν ἐν τῷ διακονικῷ, id enim solis diaconis licebat. Ita porro hunc canonem capiendum par est credere, etsi Balsamon et Zonaras diaconicum, de munere diaconi interpretati sint. Priori sane sententiæ favet Isidorus Mercator, qui *διακονικόν*, 'secretarium' vertit: 'Secretarium,' inquit, 'quod Græci diaconicum vocant:' quæ totidem verbis habeatur in Concilio Agathensi, can. lxvi. ita ut per 'secretarium,' conchulam intellexerit, quam Græci 'diaconicum' nuncupant; quæ a diaconis in ea ministrantibus nomen sumpsit, uti observavimus. Nam vix est simile vero, diaconicum pro exedra extra ædem ita nuncupata sumi debere; quum et in ea quibusvis ecclesiæ ministris consistere fas esset, et ex ea clerici omnes ad altare procederent.

Council of Laodicea^γ, which others understand in a different sense^z for the whole chancel, or sanctuary of the church.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE BAPTISTERY AND OTHER OUTER BUILDINGS, CALLED THE EXEDRÆ OF THE CHURCH.

SECT. I.—*Baptisteries anciently buildings distinct from the Church.*

WE have hitherto taken a view of the several parts of the ancient churches within the walls: it now remains that we consider a little such buildings as were distinct from the main body, and yet within the bounds of the church, taken in the largest sense, which buildings are all comprised under one general name of the *exedræ* of the church. For Eusebius, speaking of the Church of Paulinus, at Tyre, says, “When that curious artist had finished his famous structure within, he then set himself about the *exedræ*, or buildings^a that joined one to another by the sides of the church.” By which buildings, he tells us, he chiefly meant the place which was for the use of those who needed the purgation and sprinkling of water, and the Holy Ghost; that is, doubtless, the baptistery of the church. He describes the church of Antioch, built by Constantine, after the same manner, telling us, “that it was surrounded with *exedræ*^b, and buildings that had

^γ Concil. Laodic. can. xxi. (tom. i. Conc. p. 1500.) “Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ὑπηρέτας ἔχειν χώραν ἐν τῇ διακονικῇ, καὶ ὑποτεταμένους δεσποτικῶν σκευῶν.

^z See before, sect. iv. of this chapter.

^a Euseb. lib. x. c. iv. (Reading's ed. Aug. Taur. p. 421. A 2.) Τόδε γοῦν λίθινον μαρμάρειον εὖ μάλα κόσμησεν παντὶ λαμπρύνας, ἥδη λοιπὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς τοῦ νεῶς μετῆεν· ἐξείδρας καὶ οἴκους τοὺς παρ' ἑκάτερα μεγίστους ἐπισκευάζων εὐτέχνως, ἐπὶ ταῦτόν τινος πλεονεξία τῇ βασιλείᾳ συνεζευγμένους, καὶ ταῖς ἐπὶ τὸν μέσον οἶκον εἰσβολαῖς ἡνωμένους· ἃ καὶ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἐν τῇ καθάρσει καὶ περιβόαντι τῶν διὰ ὕδατος καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐγγυρῶνται, ὁ εἰρηνηκώτατος Σολομὼν ὁ τὸν νεῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ δεινός ἀπειρογάγος.

^b Euseb. de Vit. Constant. lib. iii. c. 1. (Cantabr. 1720. p. 605. 39.) Μακροῖς μὲν ἐξωθεν περιβάλλοις τὸν πάντα νεῶν περιλαβὼν· εἰσω δὲ, τὸν εὐκτῆριον οἶκον εἰς ἀμήχανον ἐπάρας ὕψος· ἐν δεκαεῖδρου μὲν συνεστῶτα σχήματι οἴκους

lower and upper stories in them." So that, as Valesius and other critics have rightly observed, *exedra* is a general name for any buildings that stand round about the church. And hence it is easy to conclude that the baptistery, which Eusebius reckons the chief of the *exedræ*, was anciently a building without the walls of the church. Which observation, because I find it questioned by some who place the font, after the modern way, in the *narthex* of the ancient churches, it will not be improper here to confirm by a few plain instances out of other authors. Paulinus, bishop of Nola, setting forth the great munificence of his friend, Severus, says, "He built two churches and a baptistery between them^c both. And so Cyril, of Jerusalem, describes the baptistery as a building by itself, which had, first^d, its *προαύλιον οἶκον*, that is, 'its porch' or 'ante-room,' where the catechumens made their renunciation of Satan, and confession of faith; and then its *ἑσώτερον οἶκον*, its 'inner room^e,' where the ceremony of baptism was performed. Sidonius Apollinaris also speaks of it^f as a distinct building; and St. Austin seems to intimate^g that there were distinct apartments in it for men and women likewise; which, perhaps, is the reason why St. Ambrose speaks of it in the plural, styling it^h 'the baptisteries of the church.' In the time of Justin Martyr and Tertullian, we

δὲ πλείοσιν, ἐξέδραις τε ἐν κύλῳ, ὑπερῶν τε καὶ καταγείων χωρημάτων ἀπανταχόθεν περιεστοιχισμένον.

^c Paulin. Epist. xii. ad Sever. (Bibl. M. V. P. vol. v. p. 191. B 4.) Tu vero etiam baptisterium basilicis duabus interpositum condidisti, ut nos in horum quoque operum, quæ visibiliter exstruuntur, ædificatione superares.

^d Cyr. Catech. Mystag. i. n. ii. (Bened. 1763. p. 306.) Εἰσῆγείτε πρῶτον εἰς τὸν προαύλιον τοῦ βαπτιστηρίου οἶκον· καὶ πρὸς τὰς δυσμὰς ἐστῶτες ἠκούσατε καὶ προσετάττεσθε ἐκτείνειν τὴν χεῖρα, καὶ ὡς παρόντι ἀπετάττεσθε τῷ Σατανᾷ.

^e Ibid. Mystag. ii. n. i. Διὰ τοῦτο ἀναγκαίως ὑμῖν παραθήσομαι τὰ ἐξῆς τῆς χθεσινῆς μυσταγωγίας, ἵνα μάθητε τίνων ἦν σύμβολα τὰ ἐφ' ὧμων ἐν τῷ ἑσωτέρῳ οἴκῳ γινόμενα.

^f Sidon. lib. iv. ep. xv. (Bibl. M. V. P. vol. vi. p. 1097.) Baptisterium, quod olim fabricabamini, scribitis, jam posse consecrari.

^g Augustin. de Civit. Dei, lib. xxii. c. viii. In parte feminarum observanti ad baptisterium, etc.

^h Ambros. Ep. xxxiii. (Benedict. 1690. vol. ii. p. 853. B 5.) Symbolum ali- quibus competentibus in baptisteriis tradebam basilicæ.

are not certain that the Church had any of these baptisteries ; but this is past all doubt, however, from their authority, that the place of baptism was not in the church, but somewhere distinct from it ; for Tertullian, speaking of the ceremonies of baptism, says, " It was their custom to renounce the devil, and his pomp, and his angels, first in the church, and then¹ again when they came to the water ;" which implies that the place of baptism was without the church. And so Justin Martyr^k represents it, when he speaks of carrying the catechumen to the place where there was water ; which, perhaps, was unlimited in those days ; " it being an indifferent thing," as Tertullian^l words it, " whether a man was baptized in the sea or in a lake, in a river or in a fountain, in Jordan or in Tiber, as St. Peter and St. John baptized their converts." So that the first ages all agreed in this, that whether they had baptisteries or not, the place of baptism was always without the church. And, after this manner, baptisteries continued to the sixth age ; as appears from what Durantus observes, out of Gregory^m of Tours, that he speaks of baptisteries still without the walls of the church, though some now be taken into the church-porch, as that wherein he saysⁿ, Remigius baptized

ⁱ Tertul. de Coron. Mil. c. iii. (Paris. 1675. p. 102. A 2.) Aquam adituri ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius in ecclesia sub antistitis manu contestamur nos renunciare diabolo, et pompæ, et angelis ejus.

^k Justin. Apol. i. (Benedict. 1742. p. 79. D 8.) "Ἐπειτα ἄγονται ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ἐνθα ὕδωρ ἐστὶ, καὶ τρόπον ἀναγεννήσεως, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀναγεννήθημεν.

^l Tertul. de Bapt. c. iv. (p. 225. C. 3.) Nulla distinctio est, mari quis an stagno, flumine an fonte, lacu an alveo diluatur : nec quicquam refert inter eos quos Ioannes in Jordane, et quos Petrus in Tiberi tinxit.

^m Durant. de Ritib. Eccles. lib. i. c. xix. n. iv. (Paris. 1632. p. 125.) Primum ingressi estis in porticum baptisterii. Gregor. Turon. lib. vi. Histor. c. xi. Ad baptisterium foras muraneum egressus est.—Gregor. Turon. Histor. Franc. lib. vi. c. xi. † (Forte lib. x. exeunte, p. 537, edit. Paris. 1699, fol.) Baptisterium ad ipsam basilicam ædificari præcepi.

ⁿ Gregor. Turon. Histor. Franc. lib. ii. c. xxxi. (Ruinart. 1699. lib. ii. c. xxxi. p. 83.) Velis depictis adumbrantur plateæ ecclesiæ, cortinis albetibus adornantur, baptisterium componitur, balsama diffunduntur, micant flagrantibus odore cerei, totumque templum baptisterii divino respergitur ab odore : talemque ibi gratiam adstantibus Deus tribuit, ut æstimarent se Paradisi odoribus collocari. Rex ergo prior poposcit se a pontifice baptizari. Procedit novus Constantinus ad lavacrum, deleturus lepræ veteris morbum, sordentesque maculas gestas antiquitus recenti latice deleturus.

King Clodoveus; and thence they were afterward removed into the church itself, though now the baptistery of St. John Lateran, at Rome, is still after the ancient model, if Durantus rightly inform us.

SECT. II.—*These very Capacious, and why.*

These baptisteries were anciently very capacious, because, as Dr. Cave truly^o observes, the stated times of baptism returning but seldom, there were usually great multitudes to be baptized at the same time; and then the manner of baptizing by immersion, or dipping under water, made it necessary to have a large font likewise. Whence the author of the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*^p styles the baptistery, whither Basiliscus fled to take sanctuary, μέγα φωτιστήριον, the ‘great luminary,’ or ‘school of baptism.’ And in Venantius Fortunatus^q it is called *aula baptismatis*, the large ‘hall of baptism;’ which was indeed so capacious, that we sometimes read of councils meeting and sitting therein, as Du Fresne^r shows, out of the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon; and Suicerus has observed the same in the Acts of the Council of Carthage^s, which speaks

^o Cave, Primit. Christ. part i. c. x. p. 312, edit. Anglic. Lond. 1676, 8vo.

^p Chron. Alexandr. (alias Paschale) in Basilisco, p. 753, edit. Monach. (p. 325, edit. Paris. 1688. D. fol.) Λαβὼν Βασιλίσκος τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα, ἔφυγεν εἰς τὴν μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως εἰς τὸ μέγα φωτιστήριον.

^q Fortunat. de Eccles. (Mogunt. Biblioth. Patr. tom. viii. p. 844, edit. Paris. 1589.) (p. 537, Bibl. Patr. Max. Lugd. 1677.)

Ardua sacrati baptismatis aula coruscat,
Quo delicta Adæ Christus in amne lavat.

^r Du Fresn. Comment. in Paul. Silent. p. 234. Tanta amplitudine fuit baptisterium Sophianum, ut in iis acta concilia legamus in Synodo Chalced. act. i. et apud Cedrenum in Rhinotmeto, et Paulum Diacon. lib. iv. Histor. Miscel. plebem Constantinopolitanam tumultuantem eo se recepisse. Unde non mirum, si μέγα φωτιστήριον dicatur apud auctorem Chronici Alexandrini in Basilisco, et μέγας φωτιστήρ apud eundem Cedrenum in Leone Isauro.—Conc. Chalced. act. i. (tom. iv. Conc. p. 235. D.) Φλαβίου Πρωτογένους τοῦ λαμπροτάτου καὶ τοῦ δηλωθησομένου ὑπάτου, πρὸ ἐξ εἰδῶν Ἀπρλλιῶν, ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, θεία κελεύσει καθεζομένων ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας βαπτιστηρίῳ.

^s Suicer. Thes. Eccles. voce φωτιστήριον. (p. 1493.) In Actis Conc. Carthag. p. 118. Ἐν τῷ φωτιστηρίῳ τῆς κατὰ Κωνσταντινουπόλιν ἀγιωτάτης καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας καθεσθέντων τῶν ἀγιωτάτων ἐπισκόπων.

of a Council at Constantinople, held in the baptistery of the church.

SECT. III.—*Why called φωτιστήρια, ‘Places of Illumination.’*

We may observe, also, in the forementioned authors, how the baptisteries were commonly called φωτιστήρια, ‘places of illumination,’ that is, ‘baptism;’ for baptism itself, in ancient writers, is very usually styled φώτισμα; and hence ‘the place of baptism,’ called φωτιστήριον, from the administration of baptism there, which was always attended with a divine illumination of the soul; whence persons baptized were also called ‘the illuminate;’ as has been observed^t in another place. But the baptisteries might also have this name for another reason, because they were the places of an illumination or instruction, preceding baptism; for here the catechumens seem to have been trained up and instructed in the first rudiments of the Christian faith. At least they were here taught the Creed, as is evident from that noted passage of St. Ambrose^u, where he says, that “after the lessons and homily, he went into the baptistery of the church to make the candidates of baptism learn the Creed.” Therefore, from this illumination preceding baptism, as well as that which was consequent to it, the baptisteries might reasonably be called φωτιστήρια; and, as some think, φροντιστήρια, ‘schools of learning,’ or the ‘illuminatories of the Church.’

SECT. IV.—*Of the Difference between a Baptistery and a Font; and why the Font called Piscina and Κολυμβήθρα.*

It will be easy now for the reader to observe, from what has been said, what difference there was anciently between a baptistery and a font, though the names be sometimes confounded together; for the baptistery, properly speaking, was the whole house or building in which the font stood, and where all the ceremonies of baptism were performed; but the font was only

^t Book i. chap. iv. sect. i.

^u Ambros. Epist. xxxiii. ad Marcellin. Post lectiones atque tractatum, dimissis catechumenis, symbolum aliquibus competentibus in baptisteriis tradebamus basilicæ. See note (h).

the fountain, or pool of water, wherein persons were immersed or baptized. This, in the Greek writers, is commonly^v called *κολυμβήθρα*, and, by the Latins^w, *piscina*; and is sometimes expressly distinguished from the baptistery as a part from the whole; for Socrates^x expressly styles it *κολυμβήθραν τοῦ βαπτιστηρίου*, 'the pool of the baptistery.' Which name, Dr. Beveridge^y thinks, was given to the font, by way of allusion to the pool of Bethesda. But Optatus^z has a more mystical reason for it; he says, "It was called *piscina*, in allusion to our Saviour's technical name, Ἰησοῦς, which was an acrostic, composed of the initial letters of our Saviour's several titles, 'Jesus Christ, the Son of God, our Saviour;'" of which I have given an account^a in another place. But whether either of these reasons be true, or whether the font was not rather so called because *piscina* and *κολυμβήθρα* are common names of 'fountains,' and 'baths,' and 'pools,' in Greek and Latin writers, I leave to the determination of the judicious reader. Du Fresne has observed several other names^b, such as *ὑπόνομος*, *lavacrum*, *natatoria*, and *cloaca*, a term peculiar to Gregory the Great; but these are modern names, and so I pass them over, only remarking one thing out of him, that whereas Procopius, in his *Historia Arcana*, gives it the name

^v Cyr. Catech. Mystag. ii. n. iv. (Bened. 1763. p. 312.) *Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγίαν τοῦ θεοῦ βαπτίσματος ἐχειραγωγείσθε κολυμβήθραν.*—Catech. Mystag. iii. n. i. (p. 316.) *Καὶ ὑμῖν ὁμοίως ἀναβεβηκόσιν ἀπὸ τῆς κολυμβήθρας τῶν ἱερῶν ναμάτων ἰδὲθι χρίσμα.*

^w Optat. lib. iii. (Oberthür. p. 47.) (p. 62, Paris. 1631.) (p. 61, edit. Paris. 1679.) *Hic est piscis, qui in baptismo per invocationem fontalibus undis inseritur, ut quæ aqua fuerat, a pisce etiam 'piscina' vocitetur.*

^x Socrat. lib. vii. c. xvii. (Reading, p. 305. B 12.) *Ἐσθῆτά τε αὐτῷ λαμπρὰν ὠνήσαμενος, καὶ τὴν κολυμβήθραν τοῦ βαπτιστηρίου πληρωθῆναι κελεύσας, ἦγεν ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὸν Ἰουδαῖον, ὡς βαπτίσων αὐτὸν, κ. τ. λ.*

^y Bever. Pandect. Not. in Conc. Nic. c. xi. n. iv. p. 73. *Hoc nomen (κολυμβήθρα) sortitum videtur a celebri illa κολυμβήθρᾳ sive 'piscina,' in qua cæcus, Christi jussu lotus, rediit videns, Jo. ix. 7, vel ab illa Hierosolymis, ibid. c. v. 2.*

^z See preceding note (w).

^a Book i. chap. i. § ii.

^b Du Fresn. Comment. in Paul. Silent. (Byz. Hist. Venet. 1729. vol. xiv. p. 234.) *Fons baptisterii a Procopio et Theophane, an. 2 Theodosii Junioris, et an. 7 Zenonis κολυμβήθρα: ab aliis, ὑπόνομος: a Gregorio M. 'cloaca;,' ab Anastasio, in Hist. Eccles., 'natatorium' vocitatur.*

of δεξαμένη, the 'receptacle,' Suidas mistakes it for the 'communion-table;' which I note only because it is easy for any one to be led into the like mistake by the authority of that celebrated writer.

SECT. V.—*How Fonts and Baptisteries anciently adorned.*

What form the ancient baptisteries were built in, I find no where mentioned in any ancient writer; and almost as little of their ornament, that may be depended on as genuine. Durantus, indeed, has a very formal story out of the Pontifical, under the name of 'Damasus,' how Constantine gave a rich font to the church wherein he himself was baptized: "It was made^c," the author says, "of porphyretic marble, overlaid with silver; in the middle of it was a marble pillar, and on it a phial of pure gold, filled with balsam, to burn as in a lamp. On the brim of the font was a lamp of pure gold, pouring out water. On the right hand of that, a silver image of Christ; and on the left hand, a silver image of St. John Baptist holding a label, with this inscription, 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world.' Besides all these, there were seven silver hearts, pouring out water into the fountain." But now, all this is a mere fabulous legend, and has just as much truth in it as the story of Constantine's leprosy, and his being cured by Pope Silvester's baptizing him in this font at Rome. And I only mention it to show what sort of tales are urged by the Romish ritualists, many times, for ancient history; for every one knows this mock Damasus to be a spurious author. Perhaps, in the sixth or seventh century, such sort of ornaments might be set up in the baptisteries of the Church; for in the Acts of the Council of Constantinople^d, under Mennas, an. 536, there is mention made of silver and gold doves hanging in the baptistery, as well as at the altar. But, as no images or pictures were set up in churches in the time of Constantine, so we cannot suppose any Roman baptisteries to be

^c Damas. Pontific. Vit. Silvestri, (tom. i. Conc. p. 1410. B. C.)

^d Concil. Constantin. act. v. (tom. v. p. 159. B.) Τὰς γὰρ εἰς τύπον τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος χρυσᾶς τε καὶ ἀργυρᾶς περιστεράς, κρεμαμένας ὑπεράνω τῶν θείων κολυμβηθρῶν καὶ θυσιαστηρίων, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐσφτερίσατο.

adorned by him, according to the foresaid pretended description ; but if the garments of the ministers baptizing, or the white robes of persons newly baptized, which were reserved in these baptisteries as monuments and tokens of their profession, or the vessels of chrism, used for unction in baptism, may be reckoned ornaments in these places, the baptisteries had always these things from their first election ; as will be shown, more particularly, when we come to treat of the rites of baptism in their proper place.

SECT. VI.—*Baptisteries anciently more peculiar to the Mother Church.*

All that I have further to add about baptisteries here, is an observation made by some learned men, “ that anciently there was but one baptistery in a city, and that at the bishop’s church.” Vicecomes^e thinks it was so even at Rome itself for many ages. Dr. Maurice^f says, “ No city had more, unless where the magnificence of emperors or bishops made, as it were, many cathedrals.” And, therefore, when the author^g of the Pontifical, under the name of ‘ Damasus,’ says of Pope Marcellus, that “ he made twenty-five titles in Rome, as so many dioceses, for baptism and penance,” that learned person thinks it imports that those services, indeed, belonged only to a cathedral ; and, therefore, the granting of those privileges to parishes made them seem like dioceses. Some remains of this ancient custom are yet to be observed in several great cities of Italy ; for both Durantus^h and Vicecomesⁱ tell us, that at Pisa, Bononia, Orvieto, and Parma, and even at Florence itself, they have but one font or baptistery for a whole city at

^e Vicecomes de Ritib. Bapt. lib. i. c. viii.

^f Maurice’s Defence of Diocesan Episcop. pp. 41, 43.

^g Pontific. Vit. Marcelli, (tom. i. Conc. p. 946. B.)

^h Durant. de Ritib. Eccles. lib. i. c. xix. n. iii. (Paris. 1632. p. 125.) Antiquitus unum tantum per singulas urbes fontem, sive locum, quem ‘ baptisterium ’ appellabant, prope majorem Civitatis Basilicam majores nostri condiderunt, quod ad hæc usque tempora observatum Pisis, Florentiæ, Bononiæ, Parmæ, et aliis plerisque Italiæ urbibus intueri licet, in quo uno tingebantur juvenes, senes, divites, et pauperes.

ⁱ Vicecomes de Ritib. Baptist. lib. i. c. viii.

this day. Which is also noted by Onuphrius¹ and Du Fresne², and by Dr. Maurice out of Leander Alberti, Mercator, Lassels, and some other modern writers. I have observed¹ before, that this distinction was anciently made between a Catholic church and a private oratory, that the one was a place of public baptism, and the other not; which argues, that every church had not a distinct baptistery, but only such as were called baptismal churches; and this is the reason why anciently men commonly resorted for baptism to the bishop's church, at the two great festivals, Easter and Pentecost, which were the two solemn times of its administration. In after ages, baptisteries were set up in country parishes; for the Council of Auxerre^m speaks of baptizing in villages at Easter by allowance; but this privilege was not granted to every place, but only to such as the bishop appointed, except in cases of necessity, as Vicecomesⁿ has observed, out of the Synod^o of Meaux, and the Council^p in Verno Palatio; whence, probably, these got the name of 'mother-churches' also, in respect of such others as depended on them for the administration of baptism, as anciently all churches did on the bishop's church. Thus much of the baptisteries of the ancient Church.

¹ Onuphr. de Ecclesiis Urb. Romæ.

² Du Fresn. Glossar. voce 'Baptisterium.' Baptisteria non nisi in majoribus ecclesiis constituere fas erat, nedum vero in oratoriis privatis.

¹ Book viii. chap. i. sect. iv.

^m Conc. Antissiodor. an. 578. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 959.) Non licet, absque paschæ solemnitate, ullo tempore baptizare, nisi illos quibus mors vicina est, quos 'grabatarios' dicunt. Quod si quis in alio pago, contumacia faciente, post interdictum hoc, infantes suos ad baptismum detulerit in ecclesias nostras, non recipiantur usque ad satisfactionem.

ⁿ Vicecomes de Ritib. Eccles. lib. i. c. ix.

^o Conc. Meldens. c. xlviii. (Labbe, vol. vii. Conc. p. 1835.) Ut nemo presbyterorum baptizare præsumat, nisi in vicis et ecclesiis baptismalibus, atque temporibus constitutis, nisi causa ægritudinis vel certæ necessitatis, sicut sacra canonum docet auctoritas; et nisi auctoritatem et privilegia debita et antiqua retineant.

^p Conc. Vernens. c. vii. (Labbe, vol. vi. Conc. p. 1666.) Ut publicum baptisterium in nulla parochia esse debeat, nisi ubi episcopus constituerit, cujus parochia est: nisi tantum si necessitas venerit pro infirmitate, aut pro aliqua necessitate, illi presbyteri, quos episcopus in sua parochia constituerit, in quacumque loco evenerit, licentiam habeant baptizandi, ut omnino sine baptismo non moriantur.

SECT. VII.—*Of the Secretarium, or Diaconicum Magnum, 'the Vestry.'*

Another noted building, commonly reckoned among the *exedrae* of the church, was that which is usually called *secretarium*, or *diaconicum*, concerning which learned men are not exactly agreed; for Velasius takes it^a for a place within the church; Gothofred^r and others, for a place without; but Du Fresne^s seems, more justly, to determine the controversy between them by distinguishing the *diaconicum bematis* within the chancel (which we have spoken of before) from the *diaconicum magnum* without the church, which is to be considered here. It is of this Philostorgius is to be understood, when he says, “The Christians of Paneas, or Cæsarea Philippi, translated the statue of our Saviour, erected by the woman whom he cured of an issue of blood, into the *diaconicum*^t of the church;” that is, into the ‘vestry,’ or ‘repository,’ of the church. It was so named because all things here reposit

^a Vales. Not. in Philostorg. lib. vii. c. iii. (Cantab. 1720. p. 513.) De ecclesiæ diaconico multa hic erudite observat Jacobus Gothofredus, id esse, quod Latini olim ‘secretarium’ vocabant, nos ‘sacristiam’ dicimus; ubi vasa ac vestimenta sacra adservantur. Sed quod negat diaconicum esse partem ecclesiæ, in eo graviter fallitur. Verebatur scilicet Gothofredus, ne si diaconicum pars ecclesiæ esset, Christiani statuas atque imagines Christi olim in ecclesiis habuisse viderentur. De diaconico loquitur Moschus in Prato, cap. xxv. Εισῆλθεν ἐν τῷ διακονικῷ κλαίων καὶ ῥίπτων ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον. Interpres vertit, ‘Ingressus est sacrarium plorans, corruitque in faciem suam.’

^r See preceding note.

^s Du Fresn. Comment. in Paul. Silent. (Byz. Hist. Venet. 1729, vol. xiv. p. 234.) Altera, quæ ecclesiæ Sophianæ adjuncta fuit, exedra, διακονικὸν appellata est. Est autem ‘diaconicum’ Græcis scriptoribus, quod alii ecclesiæ ‘secretarium’ vocant, nos vulgo ‘sacristiam’ dicimus. Quæ quidem vox occurrit non semel apud scriptores, non modo pro exedra ita appellata, sed et interdum pro conchula bematis, in qua reponebantur vestes sacerdotales ad sacram liturgiam necessariæ, ut apud Philostorgium, lib. vii. c. iii.; Cyrillum in Vita Euthymii, c. xviii. et xix.; Auctorem Vitæ S. Auxentii Archimandritæ, c. i. n. iii.; in Euchologio, Typico Sabæ, Passione SS. Patrum Sabaitarum, &c. Videtur autem ita appellatum, aut quod diaconorum primitus fuerit in ea sedes et concessus; vel potius quod hæc exedra eorum curæ potissimum commissa fuerit. In ea enim non modo quæ ad ecclesiæ vasa et sacerdotales vestes spectant, priusquam sacra perageretur liturgia, seu divinum et ecclesiasticum officium, munia obibat diaconi, sed et considerabant pro munere sui ratione.

^t Philostorg. lib. vii. c. iii. (Aug. Taur. p. 463.) Τὸν δὲ ἀνερριάντα μεταστῆσά-μενον ἐν τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διακονικῷ.

were under the care of the deacons; part of whose office was to look after the vestments, vessels, and utensils belonging to the altar, and all things of value given to the church, the chief overseer of which seems generally to have been a presbyter, dignified with the title of *ceimeliarches*, or *sceuphyllax*, as I have shown before^u in another place. And hence the *diaconicum*, or rather, as Du Fresne^v observes, out of an ancient Greek writer, 'the innermost part' of it was the *ceimeliarchium*, or *sceuphyllacium* of the church, the 'repository' of the sacred vessels, and such *anathemata*, or 'presents,' as were reputed among the chiefest treasures of the church. It was otherwise called *secretarium*, as Du Fresne^w conjectures, because the consistory, or tribunal of the church, was here kept; the *secretum*, or *secretarium*, being a known name for 'the courts of the civil magistrate;' whence this, perhaps, might take its denomination. The whole building was large and capacious enough to receive not only a private consistory, but a provincial or general Council; many of which, we find, have been held in this apartment of the church, as the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth Councils of Carthage are said to be kept in *secretario basilicæ restitutæ*; with a great many others collected by Du Fresne, who observes the sessions of councils to be called *secretaria* upon this account, from the place of their session or convention.

^u Book iii. chap. xiii. § iii.

^v Du Fresn. Comment. in Paul. Silent. (Byzant. Hist. Venet. 1729. vol. xiv. p. 236.) Quum in ecclesiarum secretariis ac diaconicis adservarentur sacra vasa, seu, uti vocant vulgo scriptores, 'ministeria,' inde factum, ut quod aliis diaconicum et secretarium est, interdum et sæpe σκευοφυλάκιον appelletur, quod exstitisse plurimum in interiore Diaconici parte ostendit Passio SS. Patrum Sabaitarum: Οὐπερ ἀποτερόμενοι τι οἱ πρώην πατέρες Διακονικὸν πεποιήκασιν ἰσώτερον δὲ τοῦ διακονικοῦ κειμηλιαρχεῖον, ἦτοι σκευοφυλάκιον.

^w Du Fresn. ibid. p. 236. Quum diaconica non modo carceris vicem interdum præstarent, sed etiam tribunalis ecclesiastici, inde factum opinor, ut istæ exedræ 'secretaria' appellarentur: nam proprie sunt *judicium secretaria*: uti est in Concilio Milevitano secundo, c. xvi. 'magnum secretum judicis:' 'unde secretarium nominatur,' ait S. Augustinus in c. xxxiv. Ezechielis, c. iii.

SECT. VIII.—*Why called Receptorium, or Salutatorium.*

It was otherwise called *receptorium* and *salutatorium*, as we find in Sidonius^x Apollinaris, Sulpicius^y Severus, the first Council of Mascon^z, Theodoret, and many others, particularly Theodoret^a, speaking of Theodosius coming to St. Ambrose to petition for absolution, says, “he found him sitting ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ἀσπαστικῷ, ‘in the saluting house;’” which Scaliger mistakes for the ‘bishop’s house,’ where strangers were entertained; whereas it was a place adjoining to the church, where the bishop and presbyters sat to receive the salutations of the people as they came to desire their blessing or prayers, or consult them about important business; as appears from Sulpicius Severus, who, speaking of St. Martin, says, “He sat in one *secretarium*, and the presbyters^b in another, receiving the people’s salutes, and hearing their causes.”

SECT. IX.—*Of the Decanica, or ‘Prisons of the Church.’*

Du Fresne thinks these *secretaria*, or at least some part of them, were also used as ecclesiastical prisons, or places of confinement, sometimes for delinquent clergymen; and that then they were called *decaneta*, or *decanica*, which is a term used in

^x Sidon. lib. v. ep. xvii. (Biblioth. M. V. P. vol. vi. p. 1104. G.) Epiphanius vester vix suprascripta paraverat, et nuntiatum est, hora monente, progredi episcopum de receptorio : nosque surreximus.

^y Sulpic. Dial. ii. c. i. (Lips. 1709. p. 442.) Deinde secretarium ingressus, quum solus, ut erat illi consuetudo, resideret, . . . quum quidem in alio secretario presbyteri sederent, vel salutationibus vacantes, vel audiendis negotiis occupati, etc.

^z Conc. Matiscon. I. c. ii. (tom. v. Conc. p. 967.) Ut nullus episcopus, presbyter, diaconus, clericus, vel quicumque sæcularis, in monasteriis puellarum, nisi probatæ vitæ, et ætatis provectæ, præter utilitatem, aut quamcumque reparationem monasterii, ad quascumque earum necessitates, habitare, aut secretas colloquutiones habere præsumant : nec extra salutatorium, aut oratorium ulterius ingredi permittantur.

^a Theodoret. lib. v. c. xviii. (Reading, Aug. Taur. p. 192. B 6.) ‘Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοὺς ἱεροὺς περιβόλους κατέλαβεν, εἰς μὲν τὸν θεῖον οὐκ εἰσελήλυθε νέων· πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀρχιερεῖα παραγενόμενος, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀσπαστικῷ οἴκῳ οὗτος καθήστος, ἐλιπαρεῖ λυθῆναι τῶν δεσμῶν.

^b Sulpic. Dial. ii. c. i. Cum in alio secretario presbyteri sederent, vel salutationibus vacantes, vel audiendis negotiis occupati, etc.

both the Codes and some Councils, as Gothofred^c and some others explain it, for a prison belonging to the church. In the Theodosian Code, there is a law of Arcadius which orders heretics to be expelled from all places which they possessed^d, whether under the name of 'churches,' or *diaconica*, or *decanica*. Now, that the *decanica* here means a place of 'custody,' or 'restraint,' for delinquents belonging to the Church, Gothofred proves, from another law among Justinian's Novels^e, which orders such delinquents to be shut up in the *decanica* of the church, there to suffer condign punishment. And by this we are led to understand what is meant by the *decanica* spoken of in the Acts of the Council^f of Ephesus; which the Latin translator, by mistake, renders 'tribunal,' whereas it should be the 'prison of the church.' Some take it to be no more than another name for the *diaconicum*, or a corruption of it; others derive it from *δίκη*, and so make it denote a 'tribunal;' which are errors both alike: for it seems to have been a more general name than the *diaconicum*, including all such places of the church as were made use of to put offending clerks into a more decent confinement; which was not any one place, but several that were made use of to that purpose, such as the *catechumenia*, as well as the *diaconica*, or *secretaria*; in which respect they had all the name of *decanica*, or *carceres*, the 'prisons of the church.' Which seems pretty evident, from what Du Fresne has^g observed, out of an Epistle

^c Gothofr. Comment. in Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. v. de Hæret. leg. xxx. *Decanica* . . . præbuere usum quemdam carceris et custodiæ ecclesiasticæ.

^d Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. v. leg. xxx. *Cuncti hæretici procul dubio noverint, omnia sibi loca hujus urbis adimenda esse, sive sub ecclesiarum nomine teneantur, sive quæ 'diaconica' appellentur, vel etiam 'decanica.'*

^e Justin. Novel. lxxix. c. iii. *Καθειργίσθωσαν ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις δεκανικοῖς, ποινάς τὰς καθηκούσας ὑφίξοντες.*

^f Libell. Basilii Diaconi ad Theodos. in Conc. Ephes. part. i. c. xxx. (tom. iii. Conc. p. 427. D.) *Τοῦ συλληφθέντος ἐκ μέρους παρὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, καὶ ἐν τῇ δεκανικῇ τυπτηθέντος διαφόρως ἐν πόλει βασιλεουσῶν, ἃ οὔτε ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι τοῖς βαρβαρικοῖς ἐγένετο.*

^g Du Fresn. Comment. in Paul. Silent. (Byz. Hist. vol. xiv. p. 235.) *Quum nefas ducerent prisci ecclesiæ pontifices, reos clericos una cum reis secularibus eodem carcere detineri, seu quod suam in eos auctoritatem ac jurisdictionem servare ac tueri, vel, quod vero similis est, cum clericis suis mitius agere vellent, quam solent ordinarii iudices, illos in ecclesiarum secretariis, sceuophy-*

of Pope Gregory II. to the Emperor Leo Isaurus, where he says, "When any one had offended, the bishops were used to confine him, as in a prison, in one of the^h *secretaria*, or *diaconia*, or *catechumena*, of the church." Which implies that all these places were made use of, upon occasion, for the confinement and punishment of delinquents; and then they had, peculiarly, the name of *decanica*, or 'prisons of the church.'

SECT. X.—Of the Mitatorium, or Metatorium.

There is another name for a place belonging to the church in Theodorusⁱ Lector, which has as much puzzled interpreters as the former; that is, *μιτατώριον*, or *μετατώριον*, as the modern Greeks call it. Goar, in his Notes upon the *Euchologium*, thinks it should be *minsatorium*, from *μίνσος*, a 'dish,' or *mensa*, a 'table;' and so he expounds it, 'a place of refreshment for the singers,' where they might have bread and wine to recreate them after service. Du Fresne^j deduces it

laciis, aut catechumeniis detinebant, quo usque per poenitentiam iis impositam, quam ἐπιτίμιον vocant, peractamque, sua expiassent delicta ac crimina: ita Gregorius II. PP. in Epist. ii. ad Leonem Isaurum in vii. synodo: 'Pontifices,' etc.

^h Gregor. II. ad Leon. Isaur. (tom. vii. Conc. p. 26. D 10.) 'Εάν τις ἀμαρτήσῃ σοι, βασιλεῦ, δημεύεις τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ καὶ γυμνοῖς, ἐάσας ἔχειν τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ τέλος κάκεινον ἢ ἀπάγχεις, ἢ ἀποκεφαλίζεις, ἢ ἐξορίζεις, ἢ ἀλλοδαπῇ αὐτὸν ποιεῖς τῶν τέκνων καὶ πάντων τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ φίλων αὐτοῦ· οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς οὐχ οὕτως· ἀλλ' ὅταν ἀμάρτῃ τις, καὶ ἐξομολόγησῃται, ἀντὶ τῆς ἀγχόνης καὶ τοῦ ἀποκεφαλισμοῦ, περιτιθέασιν εἰς τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν, καὶ φυλακίζουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὰ κειμηλιαρχεῖα, καὶ εἰς τὰ διακονικὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐξορίζουσιν αὐτὸν, καὶ εἰς τὰ κατηχούμενα, καὶ νηστειὰν εἰς τὰ ἔντερα, καὶ εἰς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀγρυπνίαν, καὶ δοξολογίαν ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ ἱμνοιοῦσιν.

ⁱ Theod. Lect. lib. ii. (p. 559.) (Reading, p. 517. C 8.) Οἱ ἐπίβουλοι Εὐφημίου τινὰ θεοθέμενοι, παρεσκεύασαν ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ μιτατωρίου ξίφος κατ' αὐτοῦ γυμνώσαι, καὶ κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς Εὐφημίου ὀρμήσαι.

^j Du Fresn. Comment. in Paul. Silent. (Byz. Hist. Venet. 1729. vol. xiv. p. 235.) Quum diaconicum, seu secretarium Sophianum, amplum fuerit triclinium, neque unico duntaxat, sed variis constiterit cubiculis, multo probabilius videtur hanc inde sortitum appellationem, quod revera *domus* esset *ecclesiae*, hoc est aeditui et *νεωκόρου*, in qua etiam Imperator, si luberet, antequam sacra peragerentur officia, vel iis finitis et exactis, moraretur. Nam ut *metatum* Latini scriptores aedem et domicilium vocarunt, ut constat ex Gregorio Turon. lib. v. Histor. c. vii. . . . ut cæteros præteream alio a me, si Deus faverit, recen-

from *metatum*, which is a term of frequent use in the civil law, and signifies 'a station in the *cursus publicus*,' where entertainment was given to those that travelled upon public business. Suicerus makes it^k to be the same with the *diaconicum* or *salutatorium*, the 'saluting house;' and thinks, with Goar, it should be read *minsatorium*, from *mensa*, because here was a table erected, not for entertainment, but for receiving such things as were brought and laid upon it. But I like best the conjecture of Musculus, who renders it *mutatorium*, as supposing it to be a corruption of the Latin word which signifies what we call an *apodyterium*, or 'vestry,' where the ministers change their habit: and so it was agreed, on all hands, that it was a part of the *diaconicum*, or but another name for it, though men differ so much in their sentiments when they come to account for the reason of it.

SECT. XI.—*Of the Gazophylacium and Pastophoria.*

The author of the Constitutions, in his description of the church, mentions also certain places¹ called *pastophoria*; which,

sendos loco, et *metari* dixerunt pro *dirertere*, ut Paulinus Nat. ix. et x.; ita *μυάρον* eadem significatione usurpant Græci recentiores, ut habetur in glossis Basil. S. Athanasius, sive quisquis est auctor Narrationis de Imagine Berytensi: *ἐπεξήγησε μυάρον μείζον ὁ Χριστιανός, ὡς χρήζειν*. Alios ad id firmandum laudat scriptores Meursius. Ob hanc igitur causam, triclinium istud excitasse, itaque appellasse Justinianum ait anonymus, ut in eo quiesceret: *ἐκάλεσε δὲ . . . καὶ μυατώριον, ὅπερ ἐκέισε ἀνέγειρε, κοιτῶνα ὥραιον διάχρυσον, ἵνα εἰσπορευομένου αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἐκέισε καθεύδῃ*. Ubi *καθεύδειν* est non tam *somno recreari*, quam *quiescere ac morari*. Ejusmodi autem fuit, et ine um finem exstructa exedra ecclesiæ adjuncta, cujus meminit Anastasius in Gregorio IV.: 'Fecit etiam juxta Acoliti pro quiete Pontificis, ubi post orationes matutinales, vel missarum officia, ejus valeant membra soporari, hospitium parvum, sed honeste constructum, et picturis decoravit eximiis.' Ita *metatorium* seu *diaconicum*, amplum triclinium fuit, in quo et Imperator diversari, si quando a publicis curis vellet secedere, et pietati vacare, et diaconi considerare, et synodi peragi, clerici delinquentes includi, sacra ecclesiæ vasa, ministeria, et vestes adservari, atque adeo ipse ædituus, vel qui templi conservandi curam habebat, habitare poterant.

^k Suicer. Thes. voce *μετατώριον*. (vol. ii. p. 365.) *Μετατώριον*, sive *μυατώριον* est, quod alias vocatur *διακονικόν*, item *ἀσπαστικόν*. . . . Corruptum autem videri possit hoc vocabulum, pro *μινσατώριον*, a 'mensa,' quæ ibi ad res reponendas erecta erat; unde etiam *μινσάλια* apud Græcos et *ἀντιμίσια*: sive a *μίνος*, quod 'ferculum' notat.

¹ Constit. Apost. lib. ii. c. lvii. 'Ἐξ ἐκατέρων τῶν μερῶν τὰ παστοφόρια πρὸς ἀνατολήν.

according to his account, were buildings on each side of the church, towards the east end of it. But what use they were put to we can learn no further from that author, save only that he tells us in another place, the deacons^m were used to carry the remains of the eucharist thither, when all had communicated. Whence Durantus, measuring ancient customs by the practice of his own times, absurdly concludes that the *pastophoria* was the ark where the pyx and waferⁿ were laid, as if there was any similitude betwixt a pyx and a building on each side of the temple. Bona^o, with little more reason, thinks the *pastophorium* was only another name for *sceuphyllacium*, or *diaconicum*. But, indeed, it seems to have been a more general name, including not only the *diaconicum*, but also the *gazophyllacium*, or ‘treasury,’ and the habitations of the ministers and *custodes ecclesiæ*, or, as some think they are otherwise called, *paramonarii*, *mansionarii*, and *martyrarii*, the mansionaries, or keepers of the church. For the word *pastophorium* is a name taken from the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament, Ezek. xl. 17, where it is used for the chambers in the outward court of the temple. And St. Jerome, in his comment^p upon the place, observes, that what the Septuagint call *pastophoria*, and the Latins from them *cubacula*, is, in the translations of Aquila and Symmachus, rendered *gazophyllacium* and *exedra*; and he tells us they were chambers of the treasury,

^m Ibid. lib. viii. c. xiii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 485.) "Ὅταν πάντες μεταλάβωσι καὶ πᾶσαι, λαβόντες οἱ διάκονοι τὰ περισσεύσαντα εἰσφερέτωσαν εἰς τὰ παστοφόρια.

ⁿ Durant. de Ritib. Eccles. lib. i. c. xvi. n. viii. (Paris. 1632, p. 108.) Hunc locum, ubi arcula includitur, *παστοφόριον* non improprie veteres appellarunt. Reliquiæ eucharistiæ in *pastophoria* inferebantur Clementis sæculo . . . Plane illius loci, in quo pyxis includitur, religionem, &c.

^o Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. i. c. xxiv. n. ii. (Antverp. 1677. p. 448.) Locus, in quo indumenta et vasa sacra reconduntur, a Græcis *Diaconicon*, *Sceuphyllacion*, *Pastophorion*; a Latinis *Vestiarium*, *Secretarium*, *Sacrarium*, et barbara voce *Sacristia* nuncupatur.

^p Hieron. Comment. in Ezech. xl. 47. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 985.) (p. 640, edit. Basil. 1565.) (p. 985, edit. Paris. 1704, folio.) Pro thalamis triginta, quos vertere Septuaginta, sive *gazophyllaciis* atque *cellariis*, ut interpretatus est Aquila, Symmachus posuit *ἐξέδρας* . . . quæ habitationi Levitarum atque Sacerdotum fuerant præparatæ.—Id. Com. in Ezech. xlii. 1. (p. 1006.) (p. 652.) (p. 1006, edit. Par.) Eductus est in *gazophyllacium*: sive ut Symmachus et LXX. transtulerunt, *exedram*; vel ut Theodotio *παστοφόριον*, quod in *thalamum* vertitur.

and habitations of the priests and Levites round about the court of the temple. Therefore, I think there is no question to be made but that the *pastophoria*, in the Christian Church, were places put to the same use as in the Jewish temple, from which the name is borrowed. For the Church had her *gazophylacia*, or ‘treasuries,’ as well as the temple; which appears from a canon of the fourth Council of Carthage^q, which forbids the offerings of persons at variance one with another, to be received either in the treasury or the sanctuary. So that the treasury was a distinct place from the *corban* in the sanctuary, and therefore, most probably, to be reckoned among the *pastophoria* of the church. Here all such offerings of the people were laid up as were not thought proper to be brought to the altar, but rather to be sent to the bishop’s house, as some ancient canons gave directions in the case. Particularly among those called the Canons of the Apostles, we find two to this purpose: that, beside bread and wine, nothing^r should be brought to the altar, save only new ears of corn, and grapes, and oil for the lamps, and incense for the time of the oblation; but all other fruits should be sent εἰς οἶκον, ‘to the repository,’ or ‘treasury,’ it may be, as first-fruits, for the bishop and presbyters, and not be brought to the altar, but be by them divided among the deacons and other clergy. The *pastophoria* were also habitations for the bishop and clergy, and the guardians or keepers of the church, as Schelstrate^s rightly concludes from another passage in St. Je-

^q Conc. Carth. IV. c. xciii. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 1207.) Oblationes dissidentium fratrum neque in sacratio neque in ‘gazophylacio’ recipiantur.

^r Can. Apostol. iv. v. (can. ii. apud Coteler. Patr. Apostol. tom. i. p. 437.) Πλὴν νέων χιθῶνων, ἢ σταφυλῆς, τῷ καιρῷ τῷ δέοντι, μὴ ἐξὸν ἔστω προσάγεσθαι τι ἕτερον εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ἢ ἔλαιον εἰς τὴν λυχνίαν, καὶ θυμίαμα τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἁγίας προσφορᾶς· ἢ ἄλλη πᾶσα ὀψώρα εἰς οἶκον ἀποστελλέσθω, ἀπαρχὴ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον· δῆλον δὲ, ὡς ὁ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἐπιμερίζουσι τοῖς διακόνοις, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς κληρικοῖς.

^s Schelstrat. Conc. Antioch. p. 86. Quid ‘pastophorium’ significet, adserit D. Hieronymus in Esaiam, quod nimirum sit ‘thalamus, in quo habitat prepositus templi;’ thalamus autem idem heic omnino est, quod habitaculum; unde apud Esdras sic legitur: ‘Exsurgens Esdras in PASTOPHORUM Jonathæ, et hospitatus illie, non gustavit panem nec bibit aquam.’ Quo ex loco satis manifeste colligitur, quid pastophoria olim significarunt.

rome^t, where he explains *pastophorium* to be the chamber, or habitation, where the ruler of the temple dwelt. So that it seems to have been almost as general a name as that of the *οἶκοι*, or *exedrae* of the church.

SECT. XII.—*Of the Schools and Libraries of the Church.*

Whether the libraries belonging to churches were any part of these *pastophoria*, is not easy to determine; but this much we are certain of, that there were such places anciently adjoining to many churches, from the time that churches began to be erected among Christians. Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, in the third century, built a library for the service of that Church, where, Eusebius tells us^u, he found the best part of his materials to compose his Ecclesiastical History. Julius Africanus founded such another library at Cæsarea, in Palestine, which Pamphilus and Eusebius much augmented. St. Jerome^v says, Pamphilus wrote out almost all Origen's works for the use of this library, which were reserved there in his time. And he often mentions^x his own consulting it upon necessary occasions, in his emendations of the text of the

^t Hieron. in Esaiam. [Vaga allegatio: Grisch.]

^u Euseb. lib. vi. c. xx. (p. 247.) Αἱ [ἐπιστολαὶ] καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐφυλάχθησαν ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Αἰλίαν βιβλιοθήκῃ, πρὸς τοῦ τηνικαδε τὴν αὐτόθι διέποντος ἐκκλησίαν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπισκευασθείσῃ· ἀφ' ἧς καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς ὕλας τῆς μετὰ χεῖρας ὑποθέσεως ἐπὶ ταὐτὸ συναγαγεῖν δεδυνήμεθα.

^v Hieronym. Catal. Scriptor. Eccles. c. lxxv. (Vallars. vol. ii. p. 915.) (tom. i. opp. p. 188, edit. Francof.) Pamphilus presbyter, Eusebii Cæsariensis episcopi necessarius, tanto Bibliothecæ divinæ amore flagravit, ut maximam partem Origenis voluminum sua manu descripserit; quæ usque hodie in Cæsariensi bibliotheca habentur. Sed et in duodecim prophetas viginti quinque *ἐξηγήσεων* Origenis volumina manu ejus exarata reperi, quæ tanto amplector et servo gaudio, ut Cræsi opes habere me credam.

^x Hieron. Epist. ad Marcell. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 154.) (tom. iii. p. 113, edit. Basil.) (p. 76, edit. Francof. c.) Beatus Pamphilus Martyr . . . quum Deme-trium Phalereum et Pisistratum in sacræ Bibliothecæ studio vellet æquare; imaginesque ingeniorum, quæ vera sunt et æterna monumenta, toto orbe perquireret; tunc vel maxime Origenis libros impensius prosequutus, Cæsariensi ecclesiæ dedicavit, &c.—Id. Comment. ad Tit. c. iii. (Vallars. vol. . p. 734. E 5.) Nobis curæ fuit omnes veteris Legis libros, quos vir doctus Adamantius in Hexapla digesserat, de Cæsariensi bibliotheca descriptos, ex ipsis authenticis emendare, et quibus et ipsa Hebræa propriis sunt characteribus verba descripta; et Græcis literis transmissa expressa vicino.

Holy Scriptures; telling us further^y, that there was a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel, in the original Hebrew, as it was first written by him, extant in his time. Another of these libraries we find mentioned in the Acts of Purgation of Cæcilian and Felix, belonging to the church of Cirta Julia, or Constantina, in Numidia^z, where Paulus, the bishop, is accused as a traditor, for delivering up the goods of the church in the time of the Diocletian persecution. These were all founded before the Church had any settled times of peace. In the following ages we find St. Austin making mention of the library^a of the church of Hippo, and St. Jerome^b commending Euzoius, the Arian bishop of Cæsarea, for his care in repairing the library of Pamphilus, which was fallen to decay. St. Basil^c speaks of the Roman libraries, or archives at least. And the author of the Pontifical^d, if any credit may be given to him, ascribes the building of two to Pope Hilary, near the baptistery of the Lateran church. But that which exceeded all the rest, was the famous library of the church of St. Sophia, which Hospinian^e thinks was first begun by Constantine, but was after-

^y Hieron. de Scriptor. c. iii. (Vallars. vol. ii. p. 834.) (tom. i. p. 171. A. edit. Francof.) Matthæus, qui et Levi, ex publicano Apostolus, primus in Judæa propter eos qui ex circumcisione crediderant, Evangelium Christi Hebraicis litteris verbisque composuit: quod quis postea in Græcum transtulerit, non satis certum est. Porro ipsum Hebraicum habetur usque hodie in Cæsariensi bibliotheca, quam Pamphilus martyr studiosissime confecit.

^z Gesta Purgat. Cæcil. ad calcem Optati, p. 267, edit. Par. 1631. (tom. i. Conc. p. 1444. D 7.) Postea quam perventum est in bibliothecam, inventa sunt armaria inania, &c.

^a Aug. de Hæresi, c. lxxx. (Benedict. vol. viii. p. 27. B 4.) Audivi de hæresibus scripsisse sanctum Hieronymum: sed ipsum ejus opusculum in nostra bibliotheca invenire non potuimus.

^b Hieron. Catal. Scriptor. c. cxiii. (Vallars. vol. ii. p. 941.) Plurimo labore corruptam jam bibliothecam Origenis et Pamphili in membranis instaurare conatus est.

^c Basil. Ep. lxxxii. (Benedict. Paris. 1839. vol. iii. p. 549. D 10.) (tom. iii. p. 152.) "Οτι δὲ ἐν τῇ 'Ρώμῃ ἔγγραφος αὐτῶν ὁμολογία τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ πίστεως ἀπόκειται, τοῦτο οὐκ ἐννοοῦσιν· οὐδὲ ὅτι διὰ τῆς ἐαυτῶν χειρὸς ἐπέδωκαν τῇ ἐν Τυάνοις συνόδῳ τὸ ἀπὸ 'Ρώμης βιβλίον· ὃ παρ' ἡμῖν κατὰκειται, τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην πίστιν ἔχον.

^d Pontifical. Vit. Hilar. (tom. iv. Conc. p. 1031.) Fecit oratorium S. Stephani in baptisterio Lateranensi. Fecit autem et bibliothecas duas in eodem loco.

^e Hospin. de Temp. lib. iii. c. vi. p. 101, edit. Tigur. 1687. (p. 369, edit. Genev. 1681.) Credibile est, hunc imperatorem (Constantinum) prima jecisse

ward vastly augmented by Theodosius Junior, who was another Ptolemy, in whose time there were no less than a hundred thousand books in it, and a hundred and twenty thousand in the reign of Basiliscus and Zeno, when both the building and its furniture were all unhappily consumed together by the firing of the city, in a popular tumult. He that would see a more ample account of these foundations in other ages, must consult Lomeier's discourse *De Bibliothecis*, where he pursues the history of libraries^f, from first to last, as well among Jews and heathens, as every age of Christians. It is sufficient to my present purpose to have hinted here briefly a succinct account of such of them as were anciently reckoned parts or appendants of the Christian churches. And, for the same reason, I take notice of schools in this place, because we find them sometimes kept in the churches, or buildings adjoining to the church; which is evident from the observation which Socrates makes upon the education of Julian the Apostate, that, in his youth, he frequented the church^g, where, in those days, the schools were kept. He speaks of the schools of grammar and rhetoric, which, it seems, were then taught at Constantinople, in some apartment belonging to the church. Here, also, it is probable those famous catechetic schools of Alexandria and Casarea were kept. For Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, is said by Ruffin^h to have authorized Origen to teach as catechist in the church. Which, as I have noted in anotherⁱ place, cannot be understood of preaching publicly in the church; for Origen was then but eighteen years old, and not in orders, when he first entered upon the catechetic school; but it must

fundamenta Constantinopolitanæ ad Sophiæ templum bibliothecæ, quæ, progressu temporis, adeo exornata fuit per Theodosium Juniorem imperatorem, ut decem myriades librorum contineret. Nam sacrorum librorum congerendorum tam studiosus fuisse legitur, ut ea laude Ptolomeo Ægyptio haud inferior esset. Multos sanctorum Patrum libros sua manu descripsit, et in hanc bibliothecam reposuit, teste Nicephoro, lib. xiv. c. iii.

^f Lomeier. de Bibliothecis, Ultrajecti, 1680, 8vo.

^g Socrat. lib. iii. c. i. (p. 143, at bottom.) 'Ιουλιανὸς αὐξηθεὶς, τῶν ἐν Κωνσταντινίου πόλει παιδευτηρίων ἡκροᾶτο εἰς τὴν βασιλικήν, ἐνθα τότε καὶ παιδευτήρια ἦν.

^h Ruffin. (Eusebius, Histor. iii. c. iii. p. 226. D 9.) Demetrius catechizandi ei, id est, docendi magisterium in ecclesia tribuit.

ⁱ Book iii. chap. x. sect. iv.

mean his private teaching in the school of the church. Which, whether it was in the *catechumenia* within the church, or in the *baptisteria*, or *pastophoria*, without the church, is not very easy, nor very material, to be determined; since it appears to have been in some place belonging to the church, but not precisely determined by any ancient writers. Whilst I am upon this head, I cannot but take notice of a canon attributed to the sixth General Council of Constantinople, which promotes the setting up of charity schools in all country churches. For, among those nine canons, which are ascribed to this Council in some ancient collections, and published by Crabbe, there is one to this purpose^j, that presbyters, in country towns and villages, should have schools to teach all such children as were sent to them, for which they should exact no reward, nor take any thing, except the parents of the children thought fit to make them any charitable present, by way of voluntary oblation. And another of those canons^k speaks of schools in churches and monasteries, subject to the bishop's care and direction. From which we may conclude, that schools were anciently very common appendants both of cathedral and country churches; and, therefore, it was not improper to hint thus much of them here, though a more full account of other things relating to them will make a part in this work hereafter in its proper place.

SECT. XIII.—*In what sense Dwelling-houses, Gardens, and Baths, reckoned parts of the Church.*

Eusebius, in his description of the church of the twelve apostles, built by Constantine, at Constantinople, takes notice of some other buildings and places belonging to the church; for that church, he says, was surrounded with a large *atrium*

^j Conc. Gen. V. can. v. apud Crab. tom. ii. p. 415. Presbyteri per villas et vicos scholas habeant. Et si quis fidelium suos parvulos ad discendas litteras eis commendare vult, eos non renuntient suscipere. Nihil autem ab eis pretii exigant, nec aliquid ab eis accipiant, excepto, quod eis parentes eorum, caritatis studio, sua voluntate obtulerint.

^k Concil. Gen. VI. can. iv. Si quis ex presbyteris voluerit nepotem suum aut aliquem consanguineum ad scholas mittere in ecclesiis sanctorum, aut in cœnoibiis, quæ nobis ad regendum commissa sunt, licentiam id faciendi concedimus.

or *area*, on each side of which were porticoes or cloisters, and along by them¹, first, οἰκοὶ βασιλικοὶ, which Valesius renders *basilicæ*; but I think Musculus something better, *domus basilicæ*; for they seem not to mean ‘royal palaces,’ but ‘the houses of the clergy adjoining to the church.’ Then he adds λουτρά, which, in this place, neither signifies the ‘baptistery,’ nor ‘the fountain before the church,’ but ‘baths belonging to the church;’ which, in a law of Theodosius^m, that speaks also of the several parts of the church where men should be allowed to take sanctuary, is called more plainly *balnea*, and in the Greek copy λουτρά, as well in the Code as in the Acts of the Council of Ephesus, where the same law is recited. Eusebius adds to these ἀνακαμπτήρια, which Musculus translates *deambulatorii recessus*, taking them, I presume, for ‘walks about the church.’ But Valesius more properly renders them *diversoria*, for they seem to mean the ‘little hospitals,’ or ‘houses of entertainment for the poor and strangers;’ which are the *cellulæ*, ‘the little cells,’ or ‘lodgings,’ if I mistake not, spoken of in the foresaid law of the Theodosian Code. And, perhaps, they might serve as lodgings also for such as fled to take sanctuary in the church; for these might neither eat nor lodge within the church, but only in some of these outward buildings; which, upon that account, were made as safe a retreat as the very altar itself, by the forementioned law of Theodosius. And so were the καταγώγια, as Eusebius calls them, ‘the habitations of the porters,’ or ‘keepers of the church;’ and likewise the gardens, and *area*, and cloisters, enjoyed the same privilege, being within the bounds of the περίβολος, or ‘outward enclosure of the church;’ and, so far as to what concerns the privilege of yielding sanctuary, all these places

¹ Euseb. Vit. Constant. lib. iv. c. lix. (Aug. Taur. Reading, p. 596.) Ἀμφὶ δὲ τοῦτον (νεῶν) αἶθριος ἦν αὐλῇ παμμεγέθης, εἰς αἶρα καθαρὸν ἀναπεπταμένη· ἐν τετραπλεύρῳ δὲ ταύτῃ στοαὶ διέτρεχον, μέσον αὐτῇ νεψ̄ τὸ αἶθριον ἀπολαμβάνουσαι· οἰκοὶ τε βασιλικοὶ ταῖς στοαῖς, λουτρά τε, καὶ ἀνακαμπτήρια παρεξείνετο, ἄλλα τε πλείστα καταγώγια τοῖς τοῦ τόπου φρουροῖς ἐπιτηδείως εἰργασμένα.

^m Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. 45. De his qui ad ecclesias confugiunt, leg. iv. Ut inter templum, quod parietum descripsimus cinctu, et januas primas ecclesie, quicquid fuerit interjacens sive in cellulis, sive in domibus, hortulis, balneis, areis, atque porticibus, confugas, interioris templi vice, tueatur.

were reckoned as parts of the church. But of this more in the last chapter, which treats particularly of the laws relating to the *asyla*, and the privilege of taking sanctuary in the church.

SECT. XIV.—*When Organs first came to be used in the Church.*

I should here have put an end to this chapter, but that some readers would be apt to reckon it an omission, that I have taken no notice of organs and bells among the utensils of the church; but the true reason is, that there were no such things in use in the ancient churches for many ages. Music in churches is as ancient as the apostles, but instrumental music not so; for it is now generally agreed by learned men, that the use of organs came into the church since the time of Thomas Aquinas, an. 1250, for he, in his Summary, has these words: “Our church doesⁿ not use musical instruments, as harps and psalteries, to praise God withal, that she may not seem to Judaize.” From which our learned Mr. Gregory, in a peculiar dissertation^o that he has upon this subject, concludes, “that there was no ecclesiastical use of organs in his time.” And the same inference is made by Cajetan^p and Navarre^q among the Romish writers. Mr. Wharton^r, also, has observed, that Marinus Sanutus, who lived about the year 1290, was the first that brought the use of wind-organs into churches; whence he was surnamed Torsellus, which is the name for an ‘organ’ in the Italian tongue. And, about this time, Durandus, in his *Rationale*^s, takes notice of them as

ⁿ Aquin. Secunda Secundæ, quæst. xci. art. ii. Ecclesia nostra non assumit instrumenta musica, sicut citharas et psalteria, in divinas laudes, ne videatur Judaizare.

^o Gregor. Discourse of the Singing of the Nicene Creed. Inter Opera Posthuma, p. 51.

^p Cajetan. in loc. Aquin. et in Summula. (vid. Hospinian. de Templis, lib. ii. c. xxvi. p. 261, edit. Genev.)

^q Navar. de Orat. et Horis Canonicis, c. xvi.

^r Wharton. Append. ad Cav. Histor. Litter. (Basil. 1745, vol. ii. p. 15.) Marinus Sanutus, cognomento Torsellus, Germani cujusdam artificis opera usus, organa illa pneumatica, quæ hodie usurpantur, italice ‘Torsellos’ dicta, primus omnium in ecclesias induxit: inde datum ei Torselli nomen.

^s Durand. Rational. lib. iv. c. xxxiv. Sane in hoc angelorum . . . concentu quandoque organa concrepant, quod a Davide et Solomone introductum est, qui

received in the Church ; and he is the first author, Mr. Gregory thinks, that so takes notice of them. The use of the instrument, indeed, is much ancients, but not in church service ; the not attending to which distinction is the thing that imposes upon many writers. In the East, the instrument was always in use in the emperors' courts, perhaps from the time of Julian, who has an epigram^t, giving a handsome description of it ; but, in the Western parts, the instrument was not so much as known till the eighth century ; for the first organ that was ever seen in France was one sent as a present to King Pepin by Constantinus Copronymus, the Greek emperor, an. 766 : as Bona himself^u shows out of Sigebert^w and the ancient Annals^x of France ; and Mr. Gregory adds Marianus Scotus, Martin Polonus, Aventine, Platina, and the Pontifical, for the same opinion. But, now, it was only used in princes' courts, and not yet brought into churches ; nor was it ever received into the Greek churches, there being no mention of an organ in all their Liturgies, ancient or modern, if Mr. Gregory's judgment may be taken. But Durantus, however, contends for their antiquity, both in the Greek and Western churches, and offers^y to prove it, but with ill success. First, from Julianus Halicarnassensis, a Greek writer, an. 510, whom he makes to say, that organs were used in the church in his

instituerunt hymnos in sacrificiis organis et aliis instrumentis musicis concerepi laudes a populo conclamari.—Lib. v. c. ii. Tres sunt species sonorum, quæ tres modulos faciunt. Fit enim sonus pulsu, flatu, et voce. Pulsus pertinet ad citharam ; flatus ad tubam et organum ; vox vero ad cantum. Hæc genera musicorum antiquus populus in Dei laudem exercebat.

^t Vid. Vitam Juliani per Morentinum, p. 11.

^u Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. i. c. xxv. n. xix. (Antverp. 1677, p. 486.) In Galliis ignota fuisse organa ante Pipinum, auctor est Sigebertus, anno 766, referens a Constantino Imperatore ipsi dono missa ; antea nunquam visa : idemque narrat Annales Metenses, anno 757.

^w Sigebert. an. 766. [Not. Nihil hujus rei in Sigeberto invenire potui. *Griech.*]

^x Annales Metenses, tom. iii. Script. Histor. Franc. an. 757, p. 27, edit. Dn. du Chesne. Anno Dominicæ incarnationis 757, Constantius imperator misit regi Pipino inter cetera dona organum, quod antea non visum fuerat in Francia.

^y Durant. de Ritib. lib. i. c. xiii. n. ii. (Paris. 1632. p. 92.) Organorum usum in templis antiquissimum probat Julianus ad c. xxxi. Job, enarrans verba illa : 'Si autem ambulavi,' &c. Is autem Julianus longo intervallo S. Gregorium antecessit.

time. But he mistakes the sense of his author, who speaks not of his own times, but of the times of Job and the Jewish temple; for, commenting upon those words of Job (xxx. 31), "My heart is turned to mourning, and my organ into the voice of them that weep," he says, "there was no prohibition to use musical instruments, or organs^a, if it was done with piety, because they were used in the temple." By which it is plain, he speaks of the Jewish temple in the singular, and not of Christian temples or churches in the plural, as Durantus mistakes him. Next, for the Latin Church, he urges the common opinion, which ascribes the invention of them to Pope Vitalian, an. 660; but his authorities for this are no better than Platina and the Pontifical, which are little to be regarded against clear evidences to the contrary. That which some urge out of Clemens Alexandrinus^a, I shall not answer as Suicerus^b does (who with Hospinian^c and some others, wholly decrying the use of instrumental music in Christian churches, says it is an interpolation and corruption of that ancient author), but only observe, that he speaks not of what was then in use in Christian churches, but of what might lawfully be used by any private Christians, if they were disposed to use it; which rather argues that instrumental music, the lute and harp, of which he speaks, was not in use in the public churches. The same may be gathered from the words of St. Chrysostom, who says^d "it was only permitted to the Jews as sacrifice was, for the heaviness and grossness of their souls. God condescended

^a Julian. Catena in Job, xxx. p. 465. Οὐδὲ κεκρῆσθαι ὀργάνοις ἀπείρητο, μετ' εὐσεβείας γινόμενου, ὅπουγε ἐν τῷ ναῷ τούτοις ἐκίχρητο.

^a Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. ii. c. iv. (Venet. 1757. p. 194. 15.) Κἀν πρὸς καθάραν ἐθελήσῃς ἡ ἑλὺραν ᾄδειν τε καὶ ψάλλειν, μῶμος οὐκ ἔστιν, κ. τ. λ.

^b Suicer. Thesaur. voce ὄργανον, pp. 501. 503, quem vide.

^c Hospin. de Templis, lib. ii. c. xi. p. 74, edit. Tigur. 1587. (lib. ii. c. xxii. tot. p. 261, edit. Genev.)

^d Chrysostom. in Psalm. cxlix. (Bened. vol. v. p. 501. D 2.) (tom. iii. p. 634, Paris. 1616.) Τὰ ὄργανα δὲ ἐκεῖνα διὰ τοῦτο ἐπιτίτραπτο τότε, διὰ τε τὴν ἀσθένειαν αὐτῶν, καὶ διὰ τὸ κινῆν αὐτοὺς εἰς ἀγάπην καὶ συμφωνίαν, καὶ ἐγείρειν αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν μεθ' ἡδονῆς ποιεῖν τὰ τὴν ὀφέλειαν παρεχόμενα, καὶ εἰς πολλὴν βούλεισθαι αὐτοὺς ἄγειν σπουδὴν διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης ψυχαγωγίας· τὸ γὰρ βάνανσον αὐτῶν καὶ ῥάθυμον καὶ ἀναπεπτωκὸς σοφίζόμενος ὁ Θεός, ἀφυπνίζειν αὐτοὺς ταύτῃ μεθώδευσεν τῇ σοφίᾳ, ἀνακεράσας τῷ πόνῳ τῆς προσεδρίας τὸ ἡδὺ τῆς μελωδίας.

to their weakness, because they were lately drawn off from idols; but now, instead of organs^e, we may use our own bodies to praise him withal." Theodoret^f has many the like expressions in his Comments upon the Psalms and other places; but the author, under the name of Justin Martyr, is more express in his determination as to matter of fact, telling us plainly, that the use^g of singing with instrumental music was not received in the Christian churches as it was among the

^e Ibid. in Psalm. cxliii. (Bened. vol. v. p. 465. A 10.) (tom. i. p. 862.) Τότε μὲν ὄργανα ἦν, δι' ὧν τὰς ψῆδας ἀνέφερον· νυνὶ δὲ ἀντὶ ὀργάνων κεκλησθαι ἔστι τῷ σώματι· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ δι' ὀφθαλμῶν ᾄδειν, οὐ διὰ γλώττης μόνον, καὶ διὰ χειρῶν, καὶ διὰ ποδῶν, καὶ διὰ ἀκοῆς. "Ὅταν γὰρ ἕκαστον τούτων ταῦτα πράττῃ ἂ τῷ Θεῷ φέρι δόξαν καὶ αἶνον, οἶον, ὅταν μὴ ἀκόλαστα ὀφθαλμὸς βλέπῃ, ὅταν μὴ πρὸς ἀρπαγὰς αἱ χεῖρες, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐλεημοσύνην ὥς τεταμέναι, ὅταν πρὸς ψαλμῶν καὶ πνευματικῶν ἀκουσμάτων ὑποδοχὴν ὥσιν αἱ ἀκοαὶ παρισκευασμέναι· ὅταν πρὸς ἐκκλησίαν οἱ πόδες τρέχωσιν, ὅταν ἡ καρδία δόλους μὴ ῥάπτῃ, ἀλλ' ἀγάπην βρῇ, γίνεται ψαλτήριον καὶ κιθάρα τοῦ σώματος τὰ μέλη, καὶ ᾄδει καὶ νῦν ψῆδον, οὐ τὴν διὰ ῥημάτων, ἀλλὰ τὴν διὰ πραγμάτων.

^f Theodoret. in Psalm. xxxii. 2. (Halæ, 1769. vol. i. p. 806.) (tom. i. p. 517, Paris. 1642.) 'Εξομολογεῖσθε τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν κιθάρᾳ, ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ δεκαχόρδῳ ψάλατε αὐτῷ· ᾄσατε αὐτῷ ᾄσμα καινόν, καλῶς ψάλατε αὐτῷ ἐν ἀλαλαγμῷ . . . Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα κατὰ τὴν νομικὴν ἐπιτελεῖτο λατρεία· καὶ γὰρ κιθάραις, καὶ κυμβάλοις, καὶ τυμπάνοις, καὶ ἑτέροις μουσικοῖς ὀργάνοις ἐκέχρητο. ἀλαλαγμὸς δὲ ἐστὶν ἐπινίκιος βοή, κατὰ τῶν φευγόντων ὑπὸ τῶν νικούντων γινομένη· ἀρμόττει δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν τὰ εἰρημένα πνευματικῶς νοούμενα· καὶ δυνατὸν ἡμᾶς εἰσχεῖν καὶ παναρμόνιον ὄργανον ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀποφῆναι, καὶ διὰ τῶν αἰσθητηρίων ἀπάντων τῶν αἰσθητῶν τε καὶ νοητῶν τὸν Θεὸν ἀννυμῆσαι. — Id. in Psalm. cl. 5, 6. (p. 1584.) Τούτοις οἱ Λευῖται πάσαι τοῖς ὀργάνοις ἰχρῶντο ἐν τῷ θείῳ νεῷ τὸν Θεὸν ἀννυμῶντες· οὐκ ἐπειδὴ Θεὸς ἐτέρπετο τῇ τούτων ἡγῇ, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τῶν γινομένων τὸν σκοπὸν ἀπέδειξετο· ὅτι γὰρ ψῆδαίς καὶ κρούμασι τὸ θεῖον οὐκ ἐπιτέρπεται, ἀκούομεν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος 'Ιουδαίοις, 'Απόστησον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἵχον ψῶν σου, καὶ φωνῆς ὀργάνων σου οὐκ ἀκούσομαι· ταῦτα τοῖνυν γίνεσθαι συνεχώρησε, τῆς τῶν εἰδώλων αὐτοὺς πλάνης ἀπαλλάξαι θελήσας· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ φιλοπαίγμονές τινες ἦσαν, καὶ φιλογέλωτες, ταῦτα δὲ ἅπαντα ἐν τοῖς εἰδώλων ἐπιτελεῖτο ναοῖς, συνεχώρησε ταῦτα, διὰ τούτων αὐτοὺς ἐφελκόμενος, καὶ τῇ ἐλάττωνι βλάβῃ κωλύων τὴν μείζονα, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀτελῶν προπαιδεύων τὰ τέλεια.

^g Justin. Quæst. et Respons. ad Orthodox. quæst. cvii. (Benedict. 1742. p. 486.) Οὐ τὸ ᾄσαι ἀπλῶς ἔστι τοῖς νηπίοις ἀρμόδιον, ἀλλὰ τὸ μετὰ τῶν ἀψύχων ὀργάνων ᾄσαι, καὶ μετὰ ὀρχήσεως καὶ κροτάλων· διὸ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις προαίρεται ἐκ τῶν ᾠμάτων ἢ χρῆσις τῶν τοιούτων ὀργάνων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν νηπίοις ὄντων ἀρμόδιων, καὶ ὑπολείπεται τὸ ᾄσαι ἀπλῶς.

Jews in their infant state, but only the use of plain song. So that there being no use of organs till the twelfth century, I could not speak of them as utensils of the ancient churches.

SECT. XV.—*Of the Original of Bells, and how Church Assemblies were called before their Invention.*

For the same reason I reckon not bells among the ancient utensils, because they are known to be a modern invention. For the first three hundred years, it is certain, the primitive Christians did not meet in their assemblies by the notice of any public signal, though Amalarius^b fancies they had some sounding instruments of wood for this purpose; but this is so absurd a fancy, and altogether groundless dream, to imagine that, in an age of persecutions, when they met privately in the night, they should betray themselves as it were, and provoke their enemies to destroy them, that neither Bonaⁱ nor Baronius^k

^b Amalar. de Officiis, lib. iv. c. xxi. (in Bibliothec. Patr. Max. tom. xiv. p. 1016. G.) Omnis salutatio deest in istis tribus diebus . . . nec altitudo signorum, quæ fiebat per vasa ærea, deponitur, et lignorum sonus usquequaque humilior æris sono, necessario pulsatur, ut conveniat populus ad ecclesiam. Potest et in hoc humilior usus ecclesiæ Romanæ designari antiquis temporibus, quam nunc sit, et præcipue tunc, quando latitabat per cryptas propter persecutores : nam adhuc junior Roma, quæ antiquis temporibus sub uno domino cum antiqua Roma regebatur, usum lignorum tenet, non propter æris penuriam, sed propter vetustatem.

ⁱ Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. i. c. xxii. n. i. (Antverp. p. 429.) Amalarius lignorum sonitu Christianum populum congregatum ait, quando latitabat per cryptas propter persecutores. Non adsentitur Amalario Baronius (an. 58, n. cviii.) et merito : tum quia hujus rei nullum exstat antiquum monumentum : tum etiam quia ratio ipsa non patitur, ut eo tempore, quo abdita loca ad conveniendum studiosissime quærebant, eo lignorum strepitu se proderent, et ad necem sibi inferendam Gentiles provocarent.

^k Baron. an. 58, n. cviii. (Lucæ, vol. i. p. 527.) (edit. Antverp. 1610.) (n. ciii. edit. 1670.) Haud assentimur Amalario, qui existimavit, tempore persecutionis ecclesiæ, sonitu lignorum (ut fit hodie tribus ultimis diebus majoris hebdomadæ) ad synaxin vocari solitos Christianos. Ejus enim rei usus quum nullum prorsus vetus reperiatur monumentum litteris consignatum ; nec ratio ipsa patiatur, ut quum hæc illi secretius agenda curarent, tanto lignorum strepitu omnium Gentilium aures et oculos in se converterent ; haud nobis probari potest : quum præsertim nec verum fuisse appareat, solitum esse olim (ut nunc ea fit ratione tribus illis diebus majoris hebdomadæ) moestitie tantum tempore, convocandum populum ligna pulsari.

himself could digest it. But Baronius has another fancy, which is not much better grounded. He supposes there was an order of men appointed on purpose to give private notice to every member when and where the assembly was to be held, and these (he says¹) are called *cursores*, or *θεόδρομοι*, 'couriers,' in the ancient language of the Church. His sole authority for this is Ignatius^m, in his Epistle to Polycarp, where he has indeed the name, but in a quite different sense from what Baronius explains it to be; for he speaks not of persons employed in calling together religious assemblies, but of 'messengers' to be sent from one country to another upon the important affairs of the Church; as any one that looks carefully into Ignatius will easily discern. These he in another placeⁿ calls *θεοπρεσβύτες*, 'divine ambassadors,' as all learned men agree that it ought to be read; and so the old Latin translation has it, *sacros legatos*; and Polycarp^o uses the same name when he speaks of those 'messengers of the churches.' These were commonly some deacons, or others of the inferior clergy, whom the bishop thought fit to send upon the embassies of the Church. But as to calling of religious assemblies, we are not sure how it was then performed, save only that it was done in a private way; and perhaps the deaconesses were the fittest persons to be employed therein, as being least known or suspected by the heathen, but for want of light we can determine nothing about it. In the following ages we find several other

¹ Ibid. n. cvii. (cii.) Urgente persecutione, haud liberum erat ibidem loci semper convenire; sed necesse erat frequenter mutare loca, eademque nec inventu facilia. Quamobrem privatim singulos a ministro ecclesiæ id muneris obeunte, qui 'cursor' dicebatur, episcopi seu presbyteri monitu vocari opus erat. De cursoris electione hæc habet Ignatius, scribens ad Polycarpum: 'Decet, beatissime Polycarpe,' &c. Vid. lit. seq. (m).

^m Ignat. Epist. ad Polycarp. n. vii. (Coteler. vol. ii. p. 97.) Πρέπει, Πολύκαρπε θεομακαριστότατε, συμβούλιον ἀγαγεῖν θεοπρεσβύτατον, καὶ χειροτονῆσαι εἰ τινα, ὃν ἀγαπητὸν λίαν ἔχετε καὶ ἄκονον, ὃς δυνήσεται θεόδρομος καλεῖσθαι τοῦτον καταξιώσαι, ἵνα πορευθεὶς εἰς Συρίαν δοξάσῃ ὑμῶν τὴν ἄκονον ἀγάπην εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ.

ⁿ Ignat. Epist. ad Smyrn. n. xi. (Coteler. vol. ii. p. 38.) Πρέπει εἰς τιμὴν Θεοῦ χειροτονῆσαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν θεοπρεσβυτάτην (leg. θεοπρεσβύτες), κ. τ. λ.

^o Polycarp. Epist. ad Philipp. n. xiii. (Coteler. vol. ii. p. 85.) "Ὅτι ποιήσω, ἰδὼν λάβω καιρὸν εὐθετον, εἴτε ἐγὼ, εἴτε ὃν πέμψω πρεσβεύοντα καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν.

inventions, before bells, to call religious assemblies together. In Egypt, they seem to have used trumpets, after the manner of the Jews; whence Pachomius^p, the father of the Egyptian monks, makes it one article of his rule, that every monk should leave his cell as soon as he heard the sound of the trumpet calling to church. And the same custom is mentioned by Johannes Climacus^q, who was abbot of Mount Sinai, in the sixth century; whence we may conjecture that the old usage continued till that time in Palestine also. But in some monasteries they took the office by turns of going about to every one's cell, and with the knock of a hammer calling the monks to church: which custom is often mentioned by Cassian^r, and Palladius^s, and Moschus^t, as used chiefly for their night assemblies; whence the instrument is termed by them the 'night signal,' and the 'wakening mallet.' In the monastery of virgins which Paula, the famous Roman lady, set up and governed at Jerusalem, the signal was used to be given by one going about and singing *halleluja*; for that word was their call to church, as St. Jerome^u informs us. In other parts of the East they had their sounding instruments of wood, as Bona^v shows at large out of the Acts of the second Council

^p Pachom. Regula, c. iii. (Bibliothec. Patr. tom. xv. p. 629, edit. Paris. 1654.) Quum audierit vocem tubæ ad collectum vocantis, statim egrediatur.

^q Climac. Scala Paradisi, gradu xix. Biblioth. Patr. tom. v. p. 244, cit. edit. (tom. x. p. 451. F. ed. Lugdun. 1611.) Observemus accurate et intelligamus, signo sacre tubæ canente, cogi fratrum cœtus, &c.

^r Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. c. xvii. (Bibl. Max. V. P. vol. vii. p. 23.) Is autem, cui religiosi conventus commonitio, vel synaxeos cura committitur, non passim ut libitum est, nec prout nocte fuerit expergefactus, aut opportunitas eum somni proprii seu insomni coartaverit, fratres etiam ad quotidianas vigilias exsuscitare præsumit, etc.—Id. lib. iv. c. xii. Itaque considerantes inter cubilia sua, et operi ac meditationi studium pariter impendentes, quum sonitum pulsantis ostium ac diversorum cellulas percutientis audierint, ad orationem eos scilicet seu ad opus aliquod invitantis, certatim e cubilibus suis unusquisque prorumpit, etc.

^s Pallad. Histor. Lausiæ. c. civ. Πληρώσας τὸν συνήθη τῶν εὐχῶν κανόνα, τὸ τηλικαῦτα τῷ ἐξυπνιαστικῷ σφυρίῳ τὰς πάντων ἐκρουεν κέλλας, συνάγων αὐτοὺς εἰς τοὺς ἐκκλησίους οἴκους πρὸς ὁρθρινὴν δοξολογίαν.

^t Mosch. Prat. Spirit. Nocturnum pulsare signum, &c.

^u Hieron. Ep. xxvii. Epitaph. Paulæ. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 712.) (p. 178, edit. Basil. 1565, fol.) (p. 115. H. edit. Francof.) Post *Allduja* cantatum (quo signo vocabantur ad Collectam) nulli residere licitum erat.

^v Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. i. c. xxii. n. ii. (Antwerp. p. 430.) Usi sunt etiam

of Nice, and Theodorus Studita, and Nicephorus Blemides, and several other writers. And the use of bells was not known among them, as he observes out of Baronius^w, till the year 865, when Ursus Patriciacus, duke of Venice, made a present of some to Michael, the Greek emperor, who first built a tower to the church of Sancta Sophia to hang them in. But whether it be that this custom never generally prevailed among the Greeks, or whether it be that the Turks will not permit them to use any bells, so it is at present that they have none, but follow their old custom of using wooden boards or iron plates full of holes, which they call *σήμαντρα* and *χειροσήμαντρα*, because they hold them in their hands, and knock them with a hammer or mallet to call the people together to church, as we are informed by Allatius^x, and a late learned

Græci lignorum percussione, quorum usum antiquissimum esse ex Actis secundæ Synodi Nicenæ constat. Ibi enim (act. iv.) ex libro Miraculorum S. Anastasii Martyris legimus, quod quum ejus reliquæ Cæsareæ appropinquarent, cives omnes, lætitia magna perfusi, ligna sacra pulsantes, obviam facti sunt. Eorumdem frequens habetur mentio apud Græcos scriptores. Theodorus Petreorum episcopus, in Vita S. Theodosii Archimandritæ, 'Monachi,' ait, 'lignum pulsabant præter solitam propemodum horam.' Nicephorus Blemides in Vita S. Pauli Latrensis, 'Imperat ut ante tempus lignum congregans monachos pulsetur, et sacra mystagogia peragatur.' Theodorus Studita in Carminibus, 'Veluti tuba percute lignum tempore suo, ut opus est.' Auctor Vitæ S. Niconis cognomento Metanceitæ: 'Et ligni pulsatione omnes fratres convocat.' Et tubæ quidem ac mallei usus ad sola monasteria pertinuisse videtur; ligna autem ab omnibus ecclesiis Orientalibus usurpata fuerunt, longoque spatio permansit eorum consuetudo, quia campanas serius receperunt.

^w Ibid. Campanas usui Græcis esse cœpisse anno 865, refert Baronius ex Historiæ Venetæ scriptoribus adserentibus, Ursum Patriciacum, Venetiarum ducem, primum omnium dono misisse duodecim mirificæ artis et valde sonoras Michaëli Imperatori, qui eas in turri ad S. Sophiam exstructa collocavit.—Baron. ad an. 865, n. cv. (p. 310, tom. x. edit. Antverp. 1670.) Ad hunc quoque annum referunt scriptores prosequuti res Venetas, ærea instrumenta, quæ campanas dicimus, usui esse cœpisse Græcis, missis ipsi a duce Venetiarum, Urso Patriciaco, ad Michaëlem imperatorem.

^x Leo Allat. in Dissertat. de Recentiorum Græcorum Templis. Sacerdotes Græci ligneo instrumento ad Græcos in ecclesias convocandos utuntur. Id est, lignum binarum decempedarum longitudine, duorum dignitorum crassitudine, latitudine quatuor, quam optime dedolatum, non fissum aut rimosum, quod manu sinistra medium tenens sacerdos vel alius, dextra malleo ex eodem ligno cursim hinc inde transcurrens modo in unam partem, modo in alteram, prope vel eminus ab ipsa sinistra, ita lignum diverberat, ut ictum nunc plenum, nunc

writer of our own, who has been an eye-witness of their customs. Who first brought bells into use in the Latin Church, is a thing yet undetermined; some ascribing them to Pope Sabianus, St. Gregory's successor, an. 604; and others to Paulinus, bishop of Nola, contemporary with St. Jerome. This last is certainly a vulgar error, and seems to owe its rise to no other foundation, but only that he was bishop of Nola, in Campania (where bells, perhaps, were first invented, and thence called *nolæ* and *campanæ*), and some bold modern writer thence concluded that he was therefore the author of them. And it might make the story look a little more plausible, because that he also founded a church in Nola. But then it happened, unluckily for this fiction, that he himself describes his church, and that very minutely, in his twelfth Epistle to Severus, but takes no notice of tower or bells, though he is exact in recounting all other lesser edifices belonging to his church; which, as Bona truly observes, is a shrewd argument, joined with the silence of all other ancient writers, to prove that he was not the inventor of them. Yet Bona, after all, would have it thought that they began to be used in the Latin Church immediately upon the conversion of Christian emperors, because the *tintinnabula*, or 'lesser sort of bells,' had been used before by the heathens to the like purpose; which is an argument, I think, that has very little weight in it,* since there is no ancient author that countenances his conjecture. For he produces none before Audoenus Rothomagensis, that mentions the use of the *tintinnabula*, nor any before Bede, that uses the name *campana*, both which authors lived in the seventh century; and that is an argument that these things were not come into use among Christians long before, else we might have heard of them in writers before them, as we frequently do in those that follow after. I need not now tell any reader that the popish custom of consecrating, and

gravem, nunc acutum, nunc crebrum, nunc extensum edens, perfecta musices scientia auribus suavissime moduletur.

Y Dr. Smith's Account of the Greek Church, p. 70. They are forbidden the use of bells. But to supply that defect, in the villages which they enjoy to themselves, to call the people together to church, they make use of a wooden board, or iron plate full of holes, which they knock with a hammer or mallet.

anointing, and baptizing of bells, and giving them the name of some saint, is a very modern invention. Baronius carries it no higher than the time of John XIII., an. 968, who consecrated the great bell of the Lateran church, and gave it the name of John^a, from whence he thinks the custom was authorized in the Church. Menardus^a and Bona^b would have it thought a little more ancient, but yet they do not pretend to carry it higher than one age more, to the time of Charles the Great, in whose time some rituals, Menardus says, had a form of blessing and anointing bells, under this title or rubric, *ad signum ecclesiæ benedicendum*, 'a form for blessing of bells.' And it is not improbable but that such a corruption might creep into the rituals of those times, because we find, among the Capitulars of Charles the Great, a censure and prohibition of that practice, *ut locas non baptizent*^c, 'that they should

^a Baron. an. 968. (Lucæ, vol. xvi. p. 192.) (tom. x. p. 810, ed. Antverp. 1610.) (n. lxxxvi. p. 797, edit. 1618.) Sed ad Joannem pontificem revertamur, qui Capuæ his peractis, in urbem rediens, quum Imperator ibi adhuc moraretur, contigit primariam Lateranensis ecclesiæ campanam miræ magnitudinis, recens ære fusam, super Campanile elevari, quam prius idem pontifex sacris ritibus Deo consecravat, atque Joannis nomine, puto Baptistæ, cujus ecclesiæ esset usui, nuncupavit. Qui sacer ritus in ecclesia perseveravit, ut eo modo, quo ipse usus, campanæ in ecclesiis collocandæ, Deo primum, imposito eis nomine, dicarentur.

^a Menard. Not. in Sacramental. Gregor. p. 207, (p. 438. C 6. vol. iii. opp. Gregor. Paris. 1705.) His de basilicæ dedicatione notatis, subjungendus est ordo in benedictione signi, hoc est nomen seu campanæ, qui exstat in Codicibus Rhemensi et Ratoldi abbatis. In Codice igitur Rhemensi ita habetur: 'Ad signum ecclesiæ benedicendum: Benedic, Domine, hanc aquam benedictione cœlesti,' etc. In Codice Ratoldi: 'Ad signum ecclesiæ benedicendum. In primis, intingue ter in aqua, et laves in ea quæ benedicenda est his verbis: Benedic, Domine,' etc.

^b Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. i. c. xxii. n. vii. (Antverp. 1677. p. 434.) Usus quidem benedicendi campanas scribit Baronius a Joanne XIII. traxisse originem, qui anno 968, campanam Lateranensem miræ magnitudinis, antequam super campanile elevaretur, sacris ritibus Deo consecravat, atque Joannis nomine nuncupavit, 'qui ritus,' inquit, 'in ecclesia perseveravit.' Sed multo antiquiorem esse ex ritualibus libris integro sæculo ante Joannem XIII. conscriptis palam fit, in quibus formula benedicendi et ungendi campanas reperitur, hoc præfixo titulo, 'ad signum ecclesiæ benedicendum,' ut eruditissimus Menardus testatur in notis ad lib. Sacramental. p. 207, ex Codice Rhemensi tempore Caroli Magni exarato.

^c Capitular. Caroli Magni, cited by Durantus de Ritib. Eccles. Cath. lib. i.

not baptize clocks,' which is the old German name for a 'bell.' But what was then prohibited has since been stiffly avowed and practised, and augmented also with some additional rites, to make bells a sort of charm against storms, and thunder, and the assaults of Satan; as the reader that pleases may see the ceremony described by Sleidan^d and Hospinian^e out of the old Pontificals of the Romish Church. But I fear my readers will begin to accuse me now, instead of an omission, of making too long a digression, upon this subject; and therefore I return to the business of ancient churches.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE ANATHEMATATA, AND OTHER ORNAMENTS OF THE ANCIENT CHURCHES.

SECT. I.—*What the Ancients meant by their Anathemata in Churches.*

AFTER having taken a distinct survey of the chief parts and buildings, and common utensils of the ancient churches, it will not be amiss to cast our eyes upon the ornamental parts thereof, and consider a little after what manner the first Christians beautified their houses of prayer. The richness and

c. xxii. n. ii. Plura de tintinnabulis Rhodiginus. Appellantur item clocæ, vocabulo Germanico, ut in Capitulari Caroli Magni, ut clocas non baptizent.

^d Sleidan. Commentar. lib. xxi. (Argentor. 1555.) p. 388. (p. m. 659.) Consimili ratione tractantur campanæ; et primo quidem sic eas pendere oportet, ut circumire possit episcopus, qui quum psalmos aliquot demurmuravit, aquam et salem consecrat, simulque miscet; eaque foris et intus campanam diligenter lavat, post extergit, et oleo sacro formam crucis in ea describit, Deumque precatur, ut quum impellitur et insonat campana, fides et caritas in animis hominum augeatur, facessant omnes insidie diaboli, grando, fulmina, venti, tempestates, et omnis intemperies mitigetur; ubi crucem illam oleatam linteo deterisit, septem alias cruces in ea format, intus vero solum unam: postea psalmos aliquot recitans, campanæ turibulum subdit, et suffitum facit, eique bene precatur, plerisque in locis epulum dari consuevit et peragi convivium, non secus atque in nuptiis.

^e Hospinian. de Templis, lib. iv. c. ix. tot. p. 113, seq. edit. Tigur. (p. 391, seq. edit. Genev.)

splendour of some of their fabrics, and the value of their utensils belonging to the altar, many of which were of silver and gold, I have already taken notice of. What, therefore, I shall further add in this place, concerns only the remaining ornaments of the church, some of which were a little uncommon, and but rarely mentioned by modern writers. The general name for all sorts of ornaments in churches, whether in the structure itself, or in the vessels and utensils belonging to it, was anciently *anathemata*; which, though it most commonly signifies persons devoted or accursed by excommunication, or separation from the Church, yet it sometimes also denotes things given to God, and devoted to his honour and service; in which sense all the sacred vessels and utensils of the church, and all gifts and ornaments belonging to it, were called *anathemata*, because they were set apart from common use to God's honour and service. Some of the Greeks distinguish thus between *ἀναθήματα* and *ἀναθέματα*, as Suicerus has^a observed out of Chrysostom^b, and Hesychius^c, and Balsamon^d, and Zonaras^e, making the first to signify 'ornaments of the church,' or 'things devoted to God's honour;' and the other, 'things accursed,' or 'devoted to destruction.' But others of them

^a Suicer. Thes. voce ἀνάθημα, pp. 268, 269.

^b Chrysostom. Hom. xvi. in Roman. (Bened. vol. ix. p. 603. E.) Τί ἐστι τὸ ἀνάθημα; ἀκουσον αὐτοῦ λέγοντος. Εἴ τις οὐ φιλεῖ τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν, ἔστω ἀνάθημα· τουτέστι, κεχωρίσθω πάντων, ἀλλότριος ἔστω πάντων. Καθάπερ γὰρ τοῦ ἀναθήματος τοῦ ἀνατιθεμένου τῷ Θεῷ οὐδεὶς ἂν τολμήσειεν ἀπλῶς ταῖς χερσὶν ἄψασθαι, οὐδὲ ἐγγὺς γενέσθαι· οὕτω καὶ τὸν χωριζόμενον τῆς ἐκκλησίας, πάντων ἀποτέμνων, καὶ ὡς πορρωτάτω ἀπάγων, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν τῷ δυνάμει ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐναντίου καλεῖ, μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ φόβου πᾶσιν ἀπαγορεύων αὐτοῦ ἀποχωρίζεσθαι καὶ ἀποπηδᾶν· τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀναθήματι, τιμῆς ἕνεκα, οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα ἐγγίσαι· τοῦ δὲ ἀποπηδόντος ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐχωρίζοντο γνώμης ἅπαντες. "Ὅστε ὁ μὲν χωρισμὸς εἰς, καὶ ὁμοίως καὶ τοῦτο κακεῖνο τῶν πολλῶν ἡλλοτριῶται· ὁ δὲ τρόπος τοῦ χωρισμοῦ οὐχ εἰς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐναντίος οὗτος ἐκείνου. Τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἀπείχοντο ὡς ἀνακειμένον Θεῷ, τοῦ δὲ ὡς ἡλλοτριωμένου Θεοῦ, καὶ ἀπορράγιοντος τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

^c Hesych. Lexicon. 'Ανάθημα, ἐπάρατος, ἀκοινωνήτος. 'Ανάθημα, κόσμημα.

^d Balsamon. ad eumd. can. hæc ipsa verba exscripsit.

^e Zonar. in can. iii. Conc. in Templo Sophiæ. 'Ὡς τὰ ἀναθήματα, προσαγόμενα τῷ Θεῷ, χωρίζονται ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων· οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἀνάθημα γενόμενος, ἐκκόπτεται καὶ ἀποδιαιρεῖται ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν πιστῶν ὁμηγύρεως, τῶν ἀνατεθειμένων καὶ ἀφωσιωμένων τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ προσκληροῦται τῷ διαβόλῳ, καὶ ἀνατιθῇσιν αὐτὸς ἑαυτόν.

do not so nicely observe this distinction, but use the same word to signify both 'things devoted to God's use,' and 'things devoted to destruction;' as Suicerus shows in the same place out of Theodoret^f, Cyril^g of Alexandria, the author of the Questions *ad Orthodoxos*, under the name of Justin Martyr^h, and some others. Here I take both words only as signifying 'gifts' or 'ornaments' of churches: in which sense *ἀνάθημα* is used by St. Luke (xxi. 5), for the 'gifts and ornaments of the temple.' And so Eusebius, describing the hemisphere or altar-part of the church of Jerusalem, and the twelve pillars which supported and surrounded it, says, "The heads of the pillars were adorned with silver bowls," which Constantine set up as his beautiful *ἀνάθημα*: that is, 'his gift' or 'offering' to his God. And a little after he says again, "He adorned itⁱ with innumerable gifts of silver, and gold, and precious stones." So that all the rich vessels and utensils of the altar, the rich vestment which the bishop put on when he administered the sacrament of baptism, which was interwoven with gold, and which, as Theodoret^k and Sozo-

^f Theodoret. in c. xiii. Esaiæ. (Halæ, 1770. vol. ii. p. 260.) (tom. ii. p. 59.) Τὸ ἀνάθημα καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἀφιερωμένου τῷ Θεῷ τίθησι τὰ θεῖα λόγια, καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγαν ἀναγοῦς καὶ βεβήλου· ἀνάθημα γὰρ καλοῦμεν καὶ τὰ τῷ Θεῷ προσφερόμενα, καὶ τοὺς διὰ τινὰ παρανομίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκβαλλομένους.—Id. in Sophon. c. i. v. 7, (1563. p. 885.) Τὸ ἀνάθημα διπλὴν ἔχει ἔννοιαν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὸ ἀνακείμενον τῷ Θεῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀλλοτριούμενον ἀνάθημα ἐκκλησίᾳ.—Id. in Ep. ad Rom. ix. 3. (Halæ, vol. iii. p. 98.) Τὸ ἀνάθημα διπλὴν ἔχει τὴν διάνοιαν· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἀφιερωμένον τῷ Θεῷ ἀνάθημα ὀνομάζεται, καὶ τὸ τοῦτου ἀλλότριον τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει προσηγορίαν.

^g Cyrill. Alexandr. lib. v. de Adorat. (p. 144, edit. Paris. 1638, fol.) 'Ἀνάθημα, τουτῆστι, τὸ ἀπονειμηθὲν ἐκάστῳ, καὶ ἀφορισθὲν τῷ Θεῷ.

^h Justin. Martyr. Resp. cxxi. ad Orthodoxos. (Bened. 1746. p. 493.) 'Ἀνάθημα λέγεται τὸ ἀνακείμενον καὶ ἀφορισμένον Θεῷ, καὶ εἰς κοινὴν χρῆσιν μηκέτι λαμβανόμενον· ἢ τὸ ἀπῆλλοτριωμένον Θεοῦ, διὰ κακίαν.

ⁱ Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. iii. c. xxxviii. (Reading, p. 540.) Ὁ δὲ δυωκαίδεκα κίονες ἐσιεφάνουν, τοῖς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀποστόλοις ἰσάριθμοι, κρατῆρσι μεγίστοις ἐξ ἀργύρου πεποιημένοις τὰς κορυφὰς κοσμούμενοι· οὗς δὲ βασιλεὺς αὐτοὺς ἀνάθημα κάλλιστον ἐποιεῖτο τῷ αὐτοῦ Θεῷ.

^j Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. iii. c. xl. (p. 540.) 'Ἐκόσμη δ' αὐτὸν ἀδιηγῆτοις κάλλεσι πλείστων ὕσων ἀναθημάτων, χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ λίθων πολυτελῶν ἐν διαλλαττούσαις ὕλαις.

^k Theodoret. lib. ii. c. xxvii. (Reading, p. 98. B 7.) Τὴν ἱερὰν στολὴν, ἣν ὁ πανεὺφημος Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ βασιλεὺς, τὴν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίαν γεραίρων, δίδωκε τῷ Μακαρίῳ τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης ἀρχιερεῖ, ὥτα ταύτην περι-

men¹ tell us, was one of Constantine's gifts to the church of Jerusalem: these, I say, and all other such like ornaments belonging to the church, as well as what contributed to the beauty and splendour of the fabric itself, were all reckoned among the *anathemata* of the church. But, in a more restrained sense, the *anathemata* sometimes denote more peculiarly those gifts which were hanged upon pillars, and set in public view, as memorials of some great mercy which men had received from God. In allusion to which, Socrates^m thinks the term *anathema* is used for excommunication, because thereby a man's condemnation is published and proclaimed, as if it were hanged up upon a pillar. St. Jerome also had his eye plainly upon this custom, when he speaks of men's giftsⁿ hanging in the church upon golden 'cords,' or being set in golden 'sockets or sconces,' for the word *funale* signifies both. And though he rather advises men to offer their gifts to the true temples of Christ, meaning the bodies and souls of the poor, yet that implies another way of offering their gifts to be in common use; that is, hanging up their *anathemata*, or *donaria* (as he with other Latin writers^o calls them) in the material temples.

βαλλόμενος τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βαπτίσματος ἐπιτελῇ λειτουργίαν· ἐκ χρυσῶν δὲ αὕτη κατισκεύαστο νημάτων· πεπρακέναι τὸν Κύριλλον ἔφη, κ. τ. λ.

¹ Sozom. lib. iv. c. xxv. (p. 157. D 4.) Λιμοῦ καταλαβόντος τὴν Ἱεροσολύμων χώραν, ὡς εἰς ἐπίσκοπον ἔβλεπε τὸ τῶν δεομένων πλῆθος, τῆς ἀναγκαίας τροφῆς ἀπορούμενον· ἐπεὶ δὲ χρήματα οὐκ ἦν οἷς ἐπικουρεῖν ἴδει, κειμήλια καὶ ἱερὰ παραπετάσματα ἀπέδοτο· ἐκ τούτων δὲ λόγος, τινὰ ἐπιγυνῶναι οἰκεῖον ἀνάθημα γυναῖκα ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ θυμέλης ἡμφιεσμένην, κ. τ. λ.

^m Socrat. lib. vii. c. xxxiv. (p. 323. C 3.) Κοινῇ μέντοι ψήφῳ πάντες οἱ κληρικοὶ αὐτὸν ἀνεθέματίσαν· οὕτω γὰρ οἱ Χριστιανοὶ καλεῖν εἰώθαμεν τὴν κατὰ τοῦ βλασφήμου ψῆφον, ὅταν αὐτὴν ὥσπερ ἐν στήλῃ ἀναστήσαντες, φανεράν τοῖς ἄκασι καταστήσωμεν.

ⁿ Hieron. Epist. xxvii. ad Eustoch. in Epitaphio Paulæ. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 723. C 7.) Jactent alii pecunias et in corbonam Dei sera congesta, funalibusque aureis dona pendentia.—Id. Epist. xiii. ad Paulin. Verum Christi templum anima credentis est: Illi offer donaria.

^o Sidon. Apollin. lib. iv. ep. xviii. Utinam molis illius pompam, sive donaria, nil hujus obsequii turpet oblatio, etc.—Paulin. Natal. vi. Felicis.

Cedo, alii pretiosa ferant donaria, meque
Officii sumtu superent, qui pulchra tegendis
Vela ferant foribus, seu puro splendida lino,
Sive coloratis textum fucata figuris, etc.

(Bibl. M. V. Patr. vol. vi. p. 278.)

SECT. II.—*One particular kind of these, called ἑκτυπώματα, when first brought into Churches.*

Among these there was one particular kind of gifts, which they called ἑκτυπώματα, because they were a set of symbolical memorials, or hieroglyphical representations, of the kindness and favour which, in any kind, they had received. When first they began to be offered and set up in churches, is not very easy to determine; but I think Bochart's conjecture^p is very probable, that it was about the middle of the fifth age, because Theodoret is one of the first writers that takes notice of them. He tells us in one of his *Therapeutics*, or Discourses to the Gentiles^q, that when any one obtained the benefit of a signal cure from God in any member of his body, as his eyes, or hands, or feet, &c., he then brought his ἐκτύωμα, the effigies or figure of that part in silver or gold, to be hanged up in the church to God, as a memorial of his favour. This Bochart thinks was done by way of emulation of the Gentiles, among whom it was customary for such as had escaped any great peril or disaster, to consecrate some monument of their by-past evils to their gods that delivered them: as they that had escaped a shipwreck dedicated a tablet to Neptune or Isis, representing the manner of their shipwreck; so gladiators hanged up their arms to Hercules; and slaves and captives, when they got their liberty, and were made free, offered a chain to the Lares^r. And so we read (1 Sam. vi. 4), that the Philistines sent their golden emerods and mice, figures of the things by which

^p Bochart. Hierozoic. part. i. lib. ii. c. xxxvi. p. 368. Quin Christiani horum (gentilium) æmuli, quinto post Christum sæculo cœperunt donaria in templis appendere, imaginem habentia partium, quæ aliquo morbo adflicte convalescant. Ita discrete testatur Theodoretus in octavo Therapeuticon, ὅτι δὲ τυγχάνουσιν, κ. τ. λ. Vid. not. seq. (q).

^q Theod. Serm. viii. de Martyr. (Halæ, 1772. vol. iv. p. 921, at bottom.) (tom. iv. p. 606. A. edit. Paris. 1642.) "Οτι δὲ τυγχάνουσιν ὥνπερ αἰτοῦσιν οἱ πιστῶς ἐπαγγέλλοντες, ἀναφανδὸν μαρτυρεῖ τὰ τούτων ἀναθήματα, τὴν ἰατρειάν δηλοῦντα· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὀφθαλμῶν, οἱ δὲ ποδῶν, ἄλλοι δὲ χειρῶν προσφέρουσιν ἑκτυπώματα· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκ χρυσοῦ, οἱ δὲ ἐξ ὕλης ἀργύρου πεποιημένα· . . . δηλοῖ δὲ ταῦτα προκείμενα τῶν παθημάτων τὴν λύσιν, ἧς ἀνέτιθῃ μνημεῖα παρὰ τῶν ἀρτίων γεγεννημένων.

^r Unde Juvenalis, satir. xii.

. . . Pictores quis nescit ab Iside pasci?

they had suffered, as an offering to the God of Israel. I shall make no further observation upon this practice, but only remark how far the Romish Church is degenerate in this matter from the ancient, who offer now to men more than they do to God, and fill their churches with gifts, acknowledging some tutelar saints as their chief patrons and benefactors.

SECT. III.—*Churches anciently adorned with Portions of Scripture written upon the Walls.*

But to proceed with the ancient churches. Another ornament, which served for use as well as beauty, was their comely and pertinent inscriptions, many of which are preserved and still to be read in ancient authors. These were of two sorts: some taken out of Scripture; others, useful compositions of men's own inventing. The walls of the church seem commonly to have had some select portions of Scripture written upon them, containing some proper admonition and instruction for all in general, or else more peculiar to that order of persons who had their station in such a particular part or division of the church. Thus I have observed before* out of St. Ambrose†, that the place of the virgins had that text of St. Paul sometimes written by it on the walls: “There is difference between a wife and a virgin: the unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord, how she may please the Lord,” &c. And by this

Et Horatius, od. i. v.

... Me tabula sacer
Votiva paries indicat uvida
Suspendisse potenti
Vestimenta maris Deo.

Horat. ep. i.

... Veianius, armis
Herculis ad postem fixis, latet abditus agro.

Horat. lib. i. satir. v. de Sarmento diu servo,

... donasset jamne catenam
Ex voto Laribus, quærebat.

* Book viii. c. v. sect. 9.

† Ambros. ad Virgin. Lapsam, c. vi. (Bened. fol. vol. ii. p. 311.) Nonne vel illa præcepta, quæ oculis tuis ipse scriptus paries ingerebat, recordari debuisti? ‘Divisa est mulier et virgo,’ etc.

one place we may judge how other parts of the church were embellished and adorned with proper instructions out of the Holy Scripture.

SECT. IV.—*And with other Inscriptions of human Composition.*

But, beside these lessons out of the inspired writings, it was very usual to have other inscriptions of human composure written on the several parts and utensils of many churches, of which I have already given some instances out of Paulinus, speaking of the *catechumenia* and *secretaria*^u of the church; and the curious reader may find abundance more of the same nature, upon the baptistery, and the altar, and the frontispiece^v, too long to be here inserted. I shall only here repeat two short distichs, written over the doors of the church: one on the outside, exhorting men to enter the church with pure and peaceable hearts, on this wise:—

‘Pax tibi sit, quicumque Dei penetralia Christi
Pectore pacifico candidus ingrederis.’

And the other on the inner side of the doors, requiring men, when they go out of the church with their bodies, to leave at least their hearts behind them;—

‘Quisquis ab æde Dei, perfectis ordine votis,
Egrederis, remea corpore, corde mane.’

Many other the like inscriptions may be seen in Sidonius^w

^u Book viii. c. vi. sect. xxii.

^v Paulin. Epist. xii. ad Severum. (Bibl. M. Vet. P. p. 193.)

^w Sidon. lib. iv. ep. xviii. (Bibl. M. Vet. Patr. Lugd. vol. vi. p. 1098.) Basilicam sancti pontificis confessorisque Martini Perpetuus episcopus, dignissimus tanto prædecessore successor, multum priori, quæ fuit hactenus, *capacior* novavit. Magnum est, ut ferunt, opus nominandumque; quod in honorem talis viri factum talis vir fecisse debuerit. Hujus me parietibus inscribere supradictis sacerdos hoc compellit epigramma. . . .

Martini corpus, totis venerabile terris,
In quo post vitæ tempora vivit honor,
Texerat hic primum plebeio machina cultu,
Quæ confessori non erat æqua suo:
Nec desistebat cives onerare pudore
Gloria magna viri, gratia parva loci.

Apollinaris and other writers of that age ; but I will only add one more, which for the curiosity of it may deserve to be here inserted : it is the inscription which the Emperor Justinian is said to have written round about the altar of the church of Sancta Sophia. The altar itself, Cedrenus tells us, was a most inimitable work, for it was artificially composed of all sorts of materials that either the earth or the sea could afford,—gold, silver, and all kinds of stones, wood, metals, and other things, which, being melted and mixed together, a most curious table was framed out of this universal mass, and about it was this inscription : “ We, thy servants^x, Justinian and Theodora, offer unto thee, O Christ, thy own gifts out of thy own, which we beseech thee favourably to accept, O Son and Word of God, who wast made flesh, and crucified for our sakes : keep us in the true orthodox faith ; and this empire, which thou hast committed to our trust, augment and preserve it to thy own glory, *πρεσβείαις τῆς ἁγίας θεοτόκου*, ‘ by the intercessions of the Holy Mother of God’ and Virgin Mary.” The reader will not wonder at this last part of this inscription in the sixth age, when the prayers of saints in heaven were thought available without directly praying to them.

Antistes sed qui numeratur sextus ab ipso.

Longam Perpetuus sustulit invidiam :

Internum removens modici penetrabile sacelli,

Amplaque tecta levans exteriore domo.

Creveruntque simul, valido tribuente patrono,

In spatiis sedes, conditor in meritis :

Quæ Salomoniaci potis est configere templo,

Septima quæ mundo fabrica mira fuit.

Nam gemmis, auro, argento, si splenduit illud,

Istud transgreditur cuncta metalla fide.

Livor, abi mordax, absolvanturque priores,

Nil novet aut addat garrula posteritas.

Dumque venit Christus, populos qui suscitet omnes,

Perpetuo durent culmina Perpetui.

^x Cedren. *Hist. Comp. an. 32. Justin. p. 386. C.* Τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοι προσφέρομεν οἱ δοῦλοί σου, Χριστέ, Ἰουστινιανὸς καὶ Θεοδώρα, ἃ εὐμενῶς πρόσδεξαι υἱὲ καὶ λόγε τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ σαρκωθείς καὶ σταυρωθείς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ ὁρθοδόξῃ πίστει σου διατήρησον καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἣν ἡμῖν ἐπίστευσας, εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν σου δόξαν αὐξήσον, καὶ φύλαξον πρεσβείαις τῆς ἁγίας θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας.

SECT. V.—*Gilding and Mosaic Work used in the ancient Churches.*

Another considerable part of the ornament of churches was the beautifying of the ‘roof,’ or *camera*, as they then called it. This was done two ways; either by ‘mosaic work,’ which they call *musivum*; or by lacunary work, dividing the roof into several panels, by architects termed *laquearia* or *lacunaria*, from *lacus*, some of which were round, and some square (as Valesius^y observes out of Isidore), and divided either with wood, or plaster, or colours, from each other, and then either gilded or painted, as men’s fancies led them. Both these were used to adorn the ancient churches. The temple of Sancta Sophia was curiously wrought in mosaic or chequer work, as Procopius^z relates; and Constantine’s church, at Jerusalem, was lacunary; for Eusebius^a says, the whole roof was divided into certain carved tables or panels, and all laid over with shining gold: and this he calls, a little before^b, *καμάραν λακωναρίαν*, ‘a lacunary roof adorned with gold.’ Some churches, as that of Paulinus^c, of Nola, were beautified both

^y Isidor. Origin. lib. xix. (Du Breul, 1617. p. 165.) *Laquearia sunt, quæ cameram subtegunt et ornant: quæ et ‘lacunaria’ dicuntur; quod ‘lacus’ quosdam quadratos vel rotundos ligno, vel gypso, vel coloribus, habeat pictos, cum signis intermicantibus.*

^z Procop. de *Ædificiis Justin.* lib. i. c. i. p. 8. B. *Τίς ἂν τῶν ὑπερφῶν τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἑρμηνεύς γένοιτο; ἡ τὰς τε παμπληθεῖς διηγοῖτο στοάς, καὶ τὰς περιστύλους αὐλάς, αἷς ὁ νεὺς περιβέβληται; τίς δὲ τῶν τε κίωνων καὶ λίθων διαριθμῆσαιτο τὴν εὐπρέπειαν, οἷς τὸ ἱερὸν κεκαλλώπισται; λιμῶνι τις ἂν ἐντετυχηκέναι δόξειεν ὥραϊψ τὸ ἄνθος? θαυμάσει γὰρ εἰκότως τῶν μὲν τὸ ἀλουργόν, τῶν δὲ χλοάζον· καὶ οἷς τὸ φοινικοῦν ἐπανθῇ, καὶ ὧν τὸ λευκὸν ἀπαστράπτει· ἔτι μὲν τοι καὶ οὖς ταῖς ἐναντιωτάταις ποικίλλει χροαίς, ὥσπερ τις ζωγράφος, ἢ φύσις.*

^a Euseb. lib. iii. de Vit. Constant. c. xxxvi. (Reading, p. 538. D 10.) *Τὰ τῆς ἔσω στέγης γλυφαῖς φατνωμάτων ἀπηρτισμένα, καὶ ὥσπερ τι μέγα πῖλαγος καθ’ ὅλου τοῦ βασιλείου οἴκου συνεχέσι ταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλας συμπλοκαῖς ἀνευρυνόμενα, χρυσῷ τε διαυγῇ δι’ ὅλου κεκαλυμμένα.*

^b Ibid. c. xxxii. (p. 537.) *Τὴν δὲ τῆς βασιλικῆς καμάραν, πότερον λακωναρίαν, ἢ δι’ ἑτέρας τινὸς ἐργασίας γενέσθαι σοι δοκεῖ, παρὰ σοῦ γινῶναι βούλομαι· εἰ γὰρ λακωναρία εἶναι μέλλοι, δυνήσεται καὶ χρυσῷ καλλωπισθῆναι τὸ λειπόμενον.*

^c Paulin. Epist. xii. ad Sever. pp. 150, 151. Antverp. 1682, 8vo. (in Bibl. Patr. Max. tom. vi. p. 193. B. C. edit. Lugdun. 1677.)

ways; for Paulinus says, the roof of his *apsis*, or ‘altar-part,’ was mosaic work, but the body of the church, and the galleries on both sides the church, was lacunary; that is, divided into panels, as we see in many of our modern churches. The reader that pleases, may see a great deal more of this matter in St. Jerome, who often speaks of their lacunary^d golden roofs, and walls adorned with crust of marble, and pillars with their chapters of shining gold, and gates inlaid with ivory and silver, and altars distinguished and beset with precious stones and gold; though he was no great admirer of these things himself, but a greater friend to charity.

SECT. VI.—*No Pictures or Images allowed in Churches for the first Three Hundred Years.*

They of the Romish Church, when they are describing the ancient churches, commonly add to these other ornaments, that of pictures and images, according to the modern custom; and nothing will content them but to have them as ancient as churches themselves, that is, to be derived from apostolical practice. To this purpose they have invented an Apostolical Council at Antioch, wherein not only the use, but the worship of images, is pretended to be authorized by the apostles: and the credit of this Council is stiffly defended by Baronius^e,

^d Hieron. lib. ii. in Zechar. viii. Non solum laquearia et tecta fulgentia auro, sed parietes diversi marmoris crustis vestiti.—It. Epist. ii. ad Nepotian. Marmora nitent auro, splendent laquearia, gemmis altare distinguitur, &c.—It. Epitaph. Fabiolæ, c. iv. Sonabant psalmi, et aurata templorum tecta reboans in sublime quatiebat Alleluiah.—It. Epist. viii. ad Demetriad. Virgin. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 991.) Alii ædificant ecclesias; vestiant parietes marmorum crustis; columnarum moles advehant, earumque deaurent capita, pretiosum ornatum non sentientia; ebore argentoque valvas, et gemmis aurata distinguant altaria. Non reprehendo, non abnuo. Unusquisque in sensu suo abundet. Meliusque est hoc facere, quam repositis opibus incubare. Sed tibi aliud propositum est, Christum vestire in pauperibus, etc.

^e Baron. an. 102, n. xix. et xx. (Lucæ, vol. ii. p. 22.) Tradunt alii, Antiochiæ ab Apostolis, ad sedandas controversias illic exortas, habitam esse synodum; idque auctoritate Pamphilii Martyris, cujus fragmenta recitat Turrianus, sibi vindicant; qui et canones illos in compendium redactos recenset. Certe quædam Innocentius Romanus pontifex, in epistola ad Alexandrum, episcopum

and Turrian, and Binius, and many such other over-zealous writers; but Petavius^f, and Pagi^g, and other writers of candour and judgment, give it up as a mere forgery, and freely confess it to be a fiction of the modern Greeks. Petavius, also^h, owns, that for three or four of the first ages there was

Antiochenum, ejusmodi synodi apostolicæ meminisse videtur, his verbis agens de ecclesia Antiochena: 'Ubi,' inquit, 'et nomen accepit religio Christiana, et quæ conventum Apostolorum apud se celeberrimum meruit: quæque urbis Romæ sedi non cederet, nisi quod illa per transitum meruit, ista apud se susceptum consummatumque gaudet.' Sed quinam hi canones fuerint, ab eodem auctore summatim descriptos hic intexere, haud erit otiosum. Est enim canon primus ordine, ut credentes in Dominum Jesum, quos illius temporis homines (ut habent Acta) appellabant discipulos, dicerentur Christiani. Secundus, ne baptizatus Judaico more circumcideretur. Tertius, ut omni nationi ad ecclesiam aditus pateret, nec quisquam a religione Christiana excluderetur. Quartus de evitanda avaritia et quæstibus iniquis. Huic junctus est canon quintus ordine, de vitio gulæ coërcendo, curiositateque vitanda ludorum, qui in theatris exhiberi soliti essent, deque abstinendo a juramento. Sextus ordine, de vitanda scurrilitate et moribus gentium. Quæ omnia quod desiderari videantur in Canonibus Apostolicis, ea videtur esse causa, ob quam recensita habeantur in Constitutionibus ejusdem Clementis, illo excepto, qui septimus ponitur ordine, ex Græco in hæc verba redditus: 'Ne decipiantur salvati ob idola: sed pingant ex opposito divinam humanamque' [alii Græcum *Θεανδρικῆς* 'Deivirilem' reddunt] 'manufactam, impermixtam effigiem Dei veri cum Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, ipsiusque servorum contra idola et Judæos. Neque errent in idolis neque similes fiant Judæis;' huc usque verba canonis. At ne imposturam suspiceris, habes hunc ipsum canonem citatum in Concilio Nicæno secundo, etc.—[Binius Not. in Conc. Antioch. (Conc. tom. i. p. 62.) Antiochiæ ab apostolis ad sedandas controversias illic exortas, habitam esse synodum. . . . Turrianus confirmat, cetera uti apud Baronium, jam adlegatum.—*Grischov.*]

^f Petav. Dogmat. Theolog. de Incarnat. lib. xv. c. xiv. n. v. (p. 326, edit. Antverp. 1700.) Quod ad illum Canonem Apostolorum attinet, quem primus edidit in luceum Franciscus Turrianus; eum puto supposititium esse; cujusmodi sunt pleraque Græcorum recentiorum: idque satis evincit nomen ipsum *Θεανδρικῆς* antiquitati illi nequitum usitatum, et a Dionysio primitus inventum.

^g Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 56, n. iii. (Lucæ, vol. i. p. 533.) Turrianus (lib. i. pro Can. Apost. c. xxv.), Baronius, et Binius in sua Collectione Conciliorum, canones novem proferunt Antiocheno cuidam apostolorum Concilio adscriptos, quos apocryphos et plane supposititios esse demonstrat vir eruditissimus. Præterquam quod enim nulla eorum occurrit memoria in veteribus ecclesiasticæ historiæ monumentis ante Baronium, neque in Patribus, Conciliis, aut Canonum codicibus ante Binium, plurima falsa et absurda in eis continentur.

^h Petav. ibid. c. xiii. n. iii. sub fin. Credibile est, parcius ab illis usurpatis fuisse (effigies) primis fere quatuor sæculis: per quæ nefanda dæmonum in idolis religio, et Christiani nominis crudelissima vexatio cursum suum tenuit.

little or no use of images in churches; and, indeed, the evidences are so plain, that none but they who resolve to wink hard can deny them. The silence of all ancient authors is good evidence in this case. The silence of the heathen is further confirmation; for they never recriminated, or charged the use of images upon them. Nay, in the last persecution, when they often plundered and pillaged their churches, we never read of any images seized in them, though we have several particular catalogues, or inventories, of what they found there, left upon record by the heathen. It is a very full one which Baronius¹ first published, and is since inserted among the Collections¹ at the end of Optatus. There is a particular breviat of all things found by the persecutors in the church of Paul, bishop of Cirta, in Numidia, where we find mention made of cups, and flagons, and bowls, and water-pots, and lamps, and candlesticks, and torches, and coats, and other clothing for men and women, which in those days seem to be laid up in store either for the poor or the ascetics of the Church; but of images or pictures there is not a syllable; which is, at least, a good negative argument that there was no such thing then in their churches. Nay, there are positive proofs, in the fourth age, that in some places they were not then allowed to be set up in churches: as in Spain, in the time of the Council of Eliberis, an. 305, there was a positive decree against them; for one of the canons of that council runs in

Quinto demum sæculo, postquam, adepta libertatem, lacertos quodammodo suos explicare cœpit ecclesia; plerisque in locis imagines palam haberi cœpta, atque in templis et oratoris propositæ sunt: quum hactenus, etsi in usu essent aliquo, non tamen adeo promiscuæ, ac frequentes adhiberentur.—Pagi, *ibid.* Certum est, imagines Christi, et maxime statuas, primis ecclesiæ sæculis non fuisse substitutas loco idolorum, nec fidelium venerationi expositas.

¹ Baron. ad an. 303, n. xii.

J Gesta Purgat. Cecilian. ad calcem Optati, p. 266. (Labbe, c. i. p. 1444. C 9.) In brevi, sic: calices duo aurei; item calices sex argentei; urceola sex argentea; cucumellum argenteum; lucernæ argentæ septem; cereofala duo; candelæ breves ænæ cum lucernis suis septem; item lucernæ aureæ undecim, cum catenis suis. Tunice muliebres octoginta duæ; mafortea triginta octo; tunice viriles sedecim; caligæ vi riles paria tredecim; caligæ muliebres paria quadraginta septem; coplæ rusticane undeviginti.

these words:—"We decree^k, that pictures ought not to be in churches, lest that which is worshipped and adored be painted upon the walls." And it was certainly so in Cyprus to the end of this century, as appears from that famous Epistle of Epiphanius to John, bishop of Jerusalem, translated by St. Jerome; where, speaking of his passage through Anablatha, a village of Palestine, he says, "He found there a veil hanging before the doors of the church, wherein was painted^l the image of Christ, or some saint, for he did not well remember whether it was; but seeing, however, the image of a man hanging in the church, against the authority of Scripture, he tore it in pieces, and advised the guardians of the church rather to make a winding-sheet of it to bury some poor man in." Some storm against this passage, as an interpolation of some modern Greek iconoclast; which is the common evasion of Bellarmine^m, and Baroniusⁿ, and the rest that follow them. But Petavius^o owns it to be genuine, and says, "Images were not allowed in the time of Epiphanius, in the Cyprian churches;" which is certainly the truth of the matter, when men have used all their arts and shifts to persuade the contrary. The common writers of the Romish Church are as uneasy about the Council of Eliberis. Baronius flies to the old refuge of imposture in that

^k Conc. Illiber. c. xxxvi. (tom. i. Conc. p. 974.)

^l Epiph. Epist. ad Johan. Hierosol. Inveni ibi velum pendens in foribus ejusdem ecclesie tinctum atque depictum, et habens imaginem quasi Christi vel sancti ejusdam. Non enim satis memini cujus imago fuerit. Cum ergo hoc vidissem, in ecclesia Christi, contra auctoritatem Scripturarum, homines pendere imaginem, scidi illud, et magis dedi consilium custodibus ejusdem loci, ut pauperem mortuum eo obvolverent et efferrent. [See note (n) p. 428.]

^m Bellarm. de Imagin. lib. ii. c. ix. Thomas Waldensis, tom. iii. tit. xix. c. clvii. dicit, Epiphanium propter hæresim Anthropomorphitarum tunc vigentem hoc fecisse. Alii dicunt, Epiphanium loqui de imagine hominis profani, quæ ibi honorabatur instar imaginum Christi et sanctorum: ita respondet Marianus Victorius in adnotatione ad hanc epistolam; 'Communior et verior solutio est, verba illa esse supposititia,' etc.

ⁿ Baron. ad an. 392, p. 668, edit. 1610. (pp. 677, 678. No. xlviii. seqq. edit. 1670.)

^o Petav. de Incarnat. lib. xv. c. xiv. n. viii. Quidam laciniam hanc ad Epiphaniï Epistolam adtextam esse putaverunt. Fortassis eo pertinebit, quod paullo ante monui, nondum in Cypro, ubi habitabat Epiphanius, usitatum illud fuisse, ut imagines in ecclesiis hujusmodi proponerentur.

single canon; others say they are all of the same stamp; others, who think this is a little too crude and bold, soften the matter by saying, images were only prohibited for fear the Gentiles should think Christians worshipped stocks and stones; or it was only images painted upon the walls that were prohibited, because these were liable to be abused by the persecutors, which others, that might be removed, were not liable to. So Sylvius, in his notes upon this canon. Others fly to the new notion of *disciplina arcani*, and tell us it was only the images of God and the Trinity that are prohibited (not the images of saints and martyrs), and that only for fear the catechumens and Gentiles should be let into the secrets of their religion, and understand the mystery of the Trinity before their time. Which pleasant notion was first invented by Mendoza^p, approved by Cardinal Bona^q, and highly mag-

^p Mendoza, Not. in Conc. Illib. c. xxxvi. (tom. i. Conc. p. 1240. A 6.) Summa cura cavebant episcopi, ne religionis nostræ mysteria ludibrio cum auctore haberentur, et irriderentur a Gentibus. Sciebant quippe hujus concilii tempore, quo major populi pars erat ethnicorum, nomen Christi aversis auribus Gentes excipere; quin imo, memoriam ejus molesto et iniquo ferre animo, nefandoque et sacrilego errore, aut extrema potius dementia, irridere, et damnare Christianos, quod audirent illos homines quemdam (ut aiebant) poenæ causa adfixum cruci, colere et adorare, ut Arnobius et Minucius Felix pluribus testantur. Ne igitur huic periculo gravi et pernicioso exponerentur Christi imagines, parietibus ecclesiæ depictæ, ideo ab Hispanis patribus hoc canone interdictæ sunt. Nec abstrusiora solum humanitatis Christi, et divinitatis mysteria publice in ecclesiæ parietibus pingi, displicuit olim episcopis; verum nec alia Christianæ doctrinæ arcana litteris consignari, vel palam publice doceri, fas esse censebant: ne insanis ethnicorum ludibriis et risu illa (ut dixi) exciperentur. . . . Voluerunt semper primi Christiani catechumenos a penitiorum rerum sacrarum intelligentia arceri; quum enim recipiebantur ad catechesin, quædam duntaxat sacramentorum summa velut per transennam illis suppeditabatur, exactiori tractatione provectoribus initiatis reservata, etc.

^q Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. i. c. xvi. n. ii. (Antverp. 1677. p. 393.) Ex hac disciplina (arcani) emanasse puto canonem xxxvii. Concilii Illiberitani, quem Baronius supposititium suspicatur: alii vero multum se torquent, ut congruam ejus atque orthodoxam interpretationem inveniant. Verba canonis hæc sunt: 'Placuit picturas in ecclesia esse non debere, ne quod colitur et adoratur, in parietibus depingatur.' Quibus verbis frustra abutuntur sectarii, ut hujus concilii auctoritate sacrarum imaginum usum et cultum convellant. Alia enim fuit illorum Patrum mens, quæ ex more illius sæculi sollicitè caventis, ne religionis nostræ arcana infidelibus proderentur, æstimanda est. Vetuerunt ergo, ne id quod colitur et adoratur, in parietibus pingeretur: id vero quod pingendum non erat, obscure explicarunt illis verbis, 'quod colitur et adoratur,' ut soli

nified by Schelstrate^r, and Pagi^s, as a clear solution to the Protestant's argument against the worship of images drawn from this canon. But yet this does not satisfy either Albaspiny or Petavius; for Albaspiny thinks the images^t of God and the Trinity were prohibited for fear the catechumens and new converts should entertain wrong notions and dishonourable

fideles intelligenter, eo canone prohiberi imagines Dei et Christi Salvatoris, ne a gentilibus, irruentibus sæpe in ecclesias, contumelia adficerentur, et irriderentur Christiani, ac si hominem colerent tamquam Deum: neve catechumeni Deum, quem incircumscripsum, immensum, et materiæ expertem prædicari audiebant, humana figura pictum videntes, aliquid alienum ab ejus majestate conciperent. Deinde observandum, non prohibuisse in tabulis pingi, quia commode auferri poterant, et obducto velamine a profanorum aspectu submoveri.

^r Schelstrat. *Disciplina Arcani*, c. vi. art. iii. Recte notat Albaspinæus, canonem istum statutum fuisse pro catechumenis potius et gentilibus, quam pro fidelibus et catholicis. Hi enim scientes, Deum sub variis olim figuris apparuisse, ex imaginibus, Deum sub illis formis representantibus, nullam falsam opinionem concepissent. Sed gentiles et catechumeni audientes, a Christianis invisibilem et incorporeum prædicari, humana figura depictum videntes, alienum quid ab ejus majestate concepissent: immo ignorantes mysterium sanctissimæ Trinitatis facile ex picturis illis, Patrem in figura senis, Filium in figura viri, Spiritum Sanctum in figura columbæ representantibus, in notitiam summæ divinitatis venissent, quam eis occultare studebat ecclesia.

^s Pagi, *Critic. in Baron. an. 55*, n. v. (Lucæ, vol. i. p. 459.) Baronii tempore Concilium Illiberitanum multis supposititium visum, quod in eo quædam legantur Catholicæ fidei dogmatibus apparenter repugnantia, uti canon xxxvii. quo vetatur, ne picture in ecclesia habeantur: 'Placuit picturas,' etc. Quo ex canone Protestantes inferunt, quarti ecclesiæ sæculi initio, quo Concilium Illiberitanum celebratum, cultum imaginum in ecclesia non fuisse. Sed sicut decepti sunt Catholici, qui de hujus concilii veritate dubitarunt; ita et errarunt Protestantes, qui præfatum canonem adversus imagines militare existimarunt. In eo enim, ut notat Bellarminus, (lib. ii. de Imagin. c. viii.) agitur de imaginibus Dei sive sanctissimæ Trinitatis; Deus enim et sanctissima Trinitas proprie colitur et adoratur. Illius autem imagines in usu olim non fuisse, docent Patres: cujus rei rationem reddit Origenes, lib. vii. adversus Celsum, circa finem: 'Ut qui Deum incorporeum et invisibilem nulla figura circumscribimus.' Quam rationem magis exponit Albaspinæus in Commentario ad eum canonem: 'In picturis et tabulis,' etc.

^t Albaspin. *Not. in can. xxxvi. Conc. Illiber.* (tom. i. Conc. p. 998, E.) De picturis et tabulis, non vero de figuris et statu, hic agitur: et de picturis quidem, non quibus sancti et martyres, sed quibus Deus ipse, ipsaque Trinitas representaretur. Vetant Deum in parietibus depingi, ne scilicet quem gentilibus et catechumenis immensum, omnipotentem, invisibilem, æternum, incomprehensibilem, spiritualem, corporis et materiæ expertem et immuncem prædicarent, eum ipsi gentiles et catechumeni in ipsorum ecclesiis, lineis et coloribus circumscripsum et comprehensum, cernerent.

thoughts of the majesty of God, when they saw Him whom they were first taught to believe invisible, and immaterial, and incomprehensible, afterward circumscribed in visible lines and colours; which is a reason that will always hold against making images of the Deity, though it does not give the full sense of this canon, which certainly prohibits the use of images in general, and not only those of the Trinity, in churches. And, therefore, Petavius^u gives a more general reason for the prohibition of all images whatsoever at that time, because the remembrance of idolatry was yet fresh in men's minds, and therefore it was not expedient to set up images in the oratories and temples of Christians: so that, in fact, now the case is clear that Christians, for near four hundred years, did not allow of images in churches. Tertullian^v, indeed, once mentions the picture of a shepherd bringing home his lost sheep, upon a communion-cup, in some of the Catholic churches. But as this is a singular instance only of a symbolical representation or emblem, so it is the only instance Petavius pretends to find in all the three first ages. In the middle of the fourth age, the Christians of Paneas, or Cæsarea Philippi, showed a little respect to the statue of Christ, which the Syrophœnician woman, who had been cured of an issue of blood, was supposed to have erected in honour of our Saviour: for when Julian had removed it, to set his own in the room; and the heathen, out of hatred to Christ, had used it contumeliously, and broken it in pieces by dragging it about the streets, Sozomen^w tells us the Christians gathered the fragments together, and laid them

^u Petav. de Incarnat. lib. xv. c. xiv. n. viii. Probabilem illorum puto esse conjecturam, qui quo tempore synodus illa celebrata est, recentem adhuc idololatriæ memoriam fuisse dicunt; ob idque nondum expedisse, Christianorum in oratoriis ac templis imagines statui.

^v Tertull. de Pudicit. c. x. (Rigalt. p. 727.) Si forte patrocina-bitur pastor, quem in calice depingis. . . . At ego ejus pastoris scripturas haurio, qui non potest frangi.

^w Sozom. lib. v. c. xxi. (Aug. Taur. p. 195. B.) 'Επεὶ ἔγνω Ἰουλιανὸς ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Φιλίππου, Φοίνισσα δὲ αὕτη πόλις, ἣν Πανιάδα ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐπίσημον εἶναι Χριστοῦ ἄγαλμα, ὃ τοῦ πάθους ἀπαλλαγεῖσα ἀνέθηκεν ἡ αἰμορροοῦσα, καθελὼν τοῦτο, ἴδιον ἀνέστησε· . . . τὸν δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀνδριάντα, τότε μὴν οἱ Ἕλληνοῖς σὺροντες κατέαξαν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Χριστιανοὶ συλλέξαντες ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπέθεοντο, ἔνθα καὶ νῦν φυλάττεται.

up in the church, where they were kept to his own time. Philostorgius *, in telling the same story, adds one circumstance which well explains Sozomen's meaning; for, he says, "They were laid up in the *diaconicum*, or 'vestry,' of the church; and there carefully kept indeed, but by no means worshipped or adored." So that it was not a statue set up in a church, but only the fragments of it, laid up in the repository of the church, and there not to be worshipped, but only to be kept from violence, and that the heathen might offer no more such barbarous indignities to it; which was so far a commendable act, but yet no proof of images being set up publicly in churches.

SECT. VII.—*First brought in by Paulinus and his Contemporaries, privately, and by degrees, in the latter end of the Fourth Century.*

Yet it is not denied, but that in some places, about the latter end of the fourth century, pictures of saints and martyrs began to creep into churches. Paulinus, bishop of Nola, to keep the country people employed, and prevent their running into riot and excess, when they met together to celebrate the anniversary festival of the dedication of the church of St. Felix, ordered the church to be painted with the images of saints and Scripture histories; such as those of Esther, and Job, and Tobit, and Judith, as he himself acquaints us in his writings.

* Philostorg. lib. vii. c. iii. (p. 463. B 11.) Τὸν ἀνδριάντα μεταστησάμενοι ἐν τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διακονικῷ, τὰ πρέποντα ἱεράπεινον, σίβοντες μὲν ἡ προσκυνοῦντες οὐδαμῶς.

γ Paulin. Natal. ix. Felicis: (Bibl. M. Vet. P. p. 290. C 7.)

Propterea visum nobis opus utile, totis
Felicibus domibus pictura illudere sancta;
Si forte attonitas hæc per spectacula mentes
Agrestum caperet fucata coloribus umbra,
Quæ super exprimitur titulis, ut littera monstret,
Quod manus explicuit: dumque omnes picta vicissim
Ostendunt releguntque sibi, vel tardius escæ
Sint memores, dum grata oculos jejunia pascunt;
Atque ita se melior stupefactis inserat usus,
Dum fallit pictura famem; sanctasque legenti
Historias, castorum operum subrepit honestas
Exemplis inducta piis; potatur hianti

And some intimations are given of the beginnings of the same practice in other places by St. Austin, who often speaks of the pictures^a of Abraham sacrificing his son, and of the pictures^a of Peter and Paul; and of some worshippers of pictures^b, too, but they have not his approbation. Nor had they the approbation of the Catholic Church; for, he says, the Church condemned them as ignorant, and superstitious, and self-willed persons, and daily endeavoured to correct them as untoward children.

Sobrietas, nimii subeunt oblivia vini.
Dumque diem ducunt spatio majore tuentes,
Pocula rarescunt; quia per miracula tracto
Tempore, jam paucæ superant epulantibus horæ.

Idem, Natal. x. Felicis: (p. 290. H 3.)

Martyribus mediam pictis pia nomina signant,
Quos par in vario redimivit gloria sexu.
At geminas quæ sunt dextra lævaque patentes,
Binis historiis ornat pictura fidelis.
Unam sanctorum complent sacra gesta virorum,
Jobus vulneribus tentatus, lumine Tobit.
Ast aliam sexus minor obtinet, incluta Judith,
Qua simul et regina potens depingitur Esther.

^a Aug. cont. Faustum, lib. xxii. c. lxxii. (Bened. vol. viii. p. 404. D.) (tom. vi. opp. p. 431. D. edit. Basil. 1569.) Abraham si filium sponte immolaret, quid nisi horribilis et insanus? Deo autem jubente, quid nisi fidelis et devotus apparuit? Quod usque adeo ipsa veritas clamat, ut ejus voce deterritus Faustus, quum in ipsum Abraham quid diceret, unguibus et dentibus quærens, usque ad calumniosum mendacium perveniret, hoc tamen reprehendere non auderet: nisi forte non ei veniret in mentem factum ita nobile, ut non lectum, nec quæsitum animo occurreret, ut denique tot linguis cantatum, tot locis pictum, et aures et oculos dissimulantis feriret.

^a Aug. de Consensu Evangelist. lib. i. c. x. (Bened. vol. iii. part. ii. p. 8.) (tom. iv. opp. p. 377. B. citat. edit.) Occurrit eis Petrus et Paulus, credo quod pluribus locis simul eos cum illo pictos viderent; quia merita Petri et Pauli, propter eundem passionis diem, celebrius et solemniter Roma commendat. Sic omnino errare meruerunt, qui Christum et apostolos ejus, non in sanctis codicibus, sed in pictis parietibus quæsierunt. Nec mirum si a pingentibus fingentes decepti sunt.

^b Aug. de Morib. Eccles. Cath. lib. i. c. xxxiv. (Bened. vol. i. p. 713. E.) (tom. i. opp. p. 774. C. cit. edit.) Novi multos esse sepulcrorum et picturarum adoratores: novi multos esse, qui luxoriosissime super mortuos bibant, et epulas cadaveribus exhibentes, super sepultos se ipsos sepeliant, et voracitates ebrietatesque suas deputent religioni. . . . Nunc vos illud admonco, ut aliquando ecclesie catholicæ maledicere desinatis, vituperando mores hominum, quos et ipsa condemnat, et quos quotidie tanquam malos filios corrigere studet.

SECT. VIII.—*The Pictures of Kings and Bishops brought into the Church about the same time.*

From which any rational and unprejudiced person will easily conclude, that the first design of bringing pictures into churches was only for ornament or history, and not for worship and adoration, as St. Austin and Philostorgius have declared. And this may be further confirmed from what Paulinus himself and other writers assure us of; that at first the pictures of the living had their place in the church, as well as the dead, and bishops and kings were joined with the saints and martyrs. Paulinus's own picture was set with St. Martin's, in the baptistery of the church built by Severus; and Paulinus himself^c wrote two epigrams, by way of inscription, to be set by them, to teach men not to worship, but to imitate them, the one as a saint, the other as a penitent sinner. Baronius thinks^d Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, was the first that had this honour

^c Paulin. Epist. xii. ad Sever. (Bibl. M. Vet. P. p. 191.)

Abluitis quicumque animas et membra lavacris,
Cernite propositas ad bona facta vias!
Adstat perfectæ Martinus regula vitæ:
Paulinus veniam quo mereare, docet.
Hunc, peccatores; illum spectate, beati:
Exemplar sanctis ille sit, iste reis.

Ibidem: Dives opum Christo, pauper sibi, pulchra Severus
Culmina sacratis fontibus instituit.
Et quia cœlestes aulam condebat in actus,
Quo renovaretur fonte Deoque homines:
Digna sacramentis gemina sub imagine pinxit,
Disceret ut vitæ dona renatus homo.
Martinum veneranda viri testatur imago:
Altera Paulinum forma refert humilem.
Ille fidem exemplis et dictis fortibus armat,
Ut meriti palmas intemerata ferat:
Iste docet fuis redimens sua crimina nummis,
Vilior ut sit res, quam sua cuique salus.

^d Baron. an. 488, ex Suida, voce Acacius. (Lucæ, vol. viii. p. 501.) Tanti fuit hic fastus et arrogantia, ut sineret suas ipsius imagines adhuc viventis (quod de nullo ante eum episcopo legitur) in ecclesiis dedicari: qui enim ei adsentabatur, ipsius effigies in ecclesiis pingere vel adfigere consueverunt, de quibus ista Suidas habet: 'Quum omnes ecclesias in sua potestate haberet, sollicitam curam impendit his, qui præerant: quorum sagaciores ejus imaginem in templis consecrarunt,' etc.

done him, an. 488. But Valesius* judiciously corrects his error, and observes it to have been customary long before. And the instance I have given in Paulinus sufficiently confirms his observation. Theodorus Lector† speaks of the same honour done to Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, in the remark that he makes upon Timotheus's successor, "that whatever church he went into, he would never begin divine service till the images of Macedonius were first pulled down." Suidas takes notice of the picture of Gennadius, patriarch of Constantinople, being joined with that of Christ‡, speaking to him in these words, "Destroy this temple, and in thy successor's days I will raise it up again." Damascen, a great advocate for images^h, pretends to carry this practice as high as Constantine; telling us, from Socrates, that Constantine ordered his own images to be set up in temples. But, as Mr. Spanheimⁱ has observed, there is something of fraud in the

* Vales. Not. in Theod. Lect. lib. ii. (Cantab. 1720. p. 578.) Scio equidem Baronium ad annum Christi 488, existimasse eas imagines Acacio positas fuisse, dum esset Patriarcha; sed Baronium refellunt verba Malchi apud Suidam, qui ecclesiam illam juxta navale, in qua imago erat Acacii, tessellato opere fabricata, sub Gennadio patriarcha absolutam esse testatur: nec verum est, quod idem Baronius illic observat, primum ex Patriarchis Acacium hunc honorem affectasse. Nam ex Suidæ loco . . . aperte convincitur, eum morem Gennadii temporibus jam invaluisse.

† Theod. Lect. lib. ii. (p. 563.) (Reading, p. 522. A.) "Ὅπου δ' ἂν ποτε εἰσῆλθεν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Τιμόθεος, εἰ μὴ πρότερον τὰς εἰκόνας Μακεδονίου κατέσπασε, τῆς λειτουργίας οὐκ ἤρχετο.

‡ Suid. Lexic. voce 'Ακάκιος. Τοῦ γὰρ ἔργου παντὸς ἐπὶ Γενναδίου τελεσθέντος, εἰς τὸν ἐπιφανῆ τόπον ἐξετύπωσαν αὐτὸν τοῦ νέω' καὶ μετὰ τοῦδε τὸν Σωτῆρα λέγοντα τῷ Γενναδίῳ, Λύσον τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μετὰ σὲ ἐγερῶ αὐτόν.

^h Damasc. Orat. iii. de Imagin. (Venet. 1748. vol. i. p. 370. B 4.) (p. 789, Basil. 1575.) 'Εκ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας Σωκράτους, βιβλίου πρώτου, κεφαλ. ιη' περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως. Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος, ἐπιμελέστερος ὢν περὶ τὰ Χριστιανῶν, ἀπεστράφη τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς θρησκείας, καὶ πανεὶ μὲν τὰ μονομάχια εἰκόνας δὲ τὰς ἰδίας ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς ἀπέθετο.

ⁱ Spanh. Hist. Imagin. sect. i. p. 14. (tom. ii. opp. p. 715, edit. Lugd. Batav. 1623.) Pessima intelligitur fides auctoris Orationis iii. de Imaginibus tributæ Damasceno, probaturi erectionem cultumque sacrarum imaginum etiam tempore Constantini M. ex his Socratis, lib. i. c. xviii. Εἰκόνας δὲ τὰς ἰδίας ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς ἀπέθετο. Planum enim est, loqui Socratem de gentilium templis ac deorum delubris, in quibus, sublatis idolis, suas imagines substituit imperator. Nihil de imaginibus sacris Christi, Virginis, Sanctorumve. Nihil etiam de imaginibus ad cultum aut adorationem erectis.

relation: for Socrates speaks not of Christian churches, but of heathen temples^j, in which, having demolished their idols, he caused his own images to be placed in their room. But, admitting it had been as Damascen pretends, it makes nothing to the purpose for which he alleges it, which was to prove the worship of images in churches.

SECT. IX.—*But neither Pictures of the Living or Dead designed for Worship.*

For now, I presume, no one will suspect that the pictures of bishops and kings were set up in churches to be worshipped, while they were living among other men, but only designed to be an ornament to the church, or a civil honour to the persons. And the same must be concluded of the pictures of the dead, since the first introducers of them intermixed their own pictures with them. But, it must be owned, that this superstition presently followed upon the setting up of pictures in churches; yet it was never approved till the second Council of Nice, an. 787, made a decree in favour of it. Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, ordered all images to be defaced, and cast out of all the churches of his diocese; and, though Gregory the Great blamed him for this, and defended the use of pictures in churches as innocent, and useful for instruction of the vulgar^k, yet he equally condemns the worship and adoration of them; and when the Council of Nice had established it, in opposition to the Council of Constantinople of three hundred

^j Socrat. lib. i. c. xviii. See note (h).

^k Gregor. lib. ix. ep. ix. (tom. v. Conc. p. 1434. E.) *Perlatum ad nos fuerat, quod inconsiderato zelo succensus, Sanctorum imagines, sub hac quasi excusatione, ne adorari debuissent, confregeris. Et quidem quia eas adorari vetuisses, omnino laudavimus; fregisse vero reprehendimus. . . . Frangi non debuit, quod non ad adorandum in ecclesiis, sed ad instruendas solummodo mentes fuit nescientium, collocatum.*—Id. lib. vii. ep. cx. (ibid. p. 1371. A.) *Præterea indico, dudum ad nos pervenisse, quod fraternitas vestra, quosdam imaginum adoratores adspiciens, easdem ecclesiæ imagines confregit atque projecit. Et quidem zelum vos, ne quid manufactum adorari possit, habuisse laudavimus; sed frangere easdem imagines non debuisse, judicamus. Idecirco enim pictura in ecclesiis adhibetur, ut hi, qui litteras nesciunt, saltem in parietibus videndo legant, quæ legere in codicibus non valent. Tua ergo fraternitas et illas servare, et ab earum adoratu populum prohibere debuit, quatenus et litterarum nescii haberent, unde scientiam historiæ colligerent, et populus in picturæ adoratione minime peccaret.*

and thirty-eight bishops, held an. 754, who had before condemned it, the decrees of Nice were rejected by all the Western world, the popes of Rome only excepted. The Council of Frankfort, in Germany, the Council of Paris, in France, and some other councils in Britain, agreed unanimously to condemn them; and, for some hundred years after, the worship of images was not received in any of the three foresaid nations. But it is as much beyond my design to pursue this history any further as it is needless, there being so many excellent discourses on this particular subject, especially those of Mr. Daille^l, Bishop Stillingfleet^m, and Spanheimⁿ, who have omitted nothing on this head that was necessary to answer the cavils of their Romish antagonists, or give satisfaction to a curious reader.

SECT. X.—*No Images of God or the Trinity allowed in Churches till after the Second Nicene Council.*

All I shall add further, therefore, upon this subject, is only two observations, which Petavius himself^o has made for us. The first is, that the ancients never allowed any pictures of God the Father, or the Trinity, to be set up in their churches. For this, he produces the testimonies of Origen^p, St. Ambrose^q, and St. Austin^r, who particularly pronounce it to be

^l Daill. de Imaginibus, lib. iv. Lugd. Bat. 1642. 8vo.

^m Stillingfleet's Defence of the Discourse of Idolatry, &c.

ⁿ Spanh. Hist. Imaginum. Lugd. Bat. 1686. 8vo. (Inter opera, tom. iii. pp. 707—870. Lugd. Bat. 1703.)

^o Petav. de Incarnat. lib. xv. c. xiv. n. i. (tom. vi. opp. p. 324. edit. Antverp. 1700.) In imaginum usu non nihil variare Catholicorum sententias animadvertimus: ac bifariam potissimum. Primum, quod plerique veterum corporis expertium rerum imagines damnandas judicarunt: solas vero Incarnati Verbi, ac Sanctorum licitas esse, et omnino corpore præditorum; atque hæc opinio, etiam post ortum Iconoclastarum hæresis, apud acerrimos defensores religionis illius percrebuit.

^p Origen cont. Celsum, lib. vi. (Cambr. 1677. p. 284.) *Κάν τινες δὲ μὴ ταῦτά φασιν εἶναι τοὺς θεοὺς, ἀλλὰ μιμημάτων (cor. μίμημα τῶν) ἀληθινῶν, κακίωνων σύμβολα· οὐδὲν ἤττον καὶ οὗτοι, ἐν βαναύσων χερσὶ τὰ μιμήματα τῆς θεοῦ φανταζόμενοι εἶναι, ἀπαιδευτοὶ εἶσι, καὶ ἀνδράποδα.*

^q Ambros. ad Psalm. cxviii. octonar. xii. Gentiles lignum adorant, quia Dei imaginem putant; sed invisibilis Dei imago non in eo est quod videtur, sed in eo utique quod non videtur.

^r Aug. de Fide et Symbolo, c. vii. (Bened. vol. vi. p. 157. D 5.) (tom. iii. opp. p. 144. D. edit. Basil. 1569.) Tale simulacrum Dei nefas est Christiano in templo collocare; multo magis in corde nefarium est, ubi vere est templum Dei.

an impious thing for any Christian to set up any such image in the church, and much more to do it in his heart. Nay, Pope Gregory II., who was otherwise a great stickler for images, in that^a very epistle which he wrote to the Emperor Leo to defend the worship of them, denies it to be lawful to make any image of the Divine nature. And the second Council of Nice itself was against it; as is evident from the Epistles of Germanus, bishop of Constantinople^t, and John, bishop of Thessalonica, which are recited with approbation in the Acts of that Council. And Damascen, following the doctrine of the same Council, says, “It is as great impiety”, as it is folly, to make any image of the Divine nature, which is invisible, incorporeal, incircumscribable, and not to be figured by the art of man.” And, therefore, in all ancient history, we never meet with any one instance of picturing God the Father; because it was supposed He never appeared in any visible shape, but only by a voice from heaven. Upon this account, Paulinus, where he describes a symbolical representation of the Three Divine Persons, made in the painting of a church, makes a lamb to be the symbol of Christ, and a dove the symbol of the Holy Ghost; but for God the Father^v, nothing but a voice

^a Gregor. II. Epist. i. ad Leon. in Conc. Nicæn. II. (tom. vii. Conc. p. 13. B.) Διὰ τί τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἱστοροῦμεν, καὶ ζωγραφοῦμεν; Ἐπειδὴ οὐκ οἶδαμεν τίς ἐστίν· καὶ Θεοῦ φύσιν ἀδύνατον ἱστορῆσαι, καὶ ζωγραφῆσαι· καὶ εἰ ἰθυσάμεθα, καὶ ἰγνωρίσαμεν, καθὼς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, κἀκεῖνον ἀν εἶχομεν ἱστορῆσαι καὶ ζωγραφῆσαι.

^t German. Epist. i. ad Leont. in act. iv. Conc. Nicæn. II. (tom. vii. Conc. p. 291. B.) Οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς ἀόρατου θεϊότητος εἰκόνα, ἢ ὁμοίωμα, ἢ σχῆμα, ἢ μορφήν τινα ἀποτυπώμεν· ἦν οὐδὲ αὐτῶν τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων αἱ ὑπερέχουσαι τάξεις οὔτε κατανοεῖν, οὔτε ἐξιχνιάσαι ὅλως ἰσχύουσιν.

^u Damascen. de Fid. Orthod. lib. iv. c. xvi. (Venet. 1747. vol. i. p. 280. C 8.) Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, τοῦ ἀόρατου, καὶ ἀσώματου, καὶ ἀπεριγράπτου, καὶ ἀσχηματίστου Θεοῦ, τίς δύναται ποιήσασθαι μίμημα; παραφροσύνης τοίνυν ἄκρας καὶ ἀσεβείας τὸ σχηματίζειν τὸ θεῖον.—Orat. i. (p. 310. D 9.) Πῶς εἰκονισθήσεται τὸ ἀόρατον; πῶς εἰκασθήσεται τὸ ἀνείκαστον; πῶς γραφήσεται τὸ ἄπосον καὶ ἀμέγεθες καὶ ἀόριστον; πῶς ποιωσθήσεται τὸ ἀνείδειον; πῶς χρωματουργηθήσεται τὸ ἀσώματον;—Orat. ii. (p. 333. B.) Θεοῦ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ἀσώματου, καὶ ἀόρατου, καὶ ἀύλου, καὶ μήτε σχῆμα, μήτε περιγραφὴν, μήτε κατάληψιν ἔχοντος, ἀδύνατον ποιεῖν εἰκόνα.

^v Paulin. Epist. xii. ad Sever. (Bibl. M. Vet. P. p. 193. B. 4.)

Pleno coruscat Trinitas mysterio;

Stat Christus agno; vox Patris cœlo tonat;

Et per columbam Spiritus Sanctus fluit.

from heaven. And this they did in compliance with that text in Deuteronomy, iv. 12, "The Lord spake unto you out of the midst of the fire; ye heard the voice of his words, but saw no similitude, only ye heard a voice." By which we see how much the present Church of Rome has outgone the first patrons even of image-worship itself, by allowing pictures of the Deity commonly in their temples, which the ancients reckoned impious and absurd, and is acknowledged to be an abuse fit to be corrected, by Cassander *; though Petavius, after all his concessions and acknowledgments of the novelty of the thing, and its contrariety to ancient custom, endeavours to find out some colour for the present practice.

SECT. XI.—*Nor usually Statues or Massy Images, but only Paintings and Pictures, and those Symbolical rather than any other.*

His other acknowledgment of a difference between the practice of the ancient Church, and that of his own at this day, is, that the ancients did not approve of massy images, or statues of wood, or metal, or stone; but only pictures or paintings to be used in churches. This he proves from the testimonies of Germanus, bishop of Constantinople †, and Stephanus Bostrensis, both alleged in the Acts of the second Council of Nice; which shows that many massy images or statues were thought to look too much like idols, even by that worst of councils.

* Cassand. Consultat. sect. de Imagin. p. 179, edit. 1642. 8vo. (p. 980, opp. Paris. 1616.) Illud quoque inter abusos ponendum est, quod etiam divinitati, in Trinitatis deformatione, simulacrum effingitur, quod veteres absurdum et nefarium judicassent. Vide Augustin. de Fide et Symbolo.

† German. Epist. ad Thom. Claudiopoli. in act. iv. Conc. Nicæn. II. (tom. vii. Conc. p. 316. D.) Οὐ τοῦτο δὲ λέγομεν ἡμεῖς, ὥστε τὰς ἐκ χαλκοῦ στήλας ἐπιτηδεύειν ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἡ μόνον δηλῶσαι, ὅτι καὶ τὸ κατ' ἰθνηκὴν συνήθειαν μὴ ἀποκησαμένου τοῦ Κυρίου, ἀλλ' εὐδοκήσαντος ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι ἐφ' ἱκανὸν χρόνον τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀγαθότητος τὴν θαυματουργίαν, τὸ παρ' ἡμῶν εὐαγέστερόν πως κρατήσαν ἔθος κακίζειν οὐχ ὅσιον.—Stephan. Bostrens. ibid. act. ii. Οἵτινες δὴ περὶ τῶν εἰκόνων τῶν ἁγίων ὁμολογοῦμεν, ὅτι πᾶν ἔργον, τὸ γινόμενον ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶ καὶ ἅγιον· ἄλλο γὰρ ἐστὶν εἰκὼν, καὶ ἄλλο ἀγαλμα, τουτέστι ζῶδιον· ὅτε γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἐπλασε, τουτέστι ἐδημιούργησεν, ἔλεγε, Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν ἡμῶν· καὶ ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπον ἐν εἰκόνι Θεοῦ· τί γάρ; ὅτι εἰκὼν Θεοῦ ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, ἀγαλμὰ ἐστὶ, τουτέστιν εἰδωλολατρεία, καὶ ἀσίβεια; μηδαμῶς γένοιτο.

But some plead the authority of Gregory Nazianzen^y for statues in churches; to whom Petavius^z answers, that “he speaks not of statues in temples, but of profane statues in other places.” Which is a very just and true observation; for it is most certain, from the writings of St. Austin^a and Optatus^b, that there were no statues in that age in their churches, or upon their altars, because they reckon both those to be mere heathenish customs; and Cassander observes^c the same out of the writings of Gregory the Great. He also notes that, till the time of the sixth General Council, the images of Christ were not usually in the effigies or figure of a man, but only symbolically represented under the type of a lamb; and so the Holy Ghost was represented under the type or symbol of a dove; but that council forbade^d the picturing of Christ any

^y Nazianz. Ep. xlix. (Paris. 1630. vol. i. p. 810. C 4.) *Τίμησον δὲ τὴν ἡμετέραν πολιάν· οἷς δεινὸν, εἴποτε τὴν μεγάλην πόλιν ἔχοντες, νῦν μηδὲ πόλιν ἔχοιμεν· καὶ θριῶν οἰκητήριον γένοιτο μετὰ τὴν σὴν ἀρχήν, ὅ, τε ναὸς, δὴν ἡγείραμεν τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ἡ περὶ τοῦτον ἡμῖν φιλοκαλία· οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ ἀνδριάντες κατενεχθῇσονται, τοῦτο δεινόν, εἰ καὶ ἄλλως δεινόν· μηδὲ περὶ τούτων νομίσεις ἡμῖν εἶναι τὸν λόγον, οἷς περὶ τὰ κρεῖττονα ἢ σπουδῇ.*

^z Petav. lib. xv. de Incarnat. c. xiv. sect. iii. p. 325. Perspicuum est, profanas illic statuas intelligi, quæ ad magnarum urbium ornamentum in locis publicis collocari solebant. Quod et ipsa verba Gregorii palam ostendunt: quibus negat, se de templo, et ejus ornatu omni sollicitum esse; de statuvis vero nihil admodum; eo quod longe præstantiore studio detineatur. Itaque sibi ipse contradiceret, si de sacris imaginibus loqueretur: ac de quibus sollicitum se esse dixit, mox negaret se esse sollicitum.

^a Augustin. in Psalm. cxiii. concio ii. (tom. viii. opp. pp. 1304—1307, edit. Basil. 1569.)

^b Optat. lib. ii. (Oberthür's ed. vol. i. p. 40.) Prioribus sæculis ut templa fabricarentur et idola fierent, quid vestro populo diabolus potuit amplius facere?

^c Cassand. Consultat. de Imagin. p. 165. (p. 974, opp. Paris. 1616, fol.) Ex quibus apparet, Christum magis in typum agni, quam effigie humana depingi consuevisse, quod usque ad tempus sexti Concilii Generalis obtinuisse videtur, in quo statuitur, ut pictores in posterum non in agni typo, ut fieri consuevit, sed humano caractere Christum expriment, et satis apparet ex scriptis Gregorii, quamvis ejus ætate superstitio in cultu sanctorum non parum invaluerat, tamen picturas tantum in ecclesiis admissas fuisse, non item statuas vel simulacra.

^d Conc. Trullan. c. lxxxii. (tom. iv. Conc. p. 1178.) *Ἐν τισι τῶν σιπτῶν εἰκόνων γραφαῖς ἀμύνδς δακτύλῳ τοῦ προδρόμου δεικνύμενος ἐγχαράττεται, ὃς εἰς τύπον παρελήφθη τῆς χάριτος, τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἡμῖν διὰ τοῦ νόμου προ-υποφαίνων ἀμὸν Χριστὸν τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν· τοῖς οὖν παλαιοῖς τύπους καὶ τὰς σκιὰς, ὡς τῆς ἀληθείας σύμβολά τε καὶ προχαράγματα παραδεδομένους τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ κατασπαζόμενοι, τὴν χάριν προτιμῶμεν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὡς πλήρωμα νόμου ταύτην ὑποδεξάμενοι· ὡς ἂν οὖν τὸ τέλειον κἂν ταῖς χρωματουρ-*

more in the symbol of a lamb, and ordered it only to be drawn in the effigies of a man. I presume, by this time, the worship of images was begun, an. 692 ; and it was now thought indecent to pay their devotions to the picture of a lamb ; and, therefore, they would no longer endure it to be seen in the Church. I have been the more particular in recounting and explaining these things distinctly, that the reader might have, in one short view, the rise and progress of that grand superstition, which has so overspread the Church, and defaced its worship in the matter of images, which were introduced at first only for historical use, to be laymen's books, and a sort of ornament for the church ; though, as the event proved, the most dangerous of any other.

SECT. XII.—*Of adorning the Church with Flowers and Branches.*

There was one way more of adorning churches, which I should not have thought worth mentioning, but for its innocence and natural simplicity ; that is, the custom of garnishing and decking them with flowers and branches ; which was not done at any certain time for any pretended mystery, but only to make them more decent and fit for a body of men to meet in. St. Austin takes notice of the custom, speaking of one^e who carried away with him some flowers from off the altar. And Paulinus, in his poetical way, refers to it^f like-

γίας ἐν ταῖς ἀπάντων ὁψεσιν ὑπογράφεται, τὸν τοῦ αἵροντος τὴν ἀμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου ἀμνοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον χαρακτῆρα καὶ ἐν ταῖς εἰκόσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀντὶ τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἀμνοῦ ἀναστηλοῦσθαι ὀρίζομεν, δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ τῆς ταπεινώσεως ὕψος τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγον κατανοοῦντες, καὶ πρὸς μνήμην τῆς ἐν σαρκὶ πολιτείας, τοῦ τε πάθους αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου θανάτου χειραγωγούμενοι, καὶ τῆς ἐντεῦθεν γενομένης τῇ κόσμῳ ἀπολυτρώσεως.

^e Augustin. de Civitat. Dei, lib. xxii. c. viii. (Bened. vol. vii. p. 669. A 4.) (tom. v. opp. 1346. D.) Abscedens, aliquid de altari florum, quod occurrit, tulit ; eique, quum nox esset, ad caput posuit.

^f Paulin. Natal. iii. Felicis. (p. 541, edit. Antverp. 1622. 8vo.) (tom. vi. Biblioth. Patr. Max. p. 273. D. edit. Lugdun. 1677.)

Ferte Deo, pueri, laudem, pia solvite vota,
Et pariter castis date carmina festa choreis.
Spargite flore solum, prætexite limina sertis :
Purpureum ver spiret hiems, sit florens annus
Ante diem, sancto cedat natura diei.

wise. But St. Jerome does it the greatest honour, to give it a place in his panegyric upon his friend, Nepotian, making it a part ^g of his commendable character, that he took care to have every thing neat and clean about the church, the altar bright, the walls whited, the pavement swept, the gates veiled, the vestry clean, and the vessels shining: and so far did his pious solicitude about these matters extend, that he made flowers, and leaves, and branches of trees, contribute to the beauty and ornament of the churches. These were but small things in themselves (St. Jerome says); but a pious mind, devoted to Christ, is intent upon things great and small, and neglects nothing that may deserve the name of the very meanest office in the Church. And it is plain St. Jerome had a greater value for such sort of natural beauty and comeliness in churches, than for rich ornaments of costly pictures, and paintings, and silver, and gold, and precious stones. And, therefore, as I observed before ^h, he rather advised his rich friends to lay out their wealth upon the living temples of God, the backs and bellies of the poor; and commended the rich lady Paulaⁱ for so doing, rather than for hanging up needless and superfluous gifts, as others did, upon the pillars of the temple. And it is no wonder, then, he should commend Nepotian's frugal care, who had divested himself of all his estate to relieve the poor, and left himself no ability to adorn the church any other way, but that which was most to St. Jerome's liking and approbation.

^g Hieron. Ep. iii. Epitaph. Nepotian. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 340. B 2.) (p. 23, edit. Paris. 1643.) *Erat sollicitus, si niteret altare, si parietes absque fuligine, si pavimenta tersa, si janitor creber in porta, vela semper in ostiis, si sacrarium mundum, si vasa luculenta; et in omnes ceremonias pia sollicitudo disposita, etc.—Basilicas ecclesiæ, et Martyrum Conciliabula, diversis floribus, et arborum comis, vitiumque pampinis adumbravit.*

^h See before, sect. v.

ⁱ Hieron. Ep. xxvii. 16. Epitaph. Paulæ. (Benedict. fol. 1734. vol. i. p. 701.) *Nolebat in his lapidibus pecuniam effundere, qui cum terra et sæculo transiituri sunt; sed in vivis lapidibus, qui voluntur super terram.*

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE CONSECRATION OF CHURCHES.

SECT. I.—*What the Ancients meant by the Consecration of Churches.*

ANCIENTLY, when churches were finished and adorned, it was then usual to proceed to a dedication or consecration of them, which was a thing that was sometimes performed with a great deal of pious solemnity; and, therefore, it will be proper, in the next place, to make a little inquiry into the nature and circumstances of it. Now, I must observe, first of all, that by the consecration of a church the ancients always mean the devoting or setting it apart peculiarly for divine service. But the manner and ceremony of doing this was not always exactly one and the same; therefore we are chiefly to regard the substance of the thing, which was the separation of any building from common use to a religious service. Whatever ceremony this was performed with, the first act of initiating and appropriating it to a divine use was its consecration; and, therefore, in allusion to this, the first beginning of any thing is many times called its dedication. As when Cyprian, speaking of Aurelius the Confessor, whom he had ordained a reader, says, “he dedicated ^a *his reading*,” he means no more but that he performed the first act of his office in the church, which, in his phrase, was its dedication. Whether churches had any other ceremony besides this in their dedication for the three first ages, is not certain, though it is highly probable they might have a solemn thanksgiving and prayer for a sanctified use of them also, over and besides the usual Liturgy of the Church, because this was in use among the Jews; who

^a Cyprian. Epist. xxxvii. al. xxxviii. ad Cler. Carth. (Paris. 1726. p. 46.) Dominico legit interim nobis, id est, auspicatus est pacem, dum *dedicat lectionem*.

thus dedicated not only their temple (1 Kings viii.), but also their private houses and walls of their cities, when they were finished, as appears from the title of the 30th Psalm, which is inscribed, “A Psalm or Song at the Dedication of the House of David;” and from the account which is given by Nehemiah (xii. 27) of the dedication of the walls of Jerusalem. It is further probable, from the constant practice of Christians in consecrating their ordinary meat by thanksgiving and prayer, before they begin to use it; and from the manner of consecrating churches in the following ages, after the time of Constantine. All which make it highly probable, that the Christians of the three first ages used the same ceremony of particular prayers and thanksgiving to God in the dedication of their churches; but, having no express testimonies for this, I will not pretend positively to assert it. Durantus^b and Bona^c are, indeed, very confident it was always so from the time of the apostles; but they build upon no better foundation than the feigned Epistles of Clemens Romanus, Evaristus, and Hyginus, and the Acts of St. Cæcilia in Simeon Metaphrastes; which are writings of no authority, when the question is about matters of fact in the first and apostolical ages.

SECT. II.—*The first authentic Accounts of this to be fetched from the Fourth Century.*

Therefore, leaving this matter, for want of better evidence, as a thing only probable, but not certain, I proceed to consider it as practised in the next age, when, in the peaceable reign of Constantine, churches were rebuilt over all the world, and dedicated with great solemnity: “then it was a desirable sight,” as Eusebius^d words it, “to behold how the consecra-

^b Durant. de Ritib. Eccles. lib. i. c. xxiv. n. i. (Paris. 1632. p. 239.) Ecclesias consecrandi consuetudo ab ipsis apostolis usque ad nostram manavit retatem.

^c Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. i. c. xx. n. iii. (p. 418.) Templorum consecratio e Veteri Testamento ad Novum, ab apostolis ad successores emanavit; atque hunc ritum servavit ecclesia totius Orientis et Occidentis consensu. Sunt, qui Evaristo papæ ejus originem adscribunt; sed multo certius est apostolicum institutum esse, nisi dicamus ab hoc Pontifice scripto promulgatum, quod sola traditione ab antecessoribus acceperat.

^d Euseb. lib. x. c. iii. (Reading, p. 411.) Ἐπὶ τοῖς τοῖς, τὸ πᾶσιν ἐκκλησίαις

tions of the new-built churches and the feasts of the dedications were solemnized in every city." That which made these solemnities the more august and venerable was, that commonly a whole synod of the neighbouring or provincial bishops met at the dedication. The church of Jerusalem, which Constantine built over our Saviour's sepulchre, was consecrated in a full synod of all the bishops of the East, whom Constantine called first to Tyre, and then to Jerusalem, an. 335, for this very purpose, as Eusebius^e and all the other historians inform us. In like manner, Socrates^f observes, that the Council of Antioch, an. 341, was summoned on purpose to dedicate the famous church there, called *Dominicum Aureum*, which was begun by Constantine, and finished by Constantius: and there are many examples of the like nature to be met with in ancient history. Now the solemnity was usually begun with a panegyric oration or sermon, consisting chiefly of praise and thanksgiving to God, and sometimes expatiating upon the commendation of the founder, or the glory of the new-built church; such as that oration in Eusebius^g, made at the dedication of the church of Paulinus, at Tyre, and others^h in

ἡμῖν καὶ ποθοῦμενον συνεκροτεῖτο θέαμα, ἑγκαινίων ἑορταὶ κατὰ πόλεις, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων νεοπαγῶν προσευκτηρίων ἀφιερώσεις ἐπισκόπων τε ἐπὶ ταῦτο συν-ελεύσεις.

^e Ibid. lib. iv. de Vit. Constant. c. xliii. (p. 587.) Κατελάμβανεν ἄλλος βασιλικὸς ἀνὴρ, ἐπισπέρχων τὴν σύνοδον σὺν γράμματι βασιλικῷ, σπεύδειν καὶ μηδὲν ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα παρορμῶν γε πορείαν.—Socrat. lib. i. c. xxviii. Σύνοδον ἐπισκόπων ἐκήρυξε γενέσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ καθιερώσει τοῦ εὐκτηρίου οἴκου, ὃν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀνῆγειρεν.—Sozom. lib. ii. c. xxvi. Ἀμφὶ τὴν τρίτην δεκάδα τῆς Κωνσταντίνου ἡγεμονίας, ἐξεργασθέντος τοῦ Ἱεροσολύμοις νῶ περι τὸν Κρανίου χῶρον, ὃ μέγα μαρτύριον προσαγορεύεται, παραγενόμενος εἰς Τύρον Μαριανὸς, ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐν Ἀζίῃ, βασιλικὸς ταχυγράφος, ἀπέδωκε τῇ συνόδῳ βασιλέως ἐπιστολὴν, παρακελευομένην ἐν τάχει τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καταλαβεῖν, καὶ τὸν νῶ καθιερῶσαι.—Theodoret. lib. i. c. xxxi. Τὴν δὴ σύνοδον ἅπασαν ἀπὸ τῆς Τύρου καταλαβεῖν τὴν Αἰλίαν ὁ βασιλεὺς παρηγγύησε· συνελθεῖν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας πανταχόθεν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δομηθέντας καθιερῶσαι νῶς.

^f Socrat. lib. ii. c. viii. (p. 73. D.) Κατασκευάζει σύνοδον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας γενέσθαι, προφάσει μὲν τῶν ἑγκαινίων τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἣν ὁ πατὴρ μὲν τῶν Αὐγούστων κατασκευάζειν ἤρξατο· μετὰ τελευτὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ, ὁ υἱὸς Κωνσταντῖος δεκάτῳ ἔτει ἀπὸ τῆς θεμελιώσεως συνετέλεσεν· τὸ δὲ ἀληθές, ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνατροπῇ καὶ καθαίρεσει τῆς ὁμοουσίου πίστεως.

^g Euseb. lib. x. c. iv. tot.

^h Gaud. Serm. xvii. Die dedicationis basilicæ sanctorum quadraginta mar-

Gaudentius and St. Ambrose, upon the like occasion. Sometimes they had more than one discourse upon it; for Eusebius, speaking of the dedication of churches in the time of Constantine, says, "Every bishop that was presentⁱ, made a speech in praise of the convention:" so that the panegyric which he there records was but one of many that were spoken. In another place, describing the dedication of the church of Jerusalem, he says, some made speeches, by way of panegyric^k, upon the emperor and the magnificence of his buildings; others handled a common-place in divinity, adapted to the present occasion; and others discoursed upon the lessons of Scripture that were read, expounding the mystical sense of them; and he bore a part in each of these himself, being present at that solemnity. When this part of the ceremony was over, they then proceeded to the mystical service, or the offering of the unbloody sacrifice, as he there terms it, to God: praying for the peace of the world, the prosperity of the Church, and a blessing upon the emperor and his children. Among these prayers they seem to have had a particular prayer for the church then dedicated, as some understand St. Ambrose, who is thought^l to have a form upon such an occa-

tyrum (in Biblioth. Patr. Max. tom. v. pp. 968—970, edit. Lugd. 1677.)—Ambros. Serm. lxxxix. In festo dedicationis ecclesiæ (Serm. xxvi. tom. v. p. 78, edit. Colon. 1616. tom. v. p. 160, edit. Paris. 1642.)

ⁱ Euseb. lib. x. c. iii. (p. 411, at bottom.) Ἐκίνει δὲ καὶ λόγους ἅπας τῶν παρόντων ἀρχόντων πανηγυρικοὺς, ὡς ἐκάστῳ παρῆν δυνάμει, θειάζων τὴν πανήγυριν.

^k Euseb. de Vit. Constant. lib. iv. c. xlv. (p. 589, at top.) Οἱ τοῦ Θεοῦ λειτουργοί, εὐχαῖς ἅμα καὶ διαλέξεσι τὴν ἑορτὴν κατεκόσμου· οἱ μὲν τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς Βασιλέως τὴν εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων Σωτῆρα δεξιῶσιν ἀνυμνοῦντες, τὰς τε περὶ τὸ μαρτύριον μεγαλουργίας διεξιόντες τῷ λόγῳ· οἱ δὲ ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν θείων δογμάτων πανηγυρिकाῖς θεολογίαις, πανδαισίαν λογικῶν τροφῶν, ταῖς πάντων παραδίδόντες ἀκοαῖς· ἄλλοι δὲ ἐρμηνείας τῶν θείων ἀναγνωσμάτων ἐποιοῦντο, τὰς ἀπορρήτους ἀποκαλύπτοντες θεωρίας. . . . Ἐνθα καὶ ἡμεῖς, τῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἀγαθῶν ἡξιωμένοι, ποικίλαις ταῖς εἰς τὸ κοινὸν διαλέξεσι τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐτιμῶμεν· τοτὲ μὲν διὰ γράμματος τῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ πεφιλοκαλημένων τὰς ἱερὰς εἰς ἐρμηνεύοντες· τοτὲ δὲ καιρίου καὶ τοῖς προκειμένοις συμβόλοις τὰς προφητικὰς ποιούμενοι θεωρίας.

^l Ambros. Exhort. ad Virgin. (Benedict. 1690. vol. ii. p. 302.) Te nunc, Domine, precor, ut supra hanc domum tuam, supra hæc altaria quæ hodie dedicantur, supra hos lapides spiritales, quibus sensibile tibi in singulis templum sacratur, quotidianus præsul intendas; orationesque servorum tuorum, quæ in

sion ; which, because we have not many such in the writings of the ancients, I will here insert in his own words:—"I beseech thee now, O Lord, let thine eye be continually upon this house, upon this altar, which is now dedicated unto thee ; upon these spiritual stones, in every one of which a sensible temple is consecrated unto thee. Let the prayers of thy servants, which are poured out in this place, be always accepted of thy divine mercy. Let every sacrifice that is offered in this temple with a pure faith and a pious zeal, be unto thee a sweet-smelling savour of sanctification. And when thou lookest upon that sacrifice of salvation which taketh away the sins of the world, have respect to these oblations of chastity, and defend them by thy continual help, that they may be sweet and acceptable offerings unto thee, and pleasing unto Christ the Lord. Vouchsafe to keep their whole spirit, soul, and body, without blame, unto the day of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen." I do not deny but that this prayer, in some parts of it, may seem to look more like a consecration of virgins than a consecration of churches. Perhaps it might serve for both the spiritual and the material temples of God together ; but if any think it means only the former, I will not contend about it, seeing it is already proved out of Eusebius, that at least panegyric orations and praises of God, and prayers for the church, were always part of the solemnity and ceremony of these dedications ; and, till a solemn day was appointed for the performance of these, it was not according to rule for any one to use a new-built church as a place of worship, unless a great necessity compelled him to it ; which is evident from the apology that Athanasius makes for himself to Constantius, for using the great church of Alexandria on the Easter festival, before it was finished and dedicated by the emperor, its founder. He says^m, "The multitude was so

hoc loco funduntur, divina tua suscipias misericordia. Fiat tibi in odorem sanctificationis omne sacrificium, quod in hoc templo fide integra, pia sedulitate, offertur. Et quum ad illam respicis hostiam salutarem, per quam peccatum mundi hujus aboletur, respicias etiam ad has piæ hostias castitatis, et diuturno eas tuearis auxilio, ut fiant tibi in odorem suavitatis hostiæ acceptabiles, Christo Domino placentes ; et integrum spiritum eorum, animam et corpus, sine querela usque in diem Domini Jesu Christi filii tui, servare digneris.

^m Athan. Apol. I. ad Constantin. (Benedict. 1698. vol. i. p. 303. D 9.)

great, that the lesser churches would not contain them without hazard of their lives; and therefore they importuned the bishop that they might assemble in the great church, otherwise threatening that they would meet in the open fields;" upon which he consented to have prayers in this church. But this did not go for its dedication; for he tells the emperor, they still expected a day, when he himself should give the orders for its *encœnia*, or 'feast of dedication,' and then solemnly give his thanks to God for the finishing of it, as had been done in the time of his predecessor Alexander, when the church of Theonas was building, as he had seen it done at Triers, and Aquileia, and other places, where churches were sometimes used for prayer upon such urgent and pressing necessities before they were finished. But the using them for divine service upon such occasions was not their dedication: but that always came after, and was a proper and solemn eucharistical service, or thanksgiving to God, for the accomplishment of the holy structure; so that this evidently makes out the observation that has been made out of Eusebius before, that the common prayers of the Church were not looked upon as a formal dedication, without special panegyric orations, and forms of adoration and praise, more peculiar to that occasion. And this, also, confutes the opinion of those, who think the setting up the sign of a cross, or placing a communion-table in a church, was its dedication; for these things might be done without any dedication, which appears not only from this discourse of Athanasius, but from a case related in Synesius, where some pretended that a certain place was

(tom. i. pp. 682, 684, edit. Paris. 1627.) (p. 303. D. et p. 306. C. edit. Paris. 1698.) 'Εορτὴ μὲν γάρ ἦν τὸ Πάσχα, ὃ δὲ λαὸς πάνν πολλὸς καὶ τοσοῦτος ἦν, ὅσον ἂν εὐξαιντο κατὰ πόλιν εἶναι Χριστιανῶν φιλόχριστοι βασιλεῖς. Τῶν τοίνυν ἐκκλησιῶν ὀλίγων καὶ βραχυτάτων οὐσῶν, θόρυβος ἦν οὐκ ὀλίγος, αἰσιούντων ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ συνελθεῖν, κακεῖ πάντας εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς σωτηρίας ὅπερ καὶ γέγονεν· ἀλλ' ἐμοῦ παρακαλοῦντος, τίως ἐπισχεῖν, καὶ ὅπως δῆποτε μετὰ θλίψεως ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐκκλησίαις συναχθῆναι, οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν, ἀλλ' ἔτοιμοι γεγόνασιν ἐξελθεῖν τὴν πόλιν, εἰς τοὺς ἐρήμους τόπους ἐν ἡλίῳ συνελθεῖν, βέλτιον ἡγούμενοι κάματον ἐνεγκεῖν ὁδοῦ, ἢ μετὰ λύπης τὴν ἑορτὴν ποιῆσαι' . . . —p. 306, n. 18. Σὺ δὲ, θεοφιλέστατε Αὐγουστε, ζήσεις πολλαῖς ἑτῶν περιόδοις, καὶ τὰ ἐγκαίνια ἐπιτελέσεις· αἱ γὰρ γενόμεναι παρὰ πάντων περὶ τῆς σῆς σωτηρίας εὐχαί, οὐκ ἐμποδίζουσι τὴν τῶν ἐγκαινίων παρῆγγυριν.

consecrated into a church, because it had been used for prayer and administration of the sacrament in a time of hostile invasion; against which Synesius positively determinesⁿ, that such an use in time of necessity was no consecration; for otherwise mountains, and valleys, and private houses, would be churches.

SECT. III.—*The Bishop in every Diocese the ordinary Minister of these Consecrations.*

It is evident from what has been already said, that these consecrations being generally performed in a synod of bishops, the bishops were the ministers always employed in this service. But it might happen that none but the bishop of the diocese could be there; and then it was his business peculiarly to perform the office of consecration, which, by some ancient canons, is so specially reserved to the office of bishop, that presbyters are not allowed to perform it. The first Council of Bracara, an. 563, makes it deprivation^o for any presbyter to consecrate an altar or a church, and says the canons of old forbade it likewise. Among our British Councils, collected by Sir Henry Spelman, there is one under St. Patrick, an. 450, where we have a canon to this very purpose, “that a presbyter^p, though he builds a church, shall not offer the oblation in it, before he brings his bishop to consecrate it, because this was regular and decent;” and ancient history affords no approved examples to the contrary.

SECT. IV.—*No Church to be built without the Bishop's Leave.*

This will receive a little further confirmation from our ob-

ⁿ Synes. Ep. lxvii. (Paris. 1640. p. 212. A 5.) (p. 238, Paris. 1605, 8vo.) (p. 212, edit. Paris. 1633.) Τὸ γὰρ ἐν ἐπιδρομῇ τότε πολέμιων ἐκεί συμφυγόντας ἀνθρώπους εὐξασθαι τὰναγκαῖα, τοῦτο τὸν τρόπον οὐ καθυροῦ· ἢ πάντα μὲν ὄρη, πᾶσαι δὲ φάραγγές ἐκκλησίας· καὶ οὐδὲν ὅ, τι φρούριον ἐκφεύγει τὸ δημόσιον εἶναι· ἐν οἷς ἅπανιν ὅταν οἱ πολέμοι προνομεύσωσιν, εὐχαὶ καὶ μυστήρια γίνονται· οἰκίαι δὲ ὅσαι, κατὰ τοὺς ἀθίους τῶν ἐξ Ἀρείου καιροῦς, εὐχὰς ἐδέξαντο καὶ μυστήρια· ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν ἡττόν εἰσιν ἰδιώτιδες.

^o Conc. Bracar. I. c. xxxvii. (Labbe, Conc. II. can. xix. tom. v. p. 842.) Si quis presbyter, post hoc interdictum, ausus fuerit chrisma benedicere, aut ecclesiam aut altarium consecrare, a suo officio deponatur: nam et antiqui hoc canones vetuerunt.

^p Conc. Hibernicum. (Conc. tom. i. p. 1480.) can. xxiii. Si quis presbyterum ecclesiam edificaverit, non offerat antequam adducat suum pontificem, ut eum consecret, quia sic decet.

serving two or three other things which have a near relation to this matter: as, first, that no church regularly could be builded without the license or consent of the bishop in whose diocese it was erected. This is expressly provided in one of the canons of the Council of Chalcedon, which subjects monasteries and churches so to the bishop's care, that neither of them might¹ be founded without his consent and approbation.

SECT. V.—*Nor till the Bishop had first made a solemn Prayer in the Place where it was to be builded.*

And, by the laws of Justinian, no church was to be begun before the bishop had first made a solemn prayer, and fixed the sign of the cross in the place where a new church was to be erected; which we have over and over again repeated in that Emperor's Novels, both with relation to monasteries and churches². And Gothofred, not without reason, thinks the same custom was observed in expiating the temples of the heathen, when they were to be consecrated into Christian churches; for so he understands that law³ of Theodosius, which orders the temples to be expiated, by placing in them the sign of the Christian religion, that is, the sign of the cross. And whereas some monks and other orders of men would sometimes presume to set up the sign of the cross in public buildings and other places, erected for the divertisement of the people, which was, in effect, a pretending to make them churches without the bishop's leave; therefore the Emperor

¹ Conc. Chalcedon. c. iv. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 758.) 'Ἐπειδὴν δὲ τινες τῶ μοναχικῷ κεχρημένοι προσήματι, τὰς τε ἐκκλησίας καὶ τὰ πολιτικά διαταράττουσι πράγματα, περιϋόντες ἀδιαφόρως ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ μοναστήρια ἑαυτοῖς συνιστᾶν ἐπιτηδεύοντες· ἔδοξε μηδένα μηδαμοῦ οἰκοδομεῖν μηδὲ συνιστᾶν μοναστήριον, ἢ εὐκτήριον οἶκον, παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισκόπου.

² Justin. Novel. cxxxi. c. vii. Εἰ τις βουλευθῇ οἰκοδομῆσαι σεβάσιμον εὐκτήριον, ἢ μοναστήριον, μὴ ἄλλως ἀρχέσθω τοῦ οἰκοδομήματος, εἰ μὴ ὁ τῶν τόπων ὀσιώτατος ἐπίσκοπος εὐχὴν ἐκείτῃ ποιήσῃ, καὶ τὸν τίμιον πῆξει σταυρόν.

³ Cod. Theod. lib. i. tit. iii. de Paganis, leg. xxv. Cuncta eorum sacra, templa, delubra, si qua etiam nunc restant integra, præcepto magistratuum destrui, collocationeque venerandæ Christianæ religionis signi expiari præcipimus.

Leo † made a decree, “that nothing of this nature should be done by usurpation for the future; but whether it was to erect a cross, or bring the relics of a martyr into any place, both these should be done by the direction of the bishops, and not otherwise.” And hence it is probably conjectured, both by Suicerus and Meursius, that a bishop’s diocese is sometimes called *σταυροπήγιον*; that is, the district wherein he had power to fix the cross within his own bounds for the building of churches. So the word will signify both the act of making a cross, and the limits wherein he had power to make it.

SECT. VI.—*No Bishop to consecrate a Church in another’s Diocese, except Necessity required it.*

For it is to be observed further, that though bishops had the power of consecrating churches, yet that was limited to their own diocese; and they might not exceed their own bounds, unless called to assist another, or to minister in the vacancy of another bishopric; which is so strictly insisted on by the Council of Orange, that it forbids a bishop, who builds a church himself, at his own expense, in another man’s diocese, to assume to himself the consecration^u of it, but to leave that to the bishop in whose territory the church is erected. The third Council^w of Orleans and others have decrees of the like nature; but, in case a church was built in a vacant diocese,

† Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. iii. de Episc. leg. xxvi. Decernimus, ut posthac neque monachi, neque quicumque alii cujuscumque status ac fortunæ, in sedes publicas, vel in quæcumque loca populi voluptatibus fabricata, venerabilem crucem et sanctorum martyrum reliquias illicite inferre conentur, vel occupare audeant ea, quæ vel ad publicas causas, vel ad populi oblectamenta constructa sunt. Quum enim religiosæ sedes non desint, possunt ibi, consultis prius (ut oportet) religiosissimis episcopis, reliquias sanctorum martyrum, non quorundam usurpatione, sed arbitrio antistitum collocare.

^u Conc. Araisican. c. x. (tom. iii. Conc. p. 1449.) Si quis episcoporum in alienæ civitatis territorio ecclesiam ædificare disponit, vel pro fundi sui negotio, aut ecclesiastica utilitate, vel quacumque sua opportunitate, permissa licentia ædificandi, quia prohibere hoc votum nefas est, non præsumat dedicationem, quæ illi omnimodis reservatur, in cujus territorio ecclesia adsurgit.

^w Conc. Aurel. III. c. xv. (tom. v. p. 299.) Episcopus in dioceses alias, ad alienos clericos ordinandos vel consecranda altaria, irruere non debet: quod si fecerit, remotis his quos ordinaverit, altaris tamen consecratione manente, transgressor canonum annua missarum celebritate cessabit.

then any neighbouring bishop might be called to consecrate it, as Sidonius Apollinaris was called to consecrate the church of Ruteni or Rodez, in France, though he was bishop of another diocese. But the reason^{*} was, as Savaro rightly observes, because Rodez, at the time, had no bishop of its own to officiate in the consecration. Now, all these things show that the bishop in every diocese was the proper minister of this service: for he was to be consulted before the work was begun; he was to come also, and pray at the place before the foundation was laid; and, when the building was finished, he was to be called to consecrate it, or else some other bishop in his stead. But, if presbyters could regularly have done it, there had been no need to have sent for a bishop out of another diocese to perform it. But, perhaps, it will be asked, what if a presbyter did take upon him to do the thing, did his act stand good, or did the bishop proceed to a new consecration? To which I answer, this being a thing reserved to bishops only by ecclesiastical law and custom (for the Scripture has nothing about it), we do not find any new consecrations practised in such cases; but because it was a schismatical act in a presbyter so to go against rule and canon in contempt of his bishop, there-

^{*} Sidon. lib. iv. ep. xv. (Bibl. Vet. P. vol. x. p. 498.) Baptisterium, quod olim fabricabamini, scribitis jam posse consecrari. Ad quæ festa vos voti, nos ministerii, officii multos, fidei totos, causa sollicitat. Quod restat optamus, ut . . . tam desiderio meo Christus indulgeat, quam Rutenorum.—Savaro in h. l. Qui fieri potest, ut ministerii cura Sidonio incumberet, quum is non esset Rutenorum episcopus, ad quem hujusce ministerii consecratio spectabat! Concilii Arelensis can. x. 'Dedicatio illi omnino reservatur, in cujus territorio ecclesia adsurgit.' Nec alium quam loci episcopum evocare jus erat ad ecclesiæ consecrationem, eod. can. Conc. Aurelian. can. i. et iii. Wormatiensis, can. i.: in quas ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ regulas impegissee Sidonium, nefas dicere: reus enim læsæ disciplinæ ageretur, etiamsi eum Elaphius ad ecclesiæ consecrationem invitasset, supra dicti Concilii can. x. Verum dicendum est (quantum ex Sidonio, Ep. vi. lib. vii. colligere licet) tum temporis Rutenorum ecclesiæ summo fuisse viduatum pontifice, in cujus locum alium sufficere non liberum erat. Sidon. Burdegala, Petrogori, Ruteni, Lemovices, Gabalitani, Elusani, Vasates, Convenæ, Auscenses, multoque jam major numerus civitatum (summis sacerdotibus ipsorum morte truncatis, nec ullis deinceps episcopis in defunctorum officia succectis, etc.) Tunc enim Euvargis Ariana vis sæviebat, ea propter Sidonius baptisterium consecravit, eo quod Rutenorum episcopus mortuus esset.

fore he was to be punished^y with deposition or degradation, as appears from the forecited canon of the Council of Bracara. And even a bishop that pretended to consecrate a church in another man's diocese, was for his offence to be suspended a year from his office^z, as a transgressor of the canons, in the French churches.

SECT. VII.—*No necessity of a License from the Bishop of Rome for a Bishop to consecrate in former Ages.*

Some pretend that a bishop in his own diocese could not, according to ancient canons, consecrate a church without the bishop of Rome's license to authorize him to do it. This is one of Gratian's doctrines to magnify the pope's power^a in the canon law; which the new Roman correctors are so far from altering or censuring, that they bring Socrates in as a further evidence to vouch for it. Socrates, indeed, speaking of the Council of Antioch, which Constantius summoned under pretence of dedicating his new church there (though the true design was to have Athanasius condemned in a general council), excepts against it upon this ground, because the bishop of Rome was not there, whose consent was necessary, by the Ecclesiastical Canon, to make laws or rules for^b the Church; which was a privilege equally belonging to all patriarchs, that no general council should be held, nor general rules made for the whole Church, without their presence and advice first taken in such public deliberations. But this has nothing to do with

^y Conc. Bracar. I. c. xxxvii. See note (o) sect. iii.

^z Conc. Aurel. III. c. xv. See note (w) sect. vi.

^a Gratian. de Consecrat. Distinct. I. c. vi. et xxvii. edit. Romæ jussu Gregor. XIII. 1582. (can. v. p. 1149, edit. Colon. 1717.) Inscriptio sic habet: 'Sine auctoritate summi pontificis nova non dedicetur ecclesia.' Præcepta synodalia, quæ ante paucos menses de sede nostra ad provinciam sunt directa, et antiquis canonibus consentiunt, et ea, quæ minus probantur esse, addidimus, et in utraque parte constat, 'sine summi pontificis auctoritate ecclesiam noviter conditam non posse dedicari,' etc. Correct. Rom. addunt: Socrates in Ecclesiastica Historia (lib. ii. c. viii. et xvii.) refert tamquam antiquissimum canonem, sine Romani episcopi auctoritate nullam ecclesiam posse dedicari.

^b Socrat. lib. ii. c. viii. (Aug. Taur. p. 73. E.) 'Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ Ἰούλιος παρῆν, ὁ τῆς μεγίστης Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος· οὐδὲ μὲν εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ ἀπιστάλκει τινά· καὶ τοι κανόνος ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ κελεύοντος, μὴ εἶν παρὰ τὴν γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ῥώμης τὰς ἐκκλησίας κανονίζειν.

the consecration of churches in every private bishop's diocese, of which there is no instance, in all ancient history, of any bishop being obliged to send to the bishop of Rome for his license to consecrate a church within his own diocese. But that which seems to have imposed upon these censors, was their misunderstanding those Greek words, *κανονίζειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας*, which does not signify 'dedicating of churches' (though Musculus so translates it, and Hospinian follows him in the same error), but the 'Church making laws or canons for her own government,' in which the bishop of Rome was allowed to have a patriarchal privilege, but not in the consecration of churches; though that now be insisted on by some who would have every thing flow from the immense plenitude of power in the bishops of Rome.

SECT. VIII.—*Churches always dedicated to God, and not to Saints, though sometimes distinguished by their Names for a Memorial of them.*

Next to the minister consecrating, it will be proper to say something of the object to whom churches were dedicated, which anciently was solely to God and his service; of which custom St. Austin is a most irrefragable witness, who, disputing with Maximinus, the Arian bishop, uses this argument to prove the divinity of the Holy Ghost: that he must be God, because temples were builded and dedicated to him, which it would be sacrilege to do to any creature. "If," says he, "we should make a temple of wood and stone to any holy angel, though never so excellent, should we not be anathematized by the truth of Christ and the Church of God, for exhibiting to the creature that service which is only due to the Creator? Since, therefore, we should be sacrilegious in building a temple to any^c creature, how can he be otherwise than the true God, to whom we not only build temples, but are ourselves his

^c Aug. cont. Maximin. lib. i. (tom. vi. p. 288, edit. Paris.) (tom. vi. p. 689. C. Basil. 1569.) Nonne si templum, alicui sancto angelo excellentissimo, de lignis et lapidibus faceremus, anathematizaremur a veritate Christi et ab ecclesia Dei, quoniam creaturæ exhiberemus eam servitutem, quæ uni tantum deberetur Deo? Si ergo sacrilegi essemus faciendo templum cuicunque creaturæ, quomodo non est Deus verus, cui non templum facimus, sed nos ipsi templum sumus?

temples?" In another place he rejects with scorn the false imputation of Faustus, the Manichee, who charged the Catholics with erecting temples to their martyrs, and offering sacrifice and other acts of worship to them therein. To this he replies, "That they never offered sacrifice to any martyr, but only to the God of the martyrs, though they erected altars in the memorials of the martyrs^d; for what bishop, when he stands by the altar in any place where the holy bodies lie, ever says, 'We offer unto thee, Peter, or Paul, or Cyprian?' But what is offered, is offered unto God (who crowns the martyrs), in the memorials of the martyrs who are crowned by him." He often repeats it in other^e places, that they did not so honour their martyrs, by erecting temples or altars to them, but only unto God. The same place, indeed, was often a monument or memorial of a martyr, and a temple of God, because churches were commonly built over the sepulchres of the martyrs, or in the places where they suffered, or else the relics of the martyrs were translated into them; and hence they were called by the martyr's name, because they were memorials of them. The church and the altar that was built at Carthage, in the place where St. Cyprian suffered martyrdom, was upon

^d Ibid. cont. Faust. lib. xx. c. xxi. (Bened. vol. viii. p. 347. C.) (tom. vi. p. 375. A. cit. edit. Basil.) Nulli martyrum, sed ipsi Deo martyrum, quamvis in memoriis martyrum, constituamus altaria. Quis enim antistitem in locis sanctorum corporum, adstans altari, aliquando dixit, 'Offerimus tibi, Petre, aut Paule, aut Cypriane;' sed quod offertur, offertur Deo, qui martyres coronavit, apud memorias eorum, quos coronavit: ut ex ipsorum locorum admonitione major adfectus exurgat, ad acuendam caritatem et in illos quos imitari possumus, et in illum quo adjuvante possumus.

^e Ibid. de Vera Relig. c. lv. (Bened. vol. i. p. 787.) (tom. i. opp. p. 744. A.) Honoramus eos caritate, non servitute. Nec eis templa construimus. Nolunt enim se sic honorari a nobis; qui nos ipsos, quum boni sumus, templa summi Dei esse noverunt.—Id. de Civit. Dei, lib. xxii. c. x. (tom. v. p. 1355. A. B. edit. Basil.) Illi [ethnici] talibus diis suis et templa ædificarunt, et statuerunt aras, et sacerdotes instituerunt, et sacrificia fecerunt. Nos autem martyribus nostris non templa sicut diis, sed Memorias sicut hominibus mortuis, quorum apud Deum vivunt spiritus, fabricamus: nec ibi erigimus altaria, in quibus sacrificemus martyribus, sed uni Deo et martyrum et nostro: ad quod sacrificium, sicut homines Dei, qui mundum in ejus confessione vicerunt, suo loco et ordine nominantur; non tamen a sacerdote, qui sacrificat, invocantur. Deo quippe, non ipsis sacrificat; quamvis in Memoria sacrificet eorum: quia Dei sacerdos est, non illorum.

that account called *mensa Cypriani*, 'Cyprian's altar;' not because it was built or dedicated to him or his worship, (for, St. Austin says^f, it was erected only to God and his service,) but because it was a memorial of his martyrdom, being built in the place where Cyprian himself was offered a sacrifice unto God.

SECT. IX.—*Churches sometimes named from their Founders, or other Circumstances in their Building.*

And from hence it is very plain, that the naming a church by the name of a saint or martyr, was far from dedicating it to that saint or martyr, though it served for a memorial of him among the living, and so far was an honour to his memory, though dedicated only to God and his service. And this is further evident from this consideration, that churches were sometimes named from their founders, who certainly did not intend to dedicate churches to themselves. Thus Sirmond^g has observed three churches in Carthage to be so denominated from their founders, Basilica Fausti, Florentii, and Leontii. And Sozomen^h tells us, that the temple of Serapis, when it was turned into a church, was called by the name of Arcadius; as some, in Rome and Antioch, bare the name of Constantine and Justinian. Sometimes they had their name from a particular circumstance of time, or place, or other accident in the building of them. The church of Jerusalem was called *Anastasis* and *Cruz*; not because it was dedicated to any St. Anastasis or Cross; but because it was by Constantine built in the place of our Saviour's crucifixion and resurrection, as

^f Augustin. Serm. lxiii. de Diversis, tom. x. p. 592, edit. Paris. 1627. Ut mensa illa, quæ Dei est, etiam Cypriani vocetur, hæc causa est: Quia, ut illa modo cingitur ab obsequentibus, ibi Cyprianus cingebatur a persequentibus, etc. — Item. Mensa Deo constructa est, tamen mensa dicitur Cypriani . . . quia ibi est immolatus, et quia ipse immolatione sua paravit hanc mensam, non in qua pascatur, sive pascatur, sed in qua sacrificium Dei, cui et ipse oblatus est, offeratur.

^g Sirmond. Not. in Aug. Serm. xxxvii. a se edit. tom. x. p. 753. (Inter opp. Sirm. tom. i. p. 343, edit. Paris. 1696.) Quemadmodum basilica Fausti, et basilica Leontiana dictæ sunt a Fausto et Leontio conditoribus, sic Florentia hoc loco basilica de nomine Florentii episcopi.

^h Sozom. lib. vii. c. xv. (p. 274. B 4.) Τὸ μὲν δὲ Σεράπιον ὧδε ἦλω, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ εἰς ἐκκλησίαν μετεσκευάσθη, Ἀρκαδίου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπώνυμον.

Valesius^l and others have rightly observed. So the church of Anastasia, at Constantinople, was so termed, not from any saint of the same name, but because it was the church where Gregory Nazianzen, by his preaching, gave a sort of new life or resurrection to the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity, after it had been long oppressed by the Arian faction, as he himself^k accounts for the reason of the name in several places of his writings; and, upon the like ground, one of the churches of Carthage was called *Basilica Restituta*, from its being rescued out of the hands of the Arians. One of the churches of Alexandria was commonly called *Cæsareum*^l, which Valesius^m thinks was for no other reason but because the place before had been called *Cæsareum*, or 'the temple of the Cæsars:' as a church of Antioch was called *Palæa*, because built in that part of the city which they termed *παλαιάν*, or 'the old city.' So St. Peter's, at Rome, was anciently called

^l Vid. Vales. Ep. de Anastasi ad calc. Eusebii tota.

^k Naz. Orat. xxxii. ad cl. Episcopos, (tom. i. p. 527. B 7. Paris. 1630.) Χαίροις, 'Αναστασία, μοι τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐπώνυμε· σὺ γὰρ τὸν λόγον ἡμῖν ἐξανέστησας, ἔτι καταφρονούμενον, τὸ τῆς κοινῆς νίκης χωρίον, ἢ Σηλῶμ, ἐν ᾧ πρῶτον τὴν σκηνὴν ἐπήξαμεν, τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη περιφερομένην ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ πλανωμένην· σὺ τε ὁ μέγας ναὸς οὗτος καὶ περιβόητος, ἡ νέα κληρονομία, τὸ νῦν μέγας εἶναι παρὰ τοῦ λόγου λαβὼν, ὃν 'Ιεβοὺς πρότερον ὄντα, 'Ιερουσαλὴμ πεποιήκαμεν.

Εὐδὸν δὴ γλυκὲν ὕπνον, 'Αναστασίαν δὲ τ' ὄνειρος

Στῆσεν ἐμοῖσι φέρων ἡματίοισι πόθοις.

'Η πρώτη λόγον αἶπὺν ἐνὶ προπόδεσσι μένοντα

"Ηγαγεν ἐς κορυφὴν οὐρεὸς ἀκροτάτην.

Τοῦνεκ' 'Αναστασίαν μιν ἐπέκλησιν καλίουσι

Νηὸν, ἐμῆς παλάμης ἔργον ἀριστοπόνου. (vol. ii. p. 78.)

^l Socrat. lib. vii. c. xv. (p. 303. D 2.) 'Εκ τοῦ διόφρου ἐκβαλόντες, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ᾧ ἐπώνυμον Καيسάριον συνέλκουσιν· ἀποδύσαντές τε τὴν ἐσθῆτα, δστράκοις ἀνείλουν.—Liberat. Breviar. c. xviii. (tom. v. Conc. p. 769. B.) Igitur Petrus Moggus ab abbate Amone et Joanne Episcopo Magileos, et ab abbatibus monachorum inferioris Ægypti bella passus, et seditione ei in *Cæsarea basilica* (ut dicitur) facta, anathematizavit Synodum Chalcedonensem et tomum Papæ Leonis.

^m Vales. Not. in Evagr. in lib. ii. c. viii. (p. 272.) Magna Ecclesia urbis Alexandrinæ *Cæsarea* dicebatur, ut docet Epiphanius in Hæresi Arianorum, et Liberatus in Breviario, c. xviii. Socrates vero in lib. vii. Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ, c. xv. eam ecclesiam *Καيسάριον* cognominatam esse dicit. Causam autem hujus appellationis docet Athanasius in Epistola ad Solitarios, eo quod scilicet ecclesia illa constructa fuisset in loco, qui *Cæsareum* ante dicebatur, id est, Caesarum templum.

Triumphalis, because it stood in *Via Triumphali*, or 'the Triumphal Way,' leading to the Capitol. And we are assured from St. Jeromeⁿ, that the Lateran church had its name from Lateranus, the heathen, who was slain by Nero, because it had formerly been that nobleman's palace in Rome. A thousand observations of the like nature might be made; but these few are sufficient to show that there were different reasons for giving names to churches, and that it was no argument of churches being dedicated to saints, because they bare the names of saints: it being otherwise apparent, that they were consecrated only to God, and not to any creature.

SECT. X.—*When Altars first began to have a particular Consecration, with new Ceremonies distinct from Churches.*

What has been observed of churches, is equally true of altars, that they were always dedicated to God alone, and not to any other being whatever, even after they began to have a particular consecration with some new ceremonies distinct from churches, which seems to have begun first of all in the sixth century; for the Council of Agde, an. 506, is the first public record that we meet with, giving any account of a distinct consecration of altars: and there we find the new ceremony of chrism^o added to the sacerdotal benediction. And not long after we find a like decree in the Council of Epone, an. 517, that "no altars but such as were made of stone, should be consecrated with^p the infusion of chrism upon them;" which implies, that at least some altars, if not all, had then the ceremony of chrism in their consecration. But, as this ceremony was new, so was the consecration of altars, as distinct from churches, a new thing also: and much more the consecration of communion-cloths,

ⁿ Hieron. Epist. xxx. Epitaph. Fabiolæ. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 459, at bottom.) Ut ante diem Paschæ in *Basilica* quondam Laterani, qui *Cesariano truncatus* est gladio, staret in ordine poenitentium. Speaking of Fabiola doing penance there.

^o Conc. Agath. c. xiv. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1385.) *Altaria placuit non solum unctione chrismatis sed etiam sacerdotali benedictione sacrari.*

^p Conc. Epaunens. c. xxvi. *Altaria, nisi lapidea, infusione chrismatis non sacrentur.*

and cups, and images, and crosses, and paschal tapers, and holy water, and beads, and bells, of which the reader may find a particular account in Hospinian^q, with all the new rites of consecrating churches in the Romish rituals, which it is none of my business here further to pursue.

SECT. XI.—*No Church to be built or consecrated before it was endowed.*

Concerning the ancient consecrations, we have further to observe, that, by the laws of Justinian, no man was to begin to build a church before he had given security to the bishop of a maintenance for the ministry^r and the repairs of the church, and whatever was otherwise necessary to uphold divine service in it. And by a rule of one of the Spanish Councils^s, a bishop was not to consecrate a church before the donation of its maintenance was delivered to him in writing, confirmed by law; which were necessary rules to preserve churches from falling to ruin, and their ministry and service from contempt and disgrace.

SECT. XII.—*Yet Bishops not to demand any thing for Consecration.*

But beyond this suitable provision and settlement for the service of the church, the bishop was not to exact or demand any thing further of the founder; but, it being part of his ordinary office to consecrate churches, he was obliged to do it without requiring any reward for his service, unless the founder thought fit to make him any voluntary oblation, in which case

^q Hospin. de Templo, lib. iv. c. ii.—xi.

^r Justin. Novel. lxvii. c. ii. Μὴ ἄλλως αὐτὸν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκ νέου οἰκοδομεῖν, πρὶν ἂν διαλεχθῇ πρὸς τὸν θεοφιλέστατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον, καὶ ὀρίσει τὸ μέτρον, ὅπερ ἀφορίζει πρὸς τὴν λυχνοκαίαν καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν λειτουργίαν, καὶ τὴν ἀδιάφθορον τοῦ οἴκου συντήρησιν, καὶ τὴν τῶν προσεδρεύόντων ἀποτροφὴν· καὶ, εἴπερ αὐτάρκως ἔχειν δόξει, ποιῆσθαι αὐτὸν πρότερον δωρεὰν τῶν ἀφορίζεσθαι μελλόντων, οὕτω τε τὸν οἶκον οἰκοδομεῖν.

^s Conc. Bracar. III. c. v. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 897.) Unusquisque episcoporum meminerit, ut non prius dedicet ecclesiam aut basilicam, nisi antea dotem basilicæ et obsequium ipsius, per donationem chartulæ confirmatum, accipiat: nam non levis est ista temeritas, si sine luminariis, vel sine sustentatione eorum, qui ibidem servituri sunt, tamquam domus privata, ita consecretur ecclesia.

he is at liberty to receive it. So it is determined in the fore-said Spanish Council of Bracara^t, and for the French churches in the second Council of Chalons^u, and others in the time of Charles the Great.

SECT. XIII.—*Consecrations performed indifferently upon any Day.*

As to the time of consecration, they did not anciently confine themselves to perform it only upon Sundays. But all days were at first indifferent both for this and the ordinations of the clergy likewise, which is an observation frequently made by the learned Pagi^w in his Critical Remarks upon the Chronology of the Ancient Church; particularly, he observes, that Constantine's famous dedication of the church of Jerusalem in a full synod of bishops, an. 335, must needs have been upon a Saturday. For all writers agree, that it was upon the Ides of September, that is, upon the 13th day of September; which, according to the exact rules and method of the cycle, must fall upon a Saturday that year. Whence Pagi rightly concludes, that the custom had not yet prevailed, which confined consecration of churches to the Lord's day.

SECT. XIV.—*The Day of Consecration usually celebrated among their Anniversary Festivals.*

I have nothing further to remark upon this head, save only that the day of consecration was in many churches

^t Conc. Bracar. III. c. v. Placuit, ut quoties ab aliquo fideles ad consecrandas ecclesias episcopi invitantur, non quasi ex debito munus aliquod a fundatore requirant; sed si ipsi quidem aliquid ex suo voto obtulerint, non respuat. Si vero aut paupertas illum aut necessitas retinet, nihil exigatur ab illo.

^u Conc. Cabillon. II. c. xvi. (Labbe, vol. vii. p. 1275.) Omnes uno consensu statuimus, ut sicut, pro dedicandis basilicis et dandis ordinibus, nihil accipiendum est; ita etiam pro balsamo, sive luminaribus emendis, presbyteri chrisma nihil accepturi dent.

^w Pag. Critic. in Baron. an. 335, n. iv. (Lucæ, vol. iv. p. 258.) Initio Septembris, ut minimum, Eusebius et reliqui episcopi, Tyro relicta, Hierosolymam petierunt; quum die decima tertia Septembris Basilicæ Hierosolymitanæ Encænæ celebrarint.—Num. vi. Idus Septembris, seu dies xiii. illius mensis, concurrat hoc anno cum sabbato, ut methodus cyclica docet. Quare nondum mos invaluerat, ut ecclesiæ die dominica dedicarentur.

solemnly kept and observed among their anniversary festivals. For Sozomen^x gives us this account of the dedication of the church of Jerusalem, that, in memory of it, they held a yearly festival, which lasted for eight days together, during which time both they of the Church, and all strangers, which flocked thither in abundance, held ecclesiastical assemblies, and met together for divine service. To this Gregory the Great seems to have added a new custom here in England; which was that, on the annual feast of the dedication, the people might build themselves booths round about the church, and there feast and entertain themselves with eating and drinking, in lieu of their ancient sacrifices while they were heathens: which is related by Bede^y out of Gregory's Letters to Austin, and Mellitus, the first bishop of the Saxons. And from this custom, it is more than probable, came our wakes, which are still observed in some places as the remains of those feasts of dedication of particular churches.

^x Sozom. lib. ii. c. xxvi. (Reading, p. 75, at bottom.) 'Εξ ἰκείνου δὲ, ἐτήσιον ταύτην ἱορτὴν λαμπρῶς μάλα ἄγει ἡ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκκλησία· ὥς καὶ μυήσεις ἐν αὐτῇ τελεῖσθαι, καὶ ὀκτὼ ἡμέρας ἐφεξῆς ἐκκλησιάζειν· συνιέναι τε πολλοὺς σχεδὸν ἐκ πάσης τῆς ὑφ' ἡλίον, οἱ καθ' ἱστορίαν τῶν ἱερῶν τόπων πάντοθεν συντρέχουσι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ταύτης τῆς πανηγύρεως.

^y Bed. Histor. lib. i. c. xxx. (Lond. 1838. p. 80.) Ut die dedicationis, vel natalitii sanctorum martyrum, quorum illic reliquiae ponuntur, tabernacula sibi circa easdem ecclesias, quae ex fanis commutatae sunt, de ramis arborum faciant, et religiosis conviviis solemnitatem celebrent, nec diabolo jam animalia immolent, sed ad laudem Dei in esu suo animalia occidant, et Donatori omnium de satietate sua gratias referant.

CHAPTER X.

OF THE RESPECT AND REVERENCE WHICH THE PRIMITIVE
CHRISTIANS PAID TO THEIR CHURCHES.SECT. I.—*Churches never put to any Profane Use, but only
Sacred and Religious Service.*

NEXT to their adorning and consecration of churches, it will be proper to examine what respect and reverence they paid to consecrated places, after they were once set apart for divine service. They then used them only as the houses of God, for acts of devotion and religion, and did not allow of any thing to be done there, that had not some tendency towards piety, or immediate relation to it. They might be used for religious assemblies, for the elections of the bishops and clergy, for the sitting of councils, for catechetic schools, for conferences and collations about religion; but not be put to the use of common houses, to eat, or drink, or lodge in. And, therefore, though the law allowed men to take sanctuary in the church (as we shall see in the next chapter), yet it did not allow them to have their meat and lodging there. When some abused the *catechumenia* (which I have shown before to be places within the church for men and women to hear divine service in), and turned them into rooms to lodge in, the Emperor Leo made a decree, that “all such should be expelled from their habitations in the church.” The case was different, when men spent whole nights in the church in watching and prayer, as they did frequently both in their public and private vigils; such pernoctations in the church were allowed, because they were but necessary circumstances of divine service. Only women were forbidden, by the Council

of Eliberis^a, to keep private vigils in the church, because many times, under pretence of prayer, secret wickedness was committed. And, for the like reason, their *agapæ*, or ‘feasts of charity,’ which were originally an apostolical practice, and kept in the church, were afterwards prohibited, or at least discouraged, for the excess and consequent profaneness that attended them. The Council of Laodicea^b peremptorily forbids them, under that name of ‘charity feast;’ and commands that “no one should eat, or prepare beds or tables for that purpose, in the house of God.” And the third Council of Carthage forbids all feasting in the church^c in general to the clergy, except in case of necessity, when they were upon a journey, and could not otherwise be entertained; and orders, that the custom should be discountenanced as much as possible also in the laity. For, though they were forced to tolerate it for some time, yet they did not approve of it, as St. Austin tells Faustus^d, the Manichee, but endeavoured to correct both the excess that many ran into upon such occasions, and the very custom itself of feasting in the church, or at the graves of the martyrs; because two errors crept into the Church by that means, intolerable excess, and an heathenish superstition therewith. For men began, as he^e complains, in these riots to

^a Conc. Illib. c. xxxv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 974.) Placuit prohiberi, ne feminæ in cœmeterio pervigilent; eo quod sæpe, sub obtentu orationis, latenter scelera admittant.

^b Conc. Laodic. c. xxviii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1501.) “Οτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν τοῖς κυριακοῖς, ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, τὰς λεγομένας ἀγάπας ποιεῖν, καὶ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἰσθίειν, καὶ ἀκούβειτα στρωννύειν.

^c Conc. Carth. III. c. xxx. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1171.) Ut nulli episcopi vel clerici in ecclesia convivunt, nisi forte transeuntes hospitiorum necessitate illic reficiantur; et populi, quantum fieri potest, ab hujusmodi conviviis prohibeantur. —Cod. Afric. can. xlii. “Ὅστε ἐπισκόπους ἢ κληρικούς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ μὴ συμποσιάζεσθαι· εἰ μὴδ’ ἂν τυχὸν ἀνάγκῃ ξενίας διαβάντες ἐκτὶ μεταλύσωσι· καὶ οἱ λαοὶ τῶν τοιουτοτρόπων συμποσίων, ὅσον δυνατόν ἐστι, κωλυθῶσιν.

^d Aug. cont. Faust. lib. xx. c. xxi. (Bened. vol. viii. p. 348. A.) Qui se in memoriis martyrum inebriant, quomodo a nobis approbari possunt, quum eos, etiam si in domibus suis id faciant, sana doctrina condemnet? Sed aliud est quod docemus, aliud quod sustinemus, aliud quod præcipere jubemur, aliud quod emendare præcipimur; et donec emendemus, tolerare compellimur.

^e Ibid. de Morib. Eccles. lib. i. c. xxxiv. (Bened. vol. i. p. 713. E.) Novi multos esse sepulcrorum et picturarum adoratores; novi multos esse, qui luxu-

worship pictures and tombstones, and reckoned their feasts a sort of sacrifice to the dead, placing even their voracities and drunkenness to the account of religion: so that it was high time to lay aside all manner of banquetings in the church, that the house of God might not be profaned with such excesses of riot as were not to be endured in private houses. And this was their general rule in all cases, to lay aside all customs that were not absolutely necessary, though innocent and useful in their original, rather than suffer the abuses and corruptions of them to end in the profanation of churches.

SECT. II.—*The like Caution observed about the Sacred Vessels and Utensils of the Church.*

The like reverence and respect was also shown to every sacred vessel and utensil belonging to the administration of the sacraments and divine service: they might not be employed to any other use, but only what was sacred, and answerable to the designation and appointment of them. Upon this account, they were kept in the *sceuphylacium* of the church; and never removed thence, but when the service of the altar required them. This custom was so nicely observed, that when Athanasius was accused for breaking the mystical cup, he clears himself of the accusation, by saying, that “in the place where it was pretended that he had broken it, there was neither church, nor minister^f, nor was it the time

riossissime super mortuos bibant; et epulas cadaveribus exhibentes, super sepultos seipsos sepeliunt, et voracitates ebrietatesque suas deputant religioni.

^f Athanas. Apol. ii. (Bened. 1698. vol. i. p. 133. D 8.) (tom. i. p. 732, Paris. 1627.) (pp. 133, 134, edit. Paris. 1698.) Καὶ γὰρ ὁ τόπος ἐκεῖνος, ἐν ᾧ κεκλᾶσθαι τὸ ποτήριόν φησιν, οὐκ ἦν ἐκκλησία· πρεσβύτερος οὐκ ἦν ὁ τὸν τόπον παροικῶν ἡμέρα, καθ’ ἣν Μακάριον τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι φασίν, οὐκ ἦν κυριακή· μήτε τοίνυν ἐκκλησίας οὔσης ἐκεῖ, μήτε τοῦ ἱερουργούντος, μήτε τῆς ἡμέρας ἀπαιτούσης, ποῖον ἢ πότε, ἢ ποῦ τὸ ποτήριον ἐέκλασται μυστικόν; ποτήρια μὲν γὰρ εἶναι πολλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας, καὶ ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ, δῆλον· καὶ τούτων οὐδὲν ὁ θραύων ἀσειεῖ· τὸ δὲ μυστικὸν ποτήριον, ὃ κὰν θραυσθῇ παρ’ ἐκόντος, ἀσειβῇ ποιεῖ τὸν ἐπικεχειρηκότα, παρὰ μόνοις τοῖς νομίμως προεστῶσιν εὐρίσκειται· οὗτος ὁ τρόπος τοῦτου τοῦ ποτηρίου μόνος, ἄλλος οὐδεῖς. . . . Καὶ ταῦτά φαμεν, οὐχ ὅτι κὰν σχισματικῶν ποτήριον ἐέκλασται παρὰ Μακαρίου, ἀλλ’ ὅτι μηδὲν ἦν ὅλως ἐκεῖ· πῶς γάρ; ὅπου μήτε τόπος κυριακῆς, μήτε τις ἐκεῖ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀλλὰ μήτε ὁ καιρὸς μυστηρίων ἦν.

of celebrating the eucharist: therefore, since the cup was never in the custody of any but the ministers of the church, nor ever used but in the church in time of divine service, he could not be guilty of the crime laid against him, seeing there were none but private men, in whose keeping the cup could not be, in that place." The vessels were usually kept by the deacon; and the sub-deacons and other inferior orders are, by the Councils of Laodicea^g and Agde^h, forbidden to touch them. There was but one case in which it was lawful to put these things to common use; and that was the case of absolute necessity, when no other method could be found out to redeem captives, or relieve the poor in times of extreme exigence, then it was thought that mercy was to be preferred before sacrifice, and that the living and spiritual temples of God were to be preserved at the expense of the material ones: and they never made any scruple to melt down their communion-plate, or part with their ornaments, upon such occasions; of which I have given full proof heretofore, from the examples of St. Ambrose, St. Austin, Cyril of Jerusalem, Acacius, bishop of Amida, Exuperius of Toulouse, and the Lawsⁱ of Justinian, which need not be repeated in this place. But, excepting this one extraordinary case, it was esteemed the highest profanation and sacrilege, to divert any thing to any other use, which was given to God's service: and there are some instances of very remarkable judgments that befel such profaners; one or two of which it may not be amiss to mention. Theodoret^k tells us, Julian the Apostate sent two of his officers, Felix and his uncle Julian, to plunder the church of Antioch, called the Golden Church, and bring the rich vessels, which Constantine and Constantius had dedicated, into his own coffers. But they were not content barely to commit sacrilege, unless they could vent their spite also in

^g Conc. Laod. c. xxi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1500.) "Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ὑπηρέτας ἔχειν χώραν ἐν τῷ διακονικῷ, καὶ ἄπτεσθαι δεσποτικῶν σκευῶν.

^h Conc. Agath. c. lxvi. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1394.) Quoniam non oportet insacratos ministros licentiam habere in secretarium, quod Græci diaconicum appellant, ingredi, et contingere vasa dominica.

ⁱ Book v. chap. vi. sect. vi.

^k Theodoret. lib. iii. cc. xii. xiii.

some unmannerly and profane abuses : therefore, Julian pissed upon the holy table ; and Felix, seeing the holy vessels, broke out into this rude expression :—" Behold what fine vessels Mary's son is served in !" but the impious wretches did not long go unpunished ; for Julian was immediately seized with an ulcer, which turned all his bowels into putrefaction ; and he died, voiding his own excrements at his blasphemous mouth ; and Felix, by the same divine vengeance, voided blood at his mouth, without intermission, day and night, till he died. Victor Uticensis¹ gives us a like account of one Proculus, an agent of one of the kings of the Vandals, who, having ravaged and plundered the Catholic churches, made himself a shirt and breeches of the palls or coverings of the altar. But, not long after, he fell into a frenzy, which made him eat off his own tongue, piece by piece, and so he breathed out his last in a most ignominious death. It is no less remarkable, what Optatus reports of some Donatist bishops, who, in their mad zeal against the Catholics, ordered the eucharist which the Catholics had consecrated to be thrown to their dogs, but not without an immediate sign of divine^m vengeance upon them ; for the dogs, instead of devouring the elements, fell upon their masters, as if they had never known them, and tore them to pieces, as robbers and profaners of the holy body of Christ : which makes Optatus put them in mind of that admonition of our Saviour (Matt. vii. 6), " Give not that which is holy unto the dogs ; neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they

¹ Victor. de Persecut. Vandal. lib. i. p. 593. (p. 1896. tom. vii. Bibl. Patr. Paris. 1589.) Geisericus mittit Proculum quemdam in provinciam Zeugitanam, qui coaretaret ad tradendum mysteria divina vel libros, cunctos Domini sacerdotes, ut primo armis nudaret, et ita facilius inermes hostis callidus captivasset. Quibus se non posse tradere clamantibus, ipse rapaci manu cuncta depopulabatur, atque de pallis altaris (proh nefas !) camisias sibi et femoralia faciebat. Qui tamen Proculus, hujus rei executor, frustatim sibi comedens linguam, in brevi turpissima consumptus est morte. (See note (f) p. 458.)

^m Optat. lib. ii. (Oberthür's ed. vol. i. p. 36.) . . . ut omnia sacrosancta supra memorati vestri episcopi violarent. Jusserunt eucharistiam canibus fundi, non sine signo divini judicii : nam iidem canes, accensi rabie, ipsos dominos suos, quasi latrones sancti corporis reos, dente vindice, tamquam ignotos et inimicos lauiaverunt.

trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you." Other instances might be added of the same nature ; but I choose rather to go on with the account of their reverence, than to dwell any longer upon the punishments of the profaners.

SECT. III.—*What Difference made between Churches and Private Houses.*

Let us next, then, observe the difference that was made between churches and private houses. Some heretics made very light of this distinction, as the Eustathians, Massalians, and others. Against the Eustathians, we have two canons made in the Council of Gangra ; from which we may learn their errors, and what were the Catholic tenets in opposition to them. The first is, " If any one teach " that the house of God, and the assemblies held therein, are to be despised, let him be *anathema* ;" and the other, " If any one ° hold assemblies privately out of the church, and despising the church, chooses to perform ecclesiastical offices where there is no presbyter appointed by the bishop, let him be *anathema*." These heretics seem to have contemned both a regular ministry and the public churches, and to have made no difference between the house of God and other houses ; but to have taught that ecclesiastical offices might as well be performed at home as in the church. Against which errors this Council, rising up so severely, gives us to understand, that, according to the sentiments of the Catholic Church, the public offices of the church were to be performed in public, and not in private houses ; and that it was a contempt of the house of God to perform them otherwise. At present I do not remember any one allowed instance of the contrary practice in all ancient history, except in cases of necessity, which are above all laws : and, therefore, I could not but reckon this

° Conc. Gangr. can. v. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 419.) Εἰ τις διδάσκει τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Θεοῦ εὐκαταφρόνητον εἶναι, καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ συναξεις, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

° Ibid. can. vi. Εἰ τις παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἰδίᾳ ἐκκλησιάῳ, καὶ καταφρονῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐθέλοι πράττειν, μὴ συνόντος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

difference, which was so universally put between the house of God and private houses, among the instances of respect and reverence which the ancients paid to their churches.

SECT. IV.—*How some chose rather to die than deliver up Churches to be profaned by Heretics.*

It will deserve here, also, to be remembered, particularly to the praise of St. Ambrose, how he acted, with the courage and resolution of a martyr, in defence of the churches, that they might not be delivered up to the profanation of the Arians; for when the younger Valentinian had, by the instigation of his mother, Justina, an Arian empress, first published a law, now extant in the Theodosian^p Code, allowing the Arians liberty to hold assemblies; and afterwards sent his commands to Ambrose to deliver up to them one of the churches of Milan; he returned him this brave and generous answer,—“ If the emperor asks of me any thing^q that is my own, my estate, my money, I shall freely recede from my right, though all that I have belongs to the poor; but those things which are God’s are not subject to the emperor’s power. If my patrimony is demanded, you may invade it; if my body, I will offer it of my own accord. Will you carry me into prison, or unto

^p Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. i. de Fid. Cathol. leg. iv. *Damus copiam colligendi his, qui secundum ea sentiunt, quæ temporibus divæ memoriæ Constantii, sacerdotibus convocatis ex omni orbe Romano, expositaque fide, ab his ipsis, qui dissentire noscuntur, Ariminensi Concilio Constantinopol. etiam confirmata, in æternum mansura decreta sunt. Conveniendi etiam, quibus jussimus patescat arbitrium: Scituris his, qui sibi tantum existimant colligendi copiam contributam, quod, si turbulentum quippiam contra nostræ tranquillitatis præceptum faciendum esse tentaverint, ut seditionis auctores, pacisque turbatæ ecclesiæ, etiam majestatis, capite ac sanguine sunt supplicia luituri. Manente nihilo minus eos supplicio, qui contra hanc dispositionem nostram obreptive aut clanculo supplicare tentaverint.*

^q Ambros. Epist. xxxiii. ad Marcel. de Tradendis Basilicis. (Benedict. 1690. vol. ii. p. 854. B 7.) *Si a me peteret, quod meum esset, id est, fundum meum, argentum meum, quidvis hujusmodi meum, me non refragaturum; quamquam omnia, quæ meæ sunt, essent pauperum: verum ea, quæ divina, imperatorie potestati non esse subjecta. Si patrimonium petitur, invade: si corpus, occurræ. Vultis in vincula rapere? vultis in mortem? voluptati est mihi. Non ego vallabor circumfusione populorum, nec altaria tenebo vitam obsecrans, sed pro altaribus gratius immolabor.*

death? I will voluntarily submit to it; I will not guard myself with an army of my people about me; I will not lay hold of the altar, and supplicate for life; but more joyfully be sacrificed myself for the altar." He thought it absolutely unlawful for the emperor to grant to the Arians, the enemies of Christ, those temples which had been dedicated to the service of Christ; and that it did much less become a bishop, the minister of Christ, to be accessory to so foul a dishonour; and, therefore, he rather resolved to die at the altar, if it must be so, than give his consent to so great a profanation. By this one instance we may easily judge what opinion the ancients had of the sacredness of churches, as God's propriety; and that they would as soon deliver up their Bibles to be burnt by the heathen, as their churches to be profaned by heretical assemblies, where impiety would be taught for true religion, and blasphemy offered to God instead of adoration.

SECT. V.—*The ceremony of washing their Hands when they went into the Church.*

As to the ceremonies of respect used by them, when they entered into the church, we find one of pretty general observation; which was, the custom of washing their hands and their face, in token of innocency and purity, when they went to worship God at the holy altar; which seems to be taken from that of the Psalmist, "I will wash my hands in innocency, and so will I compass thy altar." This custom is frequently mentioned by Chrysostom, Eusebius, Tertullian, Synesius, Paulinus, and others, whose testimonies have been already alleged in the former part^r of this Book; where I had also occasion to show that fountains and cisterns of water were commonly set in the *atrium*, or 'court before the church,' for this very purpose.

SECT. VI.—*The Ceremony of putting off their Shoes used by some; but this no general Custom.*

Another ceremony, used by some few (for it was no general custom), was putting off their shoes when they went into the

^r Book viii. chap. iii. sect. vi.

house of God. Cassian observes of the Egyptian monks, that "they always wore sandals instead of shoes, and those they also put off, whenever they went^{*} to celebrate or receive the holy mysteries, thinking themselves obliged to do so, by interpreting literally that intimation of reverence which was given to Moses and Joshua, 'Put off thy shoes from off thy feet; for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground.'"[†] But others did not understand this as an absolute command, obliging all men precisely to use this ceremony of respect; but only where the custom of any nation had made it an indication of reverence, as it was among the Eastern nations in the time of Moses and Joshua. Whence we do not find it mentioned as any general custom prevailing among the primitive Christians, unless, perhaps, it may be thought to have been so in the Ethiopian or Abyssinian churches; because, as Mr. Mede has observed[‡], out of Zaga Zabo's Account of them in Damianos a Goes, the same custom continues still among them at this day; which, whether it be derived from ancient tradition of their churches, or be a practice lately taken up among them, is not now very easy to be determined.

^{*} Cassian. Institut. lib. i. c. x. (Atrebat. 1628. p. 16.) Nequaquam tamen caligas pedibus inhærere permittunt, cum accedunt ad celebranda vel percipienda sacrosancta mysteria; illud æstimantes etiam secundum literam custodiri debere, quod dicitur ad Moysen vel ad Jesum filium Nave, 'Solve corrigiam calceamenti tui, locus enim in quo stas, terra sancta est.'

[†] Mede's Discourse on Eccles. v. 1, p. 348. (Vid. Geddes's Church History, p. 91.) It is likewise forbidden among us to suffer heathens, or dogs, or any other such creatures, to come within our churches; neither is it lawful for us to go into them otherwise than barefoot; or to laugh, walk, or spit, or speak of secular things, in them. For the churches of Ethiopia are not like the land wherein the people of Israel did eat the paschal lamb, as they were going out of Egypt, where God commanded them to eat with their shoes on, and with their loins girt, because of the pollution of the land. But they are like the Mount Sinai, where the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, "Moses, Moses, put off thy shoes, for the ground whereon thou treadest is holy." Now this Mount Sinai was the mother of our churches, from which they derive their original, as the apostles did from the prophets, and the New Testament from the Old.

SECT. VII.—*Whether the Ancients used the Ceremony of Bowing toward the Altar at their Entrance into the Church.*

And I think the same resolution must be given to the question about bowing toward the altar, at their first entrance into churches. Mr. Mede thinks there is no plain demonstration of it in the ancient writers, but some probability of such a custom derived from the Jews. For, he says, "What reverential guise, ceremony, or worship^u, they used at their ingress into God's house, in the ages next to the apostles (and some, I believe, they did), is wholly buried in silence and oblivion. The Jews before them, from whom the Christian religion sprang, used to bow themselves down towards the mercy-seat. The Christians after them, in the Greek and Oriental churches, have, time out of mind, and without any known beginning thereof, used to bow in like manner, with their posture toward the altar, or holy table, saying that of the publican in the Gospel, 'God be merciful to me a sinner:' as appears by the Liturgies of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil, and as they are still known to do at this day. Which custom of theirs, not being found to have been ordained or established by any decree or canon of any council, and being so agreeable to the use of God's people of the Old Testament, may, therefore, seem to have been derived to them from very remote and ancient tradition. Nothing, therefore, can be known of the use of those first ages of the Church, further than it shall seem probable they might imitate the Jews." This is spoken according to the wonted ingenuity of that learned person, who never advances a probability into a demonstration. I shall only add one thing out of Chrysostom, to make his opinion seem the more probable; which I note from the observation of Mr. Albertin^v, who, among some other instances of reverence paid to God, at the reading of the Gospel, and reception of baptism, takes notice of this, that "when the candidates of baptism came near the baptistery, which, in Chrysostom's language ^w,

^u Mede's Discourse on Psalm cxxxii. p. 397.

^v Albertin. de Euchar. lib. ii. p. 432. B. in fine.

^w Chrysostom. in illud: Simile est Regnum Cœlorum, etc. Ἐπειδὴν καταλάβητε τὸν νυμφῶνα τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἐπειδὴν εἰσδράμητε τὴν παστάδα τῆς

is the 'bride-chamber of the Spirit,' and the 'port of grace,' they were then, as captives, to fall down before their King, and all to cast themselves together upon their knees." Now, if such an act of reverence was performed to God at their entrance into the baptistery, it is not improbable that some such reverence might also be used at their entrance into the temple. But, in matters which have not a clear light and proof, it is not prudent to be over-bold in our determinations.

SECT. VIII.—*Kings laid aside their Crowns and Guards, when they went into the House of the King of Kings.*

It is more certain, that when kings and emperors went into the house of God, they paid this respect to the place, that they left not only their arms and their guards, but also their crowns behind them; as thinking it indecent to appear in their regalia in the presence of the King of kings, or to seem to want arms and guards, when they were under the peaceable roof of the Prince of Peace. St. Chrysostom often spends his eloquence^x upon this custom, and uses it as an argument to persuade all inferiors to a profound reverence, humility, and peace, when they came into the courts of God, because they had such examples of their kings before them. The Emperor Theodosius Junior, also, makes use of the same topic in one of his laws^y, which was made to regulate the abuses of some who fled for sanctuary in the church with their arms about them; which profanation was not to be endured in any, since he himself always left his arms without doors, and first laid aside his diadem, the badge of imperial majesty, before he went into the church. Nay, Julian himself had regard

χάριτος, ἐπειδὴν πλησίον γένησθε τῆς φοβερᾶς ὁμοῦ καὶ ποθεινῆς κολυμβήθρας, ὡς αἰχμάλωτοι προσπίσσετε τῷ βασιλεῖ, ῥίψατε πάντες ὁμοίως ἐπὶ γόνατα.

^x Chrysostom. Orat. post Redit. ab Exilio. (Benedict. vol. . p. 428. C 6.) (tom. iv. p. 971.) (p. 894. D. edit. Francof.) Βασιλεὺς εἰσέρχεται καὶ ῥίπτει ἀσπίδα καὶ διάδημα· σὺ εἰσῆλθες, καὶ ῥόπαλα ἤρπασας· ἐκείνος δὲ τὰ συνθήματα τῆς βασιλείας ἔξω ἀφίησι· σὺ τὰ συνθήματα τοῦ πολέμου ἐνταῦθα εἰσήνεγκας.

^y Edict. Theodos. ad calcem Conc. Ephes. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 1238. D.) Καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς, οὓς αἰεὶ τῷ δικαίῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας περιστοιχίζει τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ οὓς οὐ πρέπει δίχα δορυφόρων εἶναι, τῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ ναῷ προσιώντες, ἔξω τὰ ὅπλα καταλιμπάνομεν, ἀποτιθέμενοι τὸ διάδημα.

to this custom, as Sozomen truly observes^a, out of his Epistle to Arsacius, high-priest of Galatia, where one of the things he would have them imitate the Christians in was this, that when they went into the temples of their gods, no man of arms should appear among them. And I have already^a noted out of *Leo Grammaticus*, how Michael, the Greek emperor, in latter ages, was censured for presuming to pass the beautiful or royal gates crowned; at which gates it had ever been customary for his predecessors to lay aside their crowns when they went into the church.

SECT. IX.—*The Doors and Pillars of the Church and Altar often kissed and embraced in token of Love and Respect to them.*

Another very usual piece of respect paid to the altar and the church, was men's embracing, saluting, and kissing them, or any part of them, the doors, threshold, pillars, in token of their great love and affection for them. St. Ambrose takes notice of this in the account he gives of the great consternation they were in at Milan, when the emperor's orders came for delivering up the churches to the Arians. The soldiers were the men who first brought the welcome news into the church, that the emperor had revoked his fatal sentence, and they strove who should first get to the altar^b and kiss it, to signify that all things now were in peace and safety. He alludes, no doubt, to the *osculum pacis*, 'the solemn kiss of peace,' which the faithful anciently were used to give mutually each other in the communion service, as a testimony of their cordial love and affection for one another; and, therefore, it cannot be supposed that such salutations of the church or altar were intended as acts of religious worship, but only as civil indications of their love and respect for them. And by this rule we are to interpret all other places of ancient authors, which frequently speak of

^a Sozom. lib. v. c. xvi. (p. 187, at bottom.) "Ὅταν εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ φοιτῶσι τῶν θεῶν, εἰσω τῶν προθύρων· ἡγείσθω δὲ μηδεὶς αὐτῶν εἰσω στρατιώτης· ἐπίσθω δὲ ὁ βουλόμενος.

^a See chap. v. sect. i.

^b Ambros. Ep. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 859. C.) (xxxiii. edit. Basil. 1567.) (epist. xiv. ed. Paris. 1672.) Certatim hoc nuntiare milites, irruentes in altaria, osculis significare pacis insigne.

this custom, as Sidonius Apollinaris^c, Paulinus^d, Prudentius^e, Chrysostom^f, Athanasius^g, Cassiodore^h, and the author of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*ⁱ, under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, and several others, who wrote before the superstitious adoration of images had gained any credit in the Church: the like respect to this having been also shown to the book of the Gospels, without any suspicion of adoring the materials of it.

SECT. X.—*Churches used for Private Meditation and Prayer, as well as Public.*

I think it not improper, also, to observe under this head, that churches were many times chosen as the properest places for private devotion and prayer upon extraordinary occasions. Theodoret^k observes of Theodosius the emperor, that the night before he was to engage Eugenius the tyrant was by him wholly spent in an oratory, which happened to be in the place where he had pitched his camp. And, in like manner, both Athanasius^l, and Socrates^m, and the other historians,

^c Sidon. lib. i. ep. v. (Bibl. V. Patr. vol. x. p. 467. A 10.) Inter hæc patuit et Roma conspectui; cujus mihi non solum formas, verum etiam naumachias videbar epotaturus. Ubi priusquam vel pomeria contingerem, triumphalibus apostolorum liminibus affusus, omnem protinus sensi membris male fortibus explosum esse languorem.

^d Paulin. Natal. vi. Felicis, p. 569. (p. 279. G. in Bibl. Patr. Max. tom. vi.)
Sternitur ante fores et postibus oscula figit,
Et lacrimis rigat omne solum, pro limine sancto
Fusus humi.

^e Prudent. Hymn. ii. in S. Laur. vv. 519, 520.

Apostolorum et martyrum

Exosculantur limina. (Bibl. Vet. P. vol. viii. p. 441.)

^f Chrysostom. Hom. xxix. in 2 Cor. Πρόθυρα φιλοῦμεν τοῦ ναοῦ.

^g Athan. Hom. adv. eos, qui in homine spem figunt, (tom. ii. p. 304. Paris. 1627.) Προσιόντες τῇ ἀγίῳ θυσιαστηρίῳ, καὶ μετὰ φόβου καὶ χαρᾶς ἀσπάζομενοι.

^h Cassiod. Hist. Tripart. lib. cix. c. xxx. Imperator (Theodosius) ingredi limina tentans, non stans Domino supplicavit, neque genua flexit, sed pronus in pavimento jacens, Davidicam proclamavit vocem, 'Adhæsit pavimento anima mea,' etc.

ⁱ Dionys. Eccles. Hierarch. c. ii. sect. iv. p. 252. Μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἱερὰν ἀσπασάμενος τράπεζαν, πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα παρόντα πρόεισι, κ. τ. λ.

^k Theodor. lib. v. c. xxiv. (Reading, p. 201. C 7.) Εὐρὼν οἰκίσκον ἐκτέλειον ἐν τῇ τοῦ ὁρους ἀκρωνυχίᾳ, ἐν ᾗ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἦν, πάννυχος διετέλεσε τὸν τῶν ὅλων δεσπότην ἀντιβολῶν.

^l Athanas. Epist. ad Serapion. (Benedict. 1698. vol. ii. p. 341.) (p. 671, edit.

tell us of Alexander, bishop of Constantinople, that when the faction of Eusebius had threatened to oblige him, upon a certain day, to receive Arius into communion, he betook himself the night before to the church, and there prostrating himself before the altar, continued all night in prayer, begging of God that if the faith which he held was truth, and the opinion of Arius false, he would punish Arius as his impiety justly deserved. Which was accordingly fulfilled; for the next day Arius, as he was going triumphantly to church, having occasion to turn aside to go to stool, voided his entrails with his excrements, and so perished by a most ignominious death. I mention these things only to show that the ancients paid such a respect to their churches, that, upon special occasions, they thought them the properest places as well for private devotion as for public. And I have already notedⁿ, that many of their churches were so framed, as to have private cells or recesses for men to retire to, and exercise themselves at leisure times in private reading of the Scriptures, and meditation, and prayer.

SECT. XI.—*Their Public Behaviour in the Church expressive of great Reverence.*

As to their public behaviour in the church, it was generally such as expressed great reverence for it, as the sanctuary of God, and the place of his immediate presence. They entered it as the palace of the Great King, where the angels attended, and heaven opened itself, and Christ sat upon his throne, and

Par. 1627.) (tom. i. p. 341, edit. Paris. 1698. B.) 'Ο τοίνυν ἐπίσκοπος Ἀλιξανδρος ἀκούσας ταῦτα, καὶ πάνυ λυπηθεὶς, εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τὰς τε χεῖρας ἐκτείνας πρὸς Θεόν, ἀπαυδῶμετο, καὶ ῥίψας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ἐν τῇ ἱερατείῳ, κείμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰδαίους, ἤρχετο.

^m Socrat. lib. i. c. xxxvii. (p. 62. D 12.) Ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἣ ἐπὶ νύμνον Εἰρήνην, μόνον αὐτὸν κατακλιστὸν ποιήσας, καὶ εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον εἰσελθὼν, ὑπὸ τὴν ἱερὰν τράπεζαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ στόμα ἐκτείνας, εὐχεται δακρύων νύκτας τε πολλὰς ἐπεξῆς καὶ ἡμέρας τοῦτο ποιῶν διετέλει.—Ruffin. lib. i. c. xii. Ad ultimum certam ei (Alexandro) diem statuentes, denuntiant, ut aut ipse Arium susciperet, aut si reniteretur, se ecclesia pulso et in exilium truso, ab alio eum recipiendum sciret. Cum ille nocte, quæ ad constitutam intererat diem, sub altari jacens, atque in oratione et lacrimis totam pervigilem ducens, ecclesiæ causam Domino commendabat.

ⁿ See chap. v. sect. viii.

all was filled with incorporeal powers, as Chrysostom words it^o in some of his elegant descriptions. It is particularly remarked by Gregory Nazianzen^p of his own mother Nonna, that the zeal of her devotion was always so flaming and fervent, that she never spake a word in the church but what was necessary to be done in joining in the sacred service; she never turned her back upon the altar, nor ever allowed herself to spit upon the pavement of the church. But I cannot say these were necessary laws for all to observe; for Nazianzen intimates she did something above the common pitch; and consequently that it was choice and zeal, and not any binding rules of the Church, that obliged her to it. We might here have considered further their reverent postures of devotion, standing, kneeling, and prostration, and have exposed the practice of sitting at prayers and at the communion service; which Perron and some others, for different reasons, contend for, as a posture of devotion used in the ancient Church. But I shall have a more proper occasion to speak of these things hereafter, when we come to the particular offices and services of the Church.

SECT. XII.—*Churches the safest Repository for Things of any Value, and the best Retreat in Times of Distress.*

The last instance of their reverence for churches which I shall take notice of is, that the sacredness of them made them commonly the safest repository for things of value, and the best security and retreat in times of common calamity and distress. The Church had not only her own private archives, her treasury, and her *ceimeliarchium*, for preserving her own writings, her utensils, and her treasures; but was a

^o Chrysostom. Hom. xv. in Hebr. (Bened. vol. xii. p. 156. A 5.) (tom. vi. p. 833. C. edit. Francof.) Εἰς μὲν βασιλεία εἰσιὼν, καὶ σχήματι καὶ βλέμματι, καὶ βαδίσματι, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις κοσμοῖς σαντόν· ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐνθα τὰ ὄντως ἐστὶ βασιλεία, καὶ τοιαῦτα ὅλα τὰ οὐράνια, καὶ γελᾷς; σὺ μὲν οὖν, οἶδα, ὅτι οὐχ ὁρᾷς· ἀκούει δὲ ὅτι ἄγγελοι πάρεσι πανταχοῦ, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ παρεστήκασιν τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ πάντα ἐμπέπλησται τῶν ἀσωμάτων ἐκείνων δυνάμεων.

^p Nazianz. Orat. xix. in Fun. Patris. (Paris. 1630. vol. i. p. 292. A 3.) Τὸ μήποτε φωνὴν αὐτῆς ἐν ἱεροῖς ἀκουσθῆναι συλλόγοις, ἢ τόποις, ἔξω τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ μυστικῶν . . . τὸ σιωπῇ τιμᾶσθαι τὰ ἅγια, τὸ μήποτε νῶτα δοθῆναι τῇ σεβασμίῳ τραπίζῃ, μηδὲ καταπτυσθῆναι θεῖον ἔδαφος.

place of common tuition and defence, both for things and persons, in many other cases. Thus it is noted by Ruffin⁹, and Socrates[†], and Sozomen[‡], that the cubit wherewith they were used to measure the increase of the waters of Nile, when it overflowed, having been before usually kept in the temple of Serapis, was by the order of Constantine laid up in the Christian church, where it continued till Julian the Apostate caused it to be removed to the temple of Serapis again. But persons, as well as things, found a safe retreat and security in the sacredness of churches, when many times, in barbarous invasions, no other places would protect them against the insolence and fury of a conquering enemy. Nay, the very heathens themselves often found their account in flying to the Christian churches, as St. Austin glories over them, beginning his famous book against the pagans, *De Civitate Dei*, with this observation: there he tells them “What ungrateful wretches they were to the religion of Christ to clamour and inveigh so bitterly against it, when yet, had it not been for the protection of their lives in places dedicated to Christ, whither they^t fled

⁹ Ruffin. lib. ii. c. xxx. *Moris erat in Ægypto, ut mensura adscendentis. Nili fluminis ad templum Serapis deferretur, velut ad incrementi aquarum et inundationis auctorem. . . . Ulna ipsa, id est, aquæ mensura, quam πῆχυν vocant, ad aquarum dominum in ecclesiam cœpta deferri.*

[†] Socrat. lib. i. c. xviii. (p. 41. D 9.) *Λεγόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὡς ἄρα ὁ Σέραπης εἶη ὁ τὸν Νεῖλον ἀνάγων ἐπὶ ἀρδεῖα τῆς Αἰγύπτου, τῷ τὸν πῆχυν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Σεράπιδος κομίζεσθαι, αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὸν πῆχυν Ἀλέξανδρον μετατιθέναι ἐκέλευσε.*

[‡] Sozom. lib. i. c. viii. (p. 18. A 3.) *Ἀμέλει τοι, παρὰ μὲν Αἰγυπτίοις, οὐκέτι εἰς τοὺς εἰωθότας Ἑλληνικοὺς ναοὺς εἰς δὲ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐξ ἐκείνου φέρεται ὁ πῆχυς, ᾧ σημαίνεται τῶν τοῦ Νεῖλου ὑδάτων ἡ ἐπίδοσις.*

^t Augustin. de Civit. Dei, lib. i. c. i. (Benedict. vol. vii. p. 3 A.) *Ex hac existunt inimici, adversus quos defendenda est Dei Civitas: quorum tamen multi, correcto impietatis errore, cives in ea fiunt satis idonei: multi vero in eam tantis exardescunt ignibus odiorum, tamque manifestis beneficiis Redemptoris ejus ingrati sunt, ut hodie contra eam linguas non moverent, nisi ferrum hostile fugientes, in sacris ejus locis vitam, de qua superbiunt, invenirent. Annon etiam illi Romani Christi nomini infesti sunt, quibus propter Christum barbari pepercerunt! Testantur hoc martyrum loca et basilicæ apostolorum, quæ, in illa vastatione urbis, ad se confugientes suos alienosque receperunt. Huc usque cruentus sæviebat inimicus: ibi accipiebat limitem trucidatoris furor: illo ducebantur a miserantibus hostibus, quibus etiam extra ipsa loca pepercerant, ne in eos incurrerent, qui similem misericordiam non habebant, etc.*

from the swords of their enemies, they had never been able at that day to have moved their tongues against it. For, when Alaric the Goth took and sacked Rome, he gave orders that all the churches should be inviolable, and whoever fled thither should be spared; the sanctity of the place should be their protection. By which means the heathens escaped as well as the Christians; for the soldiers inviolably observed their general's commands, and when they had barbarously plundered and murdered in all other places, they did not pretend to meddle with churches, or offer the least violence to any who betook themselves thither for safety or protection; nay, they carried some into churches themselves, whom they intended to spare, and so secured them from the violence of others that might have assaulted them." So great a veneration had even the barbarous Arian Goths for churches, in the midst of all their anger and fury against the Romans, as not only St. Austin, but Orosius^u, and St. Jerome^v, and Cassidore^x, and Sozomen^y, with other ancient writers, relate the story. And it can hardly be doubted, then, but that the Catholics had the same veneration for churches; especially when it is considered also, how, both by general custom and law under the Christian emperors, every church was invested with the privilege of an asylum, or place of sanctuary and refuge, in certain cases. Of the original of which, and the ancient laws relating to it (because some abuses have been added in after ages by the Canon Law), I will give a particular account in the following chapter.

^u Oros. lib. vii. c. xxxix. (Biblioth. V. P. vol. ix. p. 153.) *Adest Alaricus, trepidam Romam obsidet, turbat, irrumpit. Dato tamen præcepto prius, ut si qui in sancta loca, præcipueque in sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli basilicas, confugissent, hos in primis inviolatos securosque esse sinerent.*

^v Hieron. Epist. xvi. ad Principiam. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 960. B 7.) *Quum et illam et te ad Apostoli Pauli basilicam barbari deduxissent, ut vel salutem vobis ostenderent, vel sepulchrum; etc.*

^x Cassiodor. Variar. lib. xii. c. xx. *Quum rex Alaricus, urbis Romæ deprædatione satiat, apostoli Petri vasa sua deferentibus excepiisset, mox ut rei causam, habita interrogatione, cognovit, sacris liminibus deportari diripientium manibus imperavit.*

^y Sozom. lib. ix. c. x. (Reading, p. 352. C 2.) *'Επει δὲ πάλιν ὁ βάρβαρος, καὶ φοβερώτερον ἐπιὼν, οὐδὲν πλέον ἤνυε, θαυμάσας αὐτῆς τὴν σωφροσύνην, ἤγαγεν εἰς τὸ Πέτρου ἀποστολεῖον καὶ παραδούς τοῖς φύλαξι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ χρυσοὺς ἔξ εἰς ἀποτροφὴν αὐτῆς, ἐκίλευσε τῷ ἀνδρὶ φυλάττειν.*

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE FIRST ORIGINAL OF ASYLUMS, OR 'PLACES OF
SANCTUARY AND REFUGE,' WITH THE LAWS RELATING
TO THEM IN CHRISTIAN CHURCHES.

SECT. I.—*The Original of this Privilege to be deduced from the
Time of Constantine.*

ALL that is necessary to be known of this privilege, so far as concerns the use of it in the ancient Church, either relates to the original of the custom, or the place itself where sanctuary might be had; or the persons who were entitled to the benefit; or, lastly, the conditions they were to observe in order to obtain and enjoy it: and, therefore, under these four heads we will briefly consider it. As to the original of it, there is no dispute made by any author, but that it began to be a privilege of churches from the time of Constantine, though there are no laws about it older than Theodosius, either in the Justinian or the Theodosian Code. But the law of Theodosius is sufficient evidence itself that it was the custom or practice of the Church before: for his law was not made to authorize the thing itself, but to regulate some points relating to it, which supposes the thing to be in use before. But whether Constantine made any law to establish it, is very much doubted by learned men. Baronius ^a affirms it, upon the credit of the Acts of Pope Silvester; but those are known to be spurious and forged writings, no older than the ninth or tenth age, by the acknowledgment of Papebrochius and Pagi ^b, who have accurately

^a Baron. an. 324, n. lxi. (Lucæ, vol. iv. p. 50.) Quinta die concessam esse ab eodem Imperatore immunitatem ecclesiis, ibi (in Actis Silvestri) traditur, ut ad eas confugientes securi in omnibus essent.

^b Papebroch. Conatus Chron. Hist. p. 42.—Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 314. (Lucæ, vol. iii. p. 594.) Narrant Acta S. Silvestri factam hoc anno Romæ

examined and refuted Baronius's vindication of them. However, Gothofred allows, what seems to be the truth of the case, that practice and custom established this privilege by degrees, even from the time of Constantine; for, before Theodosius made any law about it, the thing was certainly in use in the Church; as appears from the account which Gregory Nazianzen gives of it in the Life of Basil^c; where he tells us how St. Basil protected a widow who fled to the altar, against the violence that was offered to her by the governor of Pontus. The like is reported of St. Ambrose, in his Life^d, written by Paulinus; and St. Ambrose himself speaks of the custom in one of his epistles, where, in answer to the Emperor Valentinian Junior, who had commanded him to deliver up one of the churches of Milan to the Arians, he tells him, "That was a thing he could never obey him in; but if he commanded him

synodum, cui diversarum provinciarum episcopi numero lxxv. interfuerint, et Helenam tunc adhuc gentilem, sed a Judæis pene Judæam effectam, Constantinum filium ad Judæorum religionem amplectendam invitasse. Quæ, similave narrasse, confutasse est. Quis enim sibi persuadeat, in unum concilium convenisse Christianorum antistites, et Judæorum sacerdotes, ad disputationem de religione incundam? Quis duodecim Rabbinos ab Isachar summo sacerdote delectos sibi fingat, qui contra Christianam fidem disputarent; quum a tempore excidii Hierosolymitani desierint creari summi pontifices? Quare S. Silvestri Acta plane supposititia esse minime dubitandum.

^c Nazianz. Orat. xx. de Laude Basilii. (tom. i. p. 353, Paris. 1630.) *Γυναῖκά τινα τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐξ ἀνδρὸς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τὸν βίον ἀπολιπόντος, ὁ τοῦ δικαστοῦ σύνεδρος ἐβιάζετο, πρὸς γάμον ἔλκων ἀπαξιούσαν· ἡ δὲ οὐκ ἔχουσα ὅπως διαφύγῃ τὴν τυραννίδα, βουλὴν βουλευέται, οὐ τολμηρὰν μᾶλλον ἢ συνειτὴν, τῇ ἱερᾷ τραπέζῃ προσφεύγει, καὶ θεὸν ποιεῖται προστάτην κατὰ τῆς ἐπηρείας, τί οὖν εἶδει ποιεῖν ὧ πρὸς τῆς τριάδος αὐτῆς· ἴν' εἰπω τι καὶ δικανικῶς μεταξὺ τῶν ἐπαίνων, μὴ ὅτι τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον, καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἅπανσι νομοθέτην, ἄλλον δὲ τινα τῶν πολλῶ μετ' ἐκείνων, ἱερεῖα δὲ ὅμως, οὐκ ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, κατέχειν, κήδεσθαι, χεῖρα ὀρέγειν Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίᾳ καὶ νόμῳ τῷ τετιμηκότι θυσιαστήρια; οὐ πάντα δρᾶσαι καὶ παθεῖν ἐθειλῆσαι πρότερον, ἢ τὶ βουλευσάσθαι κατ' αὐτῆς ἀπάνθρωπον; καὶ καθυβρίσαι μὲν τὴν ἱερὰν τράπεζαν, καθυβρίσαι δὲ τὴν πίστιν μεθ' ἧς ἰκέτευεν; οὐ φησιν ὁ καινὸς δικαστὴς· ἀλλ' ἡττᾶσθαι χρὴ τῆς ἐμῆς δυναστείας, καὶ προδότας γενέσθαι Χριστιανοὺς τῶν οἰκείων νόμων· ὁ μὲν ἐζήτει τὴν ἰκτίτην, ὁ δ' εἶχετο κατὰ κράτος, κ. τ. λ.*

^d Paulin. Vit. Ambros. (Bened. 1690. vol. ii. Append. p. ix. A. 5. (p. 9, edit. Basil.) (p. 85, edit. Paris. 1642.) Obsecratus est primum scriptis imperatorem misso diacono: postea vero quum directus est Joannes, tunc tribunus et notarius, qui nunc præfectus est, ad tuitionem eorum qui ad ecclesiam confugerant, etiam ipse Aquilicium perrexerat, precaturus pro eis, etc.

to be carried to prison, or to death, that he would voluntarily submit to, and neither use force to defend himself, nor fly to the altar to supplicate* for his life." These and some other such like instances show, that the churches enjoyed this privilege by ancient custom, before Theodosius made any law about it; which he did first, an. 392, not to authorize the thing, but to explain and regulate some things relating to it; of which more by and by in their proper place.

SECT. II.—*At first only the Altar and Inner Fabric of the Church the Place of Refuge; but afterwards any Outer Buildings or Precincts of the Church invested with the same Privilege.*

Here we are next to examine what part of the church was more peculiarly assigned to be the place of sanctuary and refuge. Gothofred thinks that at first only the inner buildings and apartments of the church, and especially the altar, were the places of refuge; whence, in Synesius^f and other ancient writers, the altar is so frequently called *ἄσυλος τραπέζα*, 'the table from which no one could be ravished or taken away.' But whether this was originally so or not, it is certain that, in the time of Theodosius Junior, these limits for taking sanctuary were enlarged; for, in one of his laws, now extant in both the codes^g, not only the altar and the body of the church, but all between the church and outward walls, that is, houses and lodgings of the bishop and clergy, gardens, baths, courts, cloisters, are appointed to enjoy the same privilege of being a sanctuary to such as fled for refuge, as well as the innermost

* Ambros. Ep. xxxiii. See note (q) p. 554.

^f Synes. Ep. lviii. (Paris. 1640. p. 201. C 10.) (p. 193, edit. Paris. 1605, in 8vo.) (p. 201. D. Paris. 1633, fol.) "Ὅτι πρῶτος παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ μόνος ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐβλασφήμησεν ἔργῳ μὲν, ἀφ' οὗ τῇ θύρᾳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προσεπαττάλευσεν ἑαυτοῦ διατάγματα· τοῖς μὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παρανομουμένοις, τῆς ἀσύλου τραπέζης ἀποκλείων τὴν ἱκετείαν.

^g Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xlv. De iis, qui ad Ecclesias Confugiunt, leg. iv. Inter templum, quod parietum descripsimus cinctu, et post loca publica et januas primas ecclesiarum, quidquid fuerit interjacens, sive in cellulis, sive in domibus, hortulis, balneis, areis, atque porticibus, confugas, interioris templi vice, tueatur, etc. Vid. Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. xii. leg. iii.

part of the temple; particularly the baptisteries, which, as I have shown before, were places without the church, were invested with this privilege equally with the altar; for Proterius, bishop of Alexandria, as Liberatus^h and Evagriusⁱ report, took sanctuary in the baptistery of the church to avoid the fury of the Eutychian faction, headed by Timotheus Ælurus; and though that was a place which even the barbarians themselves had some reverence for, yet, as the Egyptian bishops^k complain, in their Letter to the Emperor Leo, the malice of the Eutychians pursued him thither, and there slew him, mangled his body, dragged it about the streets, and at last burned it to ashes, and scattered his ashes in the wind; for which unparalleled barbarity, committed against the laws of religion, the Emperor Leo deposed Timotheus Ælurus, and sent him into banishment all his life. There were a great many other places which had this privilege of sanctuary, also, besides churches; as the statues of the emperors, of which

^h Liberat. Breviar. c. xv. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 763, at bottom.) Ante triduum paschæ, quo cœna Domini celebratur, ab ipsis turbis concluditur in ecclesia sanctæ memoriæ Proterius, quo se timore contulerat. Ibiq̃ eadem die in baptisterio occiditur, laniatur, ejicitur, et funus ejus incenditur, sparguntur et cineres ejus in ventos.

ⁱ Evagr. lib. ii. c. viii. (Reading, 1746. p. 273. D.) Οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἦν ποιεῖν τὸν μακάριον ἐκείνον [Προτέριον] ἢ τόπον δοῦναι τῇ ὀργῇ κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, καὶ τὸ σεπτὸν καταλαβεῖν βαπτιστήριον, φεύγοντα τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τρεχόντων πρὸς φόβον τὴν ἑφοδὸν ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ καὶ βαρβάροις καὶ πᾶσιν ἀγρίοις ἀνθρώποις ἐγγίγνεται δῖος, τοῖς καὶ μὴ εἰδῶσι τὸ σίβας τοῦ τόπου, καὶ τὴν ἐκείθεν βρούσαν χάριν ὅμως οἱ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Τιμοθέου σκοπὸν εἰς ἔργον προαγαγεῖν σπουδάζοντες, οἱ μὴδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀχράντοις ἐκείνοις σηκοῖς αὐτὸν ἀνεχόμενοι σώζεσθαι, οὔτε τὸ σίβας αἰδεσθέντες τοῦ τόπου, οὔτε τὸν καιρὸν ἦν γὰρ τοῦ σωτηρίου πάσχα πανήγυρις· οὔτε τὴν ἱερωσύνην αὐτὴν φρίξαντες μεσιτεύσαντες Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις, ἀποκτείνουσι τὸν ἀνέυθυνον, σφάττουσιν αὐτὸν ἀπηνῶς μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων ἑξ· καὶ παραγαγόντες τοῦτου τὸ λείψανον πανταχοῦ κατατετριμμένον, ὅμως τε περισύραντες κατὰ πάντα σχεδὸν τόπον τῆς πόλεως, καὶ καταπομπεύσαντες σχετλίως, ἤκίζοντο ἀνηλεῶς τὸ τῶν πληγῶν οὐκ αἰσθανόμενον σῶμα διάτομόν τε καταμέλος, καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν ἔντος ἀπογεύεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς θήρας φειδόμενοι ἐκείνου, ὃν ἔχειν μεσίτην Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἑναγχος ἐνομίστησαν· πυρὶ τε παραδόντες τὸ ὑπολειφθὲν αὐτοῦ σῶμα, τὴν ἐκ τούτου κόνην τοῖς ἀνέμοις παρέπεμπον, θηρίων πᾶσαν ὑπερακουτίσαντες ἀγριότητα.

^k Epist. Episc. Ægypt. ad calcem Conc. Chalced. n. xxxii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 894. B 10.) [Ubi eadem Latine leguntur, quæ modo ex Evagrio attulimus.—Griech.]

there is a peculiar title¹ in the Theodosian Code ; also the emperor's standard in the camp ; the bishop's house ; the graves and sepulchres of the dead ; together with the cross, schools, monasteries, and hospitals in after-ages ; of which, being all foreign to the business of churches, I say nothing further, but refer the curious reader to the elaborate Treatise of Rittershusius^m upon this subject among the London critics, where each of these, and some other privileged places, are particularly considered.

SECT. III.—*What Persons allowed to take Sanctuary.*

Next to the places of refuge, we are to consider the persons to whom this benefit extended, and in what cases they were allowed to take sanctuary in their churches ; for this privilege anciently was not intended to patronize wickedness, or shelter men from the due execution of justice, or the force of the laws in ordinary cases, but chiefly to be a refuge for the innocent, the injured, and oppressed ; or, in doubtful causes, whether criminal or civil, only to give men protection so long till they might have an equitable and fair hearing of the judges, and not be proceeded against barbarously and rigorously, under pretence and colour of justice ; or, at most, only to give bishops opportunity to intercede for criminals and delinquents, in such cases as it was both becoming and lawful for bishops to turn intercessors. These were the sanctuaries which Basilⁿ pleaded for against the governor of Pontus, and Synesius^o against Andronicus, governor of Ptolemais, and Chrysostom against Eutropius, who had prevailed with Arcadius to abrogate, by law, all privileges^p of this nature belonging to the Church ;

¹ Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xlv. De his qui ad statuas Imperatorum confugiunt.

^m Rittershusius de Asyilis, c. iii. tot.

ⁿ Naz. Orat. xx. de Laud. Basilii, p. 353. See note (c), p. 566.

^o Synes. Ep. lviii. See note (f) p. 567.

^p Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xlv. De his qui ad Eccles. Confug. leg. iii. Si quis in posterum servus, ancilla, curialis, debitor publicus, procurator, murilegulus, quilibet postremo publicis privatisque rationibus involutus, ad ecclesiam confugiens, vel clericus ordinatus, vel quocumque modo a clericis fuerit defensatus, nec statim conventionem præmissa pristinae conditioni reddatur, decuriones quidem et omnes quos solita ad debitum munus functio vocat, vigore et sollertia

but, by God's providence, he was the first man that wanted this privilege, being fallen under the emperor's displeasure, and forced to fly to the altar for that refuge which he had denied to others. This gave Chrysostom occasion to make that eloquent and curious oration upon his case, whereby he artfully wrought the people into a tender compassion for their bitterest enemy, that they might go and supplicate the emperor for him, who now lay prostrate at the altar; and, by their supplications, they obtained his life, for the sentence of death was mitigated, and turned into confiscation and banishment only^q, though afterward by treachery he lost his life. These were chiefly the cases which the ancient privilege of sanctuary respected; and commonly thirty days' protection was granted to men in such pitiable circumstances; which term was thought sufficient^r, by the law, to end any controversies that such men might have before the civil judges, though the Saxon law of King Alfred allowed but three days' time for this, as both Rittershusius and Gothofred have observed, out of Lambard's Account of our ancient^s English and Saxon laws. During this time they were maintained by the Church, if they were poor, out of the revenues of the poor; but if they were able to subsist themselves, it was sufficient for the Church to grant them her protection, and that only in the forementioned cases, and no other.

judicantium ad pristinam sortem, velut manu mox injecta, revocentur: quibus ulterius legem prodesse non patimur, quæ, cessione patrimonii subsequuta, decuriones esse clericos non vetabat. Sed etiam ii, quos æconomos vocant, (hoc est, qui ecclesiasticas consueverunt tractare rationes,) ad eam debiti, vel publici vel privati, redhibitionem, amota dilatione, cogantur, in qua eos obnoxios esse constiterit, quos clerici defensando receperint, nec mox crediderint exhibendos, etc.

^q Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xl. de Pœnis, leg. xvii. Ne quis pro coercitione delicti, vel pistoribus, vel cuicumque alteri corpori, quum alterius sit corporis, addicatur: sed unusquisque pro crimine, in quo fuerit deprehensus, motum congruè severitatis excipiet.

^r Justin. Novel. xvii. c. vi. Ἄλλὰ μηδὲ τούτους δεῖ τοὺς καλουμένους λόγους προχειρῶς διδόναι σπεύδειν ἐπὶ πλεῖονα χρόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετ' ἐξετάσεως, καὶ ἐν χρόνῳ συμμέτρῳ, καὶ οὐχ ὑπερβαίνοντι προθεσμίαν τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν ὥστε μὴ ἐντεῦθεν ἀπεράντους εἶναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰς πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς φιλονεκίας, κ. τ. λ.

^s Lambard, de Legibus Angliæ, p. 28.

SECT. IV.—*What Sort of Persons and Crimes denied this Privilege; First, Public Debtors.*

Therefore, that no one might presume upon indemnity, by virtue of this privilege, who had not a just and legal title to it, several crimes and cases were specified by the law as excepted, for which the Church could grant no protection; as, first, public debtors, who either embezzled, or kept back, by fraud, the public revenues of the state. By a law of Theodosius the Great, now extant in both the codes, such debtors, though they fled to the church for sanctuary, were to reap no benefit by it, but immediately to be taken^t thence by force; or, if they were concealed by the clergy, the bishop and Church, in that case, were liable to be called upon, and made to answer the debt to the public. And Baronius^u is of opinion, that it was by virtue of this law that St. Austin was obliged to pay the debt of one Fastius, who fled to the church for refuge, not being able to answer the pressing demands of the public exactors; and, therefore, St. Austin made a public collection for him in his church, because he would not deliver him up to be tortured by his creditors, as he himself informs us^w in one of his epistles.

^t Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xlv. De his qui ad Ecclesias Confugiunt, leg. i. Publicos debitores, si confugiendum ad ecclesias crediderint, aut illico extrahi de latebris oportebit, aut pro his ipsos, qui eos occultare probantur, episcopos exigi. Sciat igitur præcellens auctoritas tua, neminem debitorum posthac a clericis defendendum: aut per eos ejus, quem defendendum esse crediderint, debitum esse solvendum.

^u Baron. an. 392, n. xxx. p. 672. Hæc plane ipsa lex est, cujus vigore compulsum aliquando S. Augustinus persolverat, quod debebat, qui confugerat ad ecclesiam, etc.

^w Augustin. Ep. ccxv. (Benedict. vol. ii. p. 901. D 8.) Quum frater noster Fastius debito decem et septem solidorum ab oppigneratoribus urgeretur, ut redderet; quod ad præsens unde explicaret se, non inveniebat; ne corporalem pateretur injuriam, ad auxilium sanctæ ecclesiæ convolvit: illi etiam exactores quum proficisci cogerentur, et ideo dilationem dare non possent, gravissimis me querelis oneraverunt, ita ut eis illum traderem; aut quod sibi deberi ostendebant, unde acciperem providerem. Quumque obtulissem Fastio, ut vestram sanctitatem de necessitatibus ejus adloquerer; pudore deterritus, ne facerem deprecatus est. Ita ego majore necessitate coartatus, a fratre nostro Macedonio decem et septem solidos accepi, quos in causam ejus continuo dedi, promittente illo, quod ad certum diem cum eis reddendis posset occurrere; et consentiente, ut si non posset occurrere, sermo de illo fieret ad vestram misericordiam, quam fraternam fratribus exhibere consuevistis. Nunc ergo, quoniam

This was the reason, as I have observed in another place^x, why St. Austin refused to accept the donation of a man's estate, which was originally tied to certain public service in the corporation of the *navicularii*, or those who were bound to transport the public corn from Africa to Rome; for it might happen that the men whom the Church was to employ in this service might, by mischance of shipwreck, or other means, become obnoxious to the public; and then the Church must either deliver up her servants to be tortured, or else pay the debt, for there was no refuge or sanctuary allowed in this case but upon that condition; and, therefore, St. Austin^y himself tells us, he refused such an estate, because, one way or other, it might have involved the Church in great trouble. In private cases, Gothofred seems to think, that the benefit of sanctuary was allowed to poor debtors, that they might have a little respite from torture, and either compound with their creditors, or find some other method to discharge their debts, whilst they were under the shelter and protection of the Church.

SECT. V.—*Secondly, Jews that pretended to turn Christians only to avoid paying their Debts, or suffering Legal Punishment for their Crimes.*

But, then, even this benefit was not universal, for the Jewish converts were particularly excepted from it; for, by a law of Arcadius and Honorius, extant in both the codes, it was

absens est, restat ut subveniatis, non illi quem nemo compellat absentem, sed pollicitationi meæ, cujus existimatio vobis semper est præsens. Jam enim dies, ad quam se promiserat occursum, transactus est; et ego ei, qui solidos suos fidei meæ commisit, quid respondeam non invenio, nisi ut faciam, quod me facturum esse promisi.

^x Book v. chap. iii. sect. v.

^y Augustin. Homil. xlix. de Diversis. (Bened. vol. v. p. 1382. F.) (tom. x. p. 520, edit. Paris. 1637.) (Serm. ccciv. tom. v. p. 1382, edit. Paris. 1700.) Bonifacii hereditatem suscipere nolui; non misericordia, sed timore. Naviculariam nolui esse ecclesia Christi. Multi sunt quidem, qui etiam de navibus acquirunt. Tamen una tentatio esset, iret navis, et naufragaret: homines ad tormenta daturi eramus, ut de submersione navis secundum consuetudinem quæreretur, et torquerentur a iudice, qui essent de fluctibus liberati! Sed non eos darcemus. Nullo pacto enim hoc facere deceret ecclesiam, etc.

provided, "that all Jews, who, being either in debt, or under prosecution as criminals, pretended to unite themselves to the Christian religion, that thereby they might have the privilege of taking sanctuary in the church, and avoid the punishment of their² crimes, or burden of their debts, should be rejected, and not received till they had discharged their debts, or proved themselves innocent of the crimes laid against them;" yet, in other cases, the Jews were not denied this benefit, but had the common privilege of sanctuary with other men, if Gothofred^a judge right, who cites Julius Clarus and Petrus Sarpus^b for the same opinion.

SECT. VI.—*Thirdly, Heretics and Apostates.*

Rittershusius^c thinks the case of heretics and apostates was something worse in this respect than that of Jews; because they who deserted the Church were wholly excluded from having any benefit of sanctuary in it. Covarruvias, and Panormitan, and Sarpus, collect the same before him, but not from any express law about this matter, but only from a general law of Theodosius and Valentinian, which excludes apostates and heretics from all society, and many other common privileges allowed^d to other men. From whence they conclude, by

^a Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xlv. De his qui ad Ecclesias Confugiunt, leg. ii.—Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. xii. leg. i. Judæi, qui reatu aliquo vel debitis fatigati, simulant se Christianæ legi velle conjungi, ut ad ecclesias confugientes evitare possint crimina vel pondera debitorum, arceantur; nec ante suscipiantur, quam debita universa reddiderint, vel fuerint innocentia demonstrata purgati.

^b Gothofr. tom. iii. p. 361. Innoxii et debito liberis Judæis eam immunitatem constare, humanitatis ratio putatur. De qua alioquin quæstione videndus Julius Clarus, alique, et e recentioribus, qui haud ita pridem de Jure Asyli scripsit, Petrus Sarpus, c. v. p. 58.

^b Petr. Sarpus de Jure Asyli, c. v. p. 58.

^c Rittershus. de Asylis, c. vi. n. vi. vii. p. 246. Jus asyli et per fugii commune etiam est et patet non tantum orthodoxis, sed etiam errantibus, Giphani. in Cæcon. Cod. p. 18, n. lv.: non vero hæreticis; Panormit. ad c. inter alia, n. xxi.—Covar. l. ii. Var. Resol. c. xx. n. xiii. Multo minus infidelibus; Pet. Sarp. de Jure Asyli, c. v. in fin. Neque apostatis, qui omnibus favoribus et defensionibus ecclesiæ catholicæ destituuntur; lib. iii. c. de Apostatis.

^d Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. vii. de Apostatis, leg. iv. Hi qui sanctam fidem prodiderunt, et sanctum baptismum hæretica superstitione profanarunt, a consortio omnium segregati sint, etc.

parity of reason, that they could lay no claim to the benefit of sanctuary in any case; because deserters of religion, which they had once owned in baptism, were reckoned worse than Jews, who had never made profession of it; and, therefore, by another law of Theodosius, their slaves were entitled to the favour which the masters themselves were denied; for if the slave of an apostate or a heretic^e fled from his master, and took sanctuary in the church, he was not only to be protected, but to have his manumission, or freedom, granted him likewise; there being an equal design in the law to encourage orthodoxy, and discourage heresy and apostasy, by respective rewards and punishments allotted to them.

SECT. VII.—*Fourthly, Slaves that fled from their Masters.*

This was particularly determined in the case of the Donatists for rebaptizing their slaves, to initiate them into their own religion; but, in other cases, the slaves of orthodox masters had not so large a privilege; for, by a law of Arcadius and Honorius, an. 398, slaves are put in the same condition with public debtors, and the *curiales*, and other public officers, whom no privilege of sanctuary^f was to excuse from the proper duties of their station; and, therefore, though any such one fled to the church for refuge, or was ordained a clerk in the church, there was no legal protection allowed him, but he might be reclaimed, and fetched thence immediately to his proper servitude or station again, by the authority of the civil judges. I know, indeed, Gothofred takes this to be that law of Arcadius, procured by the instigation of Eutropius against the immunities of the Church, which is so much reflected on

^e Ibid. lib. xvi. tit. vi. Ne sanctum baptismum iteretur, leg. iv. His qui forsitan ad rebaptizandum cogentur, refugiendi ad ecclesiam catholicam sit facultas, ut ejus præsidio adversus hujus criminis auctores attributæ libertatis præsidio defendantur.

^f Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xlv. leg. iii. Si quis in posterum servus, ancilla, curialis, debitor publicus, procurator, murilegulus, quilibet postremo publicis privatisve rationibus involutus, ad ecclesiam confugiens, vel clericus ordinatus, vel quocunque modo fuerit a clericis defensatus, nec statim conventionem præmissa pristinae conditioni reddatur, decuriones quidem, et omnes, quos solita ad debitum munus functio vocat, vigore et solertia judicantium ad pristinam sortem revocentur.

by St. Chrysostom^g, and Prosper^h, and Socratesⁱ, and Sozomen^k, and some other ancient writers of the Church, and which Arcadius himself thought fit to revoke within a year after; when Eutropius was fallen under his displeasure; which, whether it be that very law or not, is a thing I shall not now nicely dispute; for, admitting it to be so, I observe, that it was never wholly revoked and disannulled, but only in some particular instances; for that part about the illegal ordination of the *curiales* was left in a great measure in its full force, as has been clearly demonstrated in another place^l; and that part which concerns slaves taking sanctuary in the church was, with a very small variation, renewed and reinforced by Theodosius Junior, son of Arcadius, and compiler of the Theodosian Code. For, by one of his laws^m, which is the last upon this head in that code, no slave is allowed to have sanctuary or entertainment in any church above one day; when notice was to be given to his master, from whom he fled for fear of punishment, that he might reclaim him, and carry him back to his own pos-

^g Chrysostom. Hom. in Eutrop. tom. iv. (p. 481, seqq. edit. Francof.)

^h Prosper. de Prædict. lib. iii. c. xxxviii. (Paris. 1711. Append. p. 185. D.) Eutropius. . . . animo et mente paganus, quum in contumeliam ecclesiæ edictum obreptitie ab Arcadio Christiano imperatore exsculperet, ut si quis ad eam confugeret, etiam ab altari sublatus poenas lueret ampliores, divino judicio suæ sententiæ prior ipse propinatus est. Offensam quippe prædicti regis incurrens, ad ejus refugium, quam oderat, convolvavit. Quem sancta mater pietatis gremio suum excepit inimicum. Cui per venerabilem sacerdotem Joannem impetrans veniam, osori et superbo vitam contulit et salutem: ejus exemplo cunctos admonens inimicos, vanum eis esse contra stimulum calcitrare.

ⁱ Socrat. lib. vi. c. v. (Read. p. 265. A. 4.) Εὐτρόπιος εὐνούχος, προσεστῶς τοῦ βασιλικοῦ κοιτῶνος, καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὑπάτου ἀξίαν πρῶτος εὐνούχων παρὰ βασιλείῳ λαβὼν, ἀμύνασθαι τινὰς προσφεύγοντας τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ βουλόμενος, σπουδὴν πεποιήτο νόμον παρὰ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων προτεθῆναι, κελεύοντα μηδὲνα προσφεύγειν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἤδη προσφεύγοντας ἀφέλκεσθαι· δίκη δὲ ἐϋθὺς ἐπηκολούθει· προῖκετο γὰρ ὁ νόμος, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺν προσκρούσας τῷ βασιλεῖ ὁ Εὐτρόπιος, ἐν τοῖς πρόσφυξιν ἦν, κ. τ. λ.

^k Sozom. lib. viii. c. vii. (p. 310 A.) Εὐτροπίου σπουδῇ τίθεται νόμος, προστατῶν μηδαμῇ μηδεὶνα εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καταφυγεῖν, ἐξελαύνεσθαι τε καὶ τοὺς ἤδη προσπεφευγότας· οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν δὲ, ὥς εἰς τὴν βασιλείῳ γαμετὴν ὑβρίσας ἐπιβουλεύεις, πρῶτος αὐτὸς παρέβη τὸν νόμον· καὶ ἀποδράς ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων, ἰκέτης τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κατέλαβεν.

^l Book iv. chap. iv. sect. iv.

^m Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xlv. De his qui ad Eccles. Confug. leg. v.

session, only giving a promise of indemnity and pardon for his faults, if they were not very great and heinous; and Rittershusiusⁿ cites a law of Theodoric, king of the Goths, and some others, to the same purpose.

SECT. VIII.—*Fifthly, Robbers, Murderers, Conspirators, Ravishers of Virgins, Adulterers, and other Criminals of the like Nature.*

But in case men were guilty of crimes of a more heinous nature, such as theft and robbery, or treason and conspiracy against the government, or murder and bloodshed, or ravishing of virgins, or adultery, or any crimes of the like nature, then it mattered not whether the criminals were bond or free; there was not an hour's respite allowed to such men, but they were to be taken immediate, by force of the civil magistrate, if need required, even from the very altar; or, if they pretended to make any resistance with arms, they might with indemnity be slain there. This is undeniably evident from the laws of Justinian, which specify these, and all such criminals, as excepted universally from all benefit of sanctuary: it being^o wholly against the intent and design of that privilege to give any protection to murderers, adulterers, ravishers of virgins, or any the like, but rather to the innocent and injured parties, who were exposed to their violence and abuses. Temples were

ⁿ Rittershus. de Asylis, c. viii. Theodoricus, rex Longobardorum, reverentiam templo exhibens, pœnam debitam moderatione considerata palpavit. Jovium enim curialem, quem corrector Lucaniæ Bruttiorumque humani sanguinis effusione pollutum ipsi suggessit, ob hoc, quod mutus contentionis ardoribus excitatus rixam verborum usque ad nefarium collegæ deduxit interitum; sed conscius facti sui intra ecclesiæ septa refugiens, declinare se credidit præscriptam legibus ultionem, Vulcaniæ insulæ perpetua relegatione damnavit.

^o Justin. Novel. xvii. c. vii. Οὔτε δὲ ἀνδροφόνοις, οὔτε μοιχοῖς, οὔτε παρθένων ἄρπαξιν, ἀμαρτάνουσι τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὅρων φυλάξεις ἀσφάλειαν· ἀλλὰ κάκειθεν ἐξελεύσεις, καὶ τιμωρίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπάξεις· οὐ γὰρ τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀμαρτανόντων φείδεσθαι προσήκει, ἀλλὰ τῶν περιόντων, ἵνα μὴ τοιαῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν τολμηροτέρων πάσχοιεν· ἄλλως τε ἡ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀσφάλεια οὐ τοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις δίδοται παρὰ τοῦ νόμου· καὶ οὐκ ἂν εἴη δυνατὸν ἐκάτερον ἰσχυρίζεσθαι τῇ παρὰ τῶν ἀσύλων τόπων ἀσφαλείᾳ, καὶ τὸν ἀδικοῦντα καὶ τὸν ἀδικούμενον.

never designed by law to give sanctuary both to the passive and the aggressors; and, therefore, if any that were guilty of such crimes fled to the altar for refuge, they should be drawn thence, and punished according to law, with punishments suitable to their offences. This one law of Justinian's shows us plainly the true intent and meaning of all other ancient laws relating to this privilege of sanctuary, that the design of them, as I observed before, was chiefly to protect the innocent, the injured, and oppressed, from violence; and, in some hard or dubious cases, to grant a little respite till a fair hearing might be procured, or some intercession made to the judges, by the bishop or clergy, for such persons as might seem to want it. And so Gothofred^p upon the whole matter determines, that anciently legal refuge was no more but the clergy's deprecation or intercession for men in distress. And such as they might laudably and decently intercede for, they might for some time legally protect from violence and torture in the church; but not obstruct the due execution of justice upon other sort of criminals, for which it was scandalous to intercede.

SECT. IX.—*A just Reflection upon the great Abuse of modern Sanctuaries, in exempting Men from Legal Punishment, and enervating the Force of Civil Laws.*

In which respect most of the modern sanctuaries have been complained of by considering men as guilty of great abuses, in giving protection almost to all sorts of criminals, and so encouraging the practice of villany by exempting men from legal punishment, and enervating the force of civil laws. For the Canon Law of Gratian, and the Popes' Decretals, grant protection to all criminals except night-robbers, and robbers on the highway, and such as commit enormous crimes in the church itself upon presumption of its protection. But all other criminals have liberty of taking sanctuary, and it is reckoned a violation of the immunities of the Church to take them thence, unless a promise or an oath be first given,

^p Gothofr. Com. in Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xlv. leg. v. p. 373. Nihil ad ecclesiam perfugium erat, quam clericorum deprecatio seu intercessio.

that neither death^a nor any other corporal punishment, but only a pecuniary mulct, shall be inflicted on them, as Pope Innocent III. determined in one of his letters to the King of Scots, which Gregory IX. inserted into the body of his Decretals. The Council of Orleans^r has some canons to the same purpose, which, though contrary to all other ancient laws, Gratian^s thought fit to adopt into his own collections. And so the modern Canon Law, under pretence of ecclesiastical immunities, opened a wide gap to licentiousness, by taking off those restraints which the ancient laws had justly set upon this matter, when they granted refuge to innocent and injured men, but not to notorious criminals; which difference is not only noted and complained of by all Protestant writers, but also by some of the Romish Church. Polydore Vergil^t makes no scruple to condemn them all over

^a Decretal. Gregor. lib. iii. tit. xlix. de Immunit. Eccles. c. vi. Quantumcumque gravia maleficia perpetraverit, non est violenter ab ecclesia extrahendus: nec inde damnari debet ad mortem vel ad poenam, sed rectores ecclesiarum sibi obtinere debent membra et vitam. Super hoc tamen quod inique fecit, est alias legitime puniendus.

^r Conc. Aurelian. I. c. ii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1405.) De raptoribus id custodiendum esse censuimus, ut si ad ecclesiam raptor cum rapta confugerit, et feminam ipsam violentiam pertulisse constiterit, statim liberetur de potestate raptoris, et raptor, mortis vel poenarum impunitate concessa, aut serviendi conditioni subjectus sit, aut redimendi se liberam habeat facultatem, etc.—Can. iii. Servus, qui ad ecclesiam pro qualibet culpa profugerit, si a domino pro admissa culpa sacramenta susceperit, statim ad servitium domini sui redire cogatur, sed posteaquam datis a domino sacramentis fuerit consignatus, si aliquid poenae pro eadem culpa, qua excusatur, probatus fuerit pertulisse; pro contemtu ecclesiae et praevicatione fidei, a communione et convivio Catholicorum, sicut superius comprehensum est, extraneus habeatur. Sin vero servus pro culpa sua ab ecclesia defensatus sacramenta domini, clericis exigentibus, de impunitate perceperit, exire nolentem a domino liceat occupari.

^s Gratian. Caus. xvii. quaest. iv. c. xxxvi.—It. Caus. xxxvi. quaest. i. c. iii.

^t Polydor. Vergil. de Inventor. Rerum, lib. iii. c. xii. Sunt hodie in orbe nostro Christiano, praesertim apud Anglos, passim asyla, quae non modo insidias timentibus, sed quibusvis sontibus, etiam majestatis reis patent. Quod facit, ut manifeste appareat, nos id institutum non a Mose, qui illis duntaxat, qui nolentes hominem occidissent, asylum posuit, sed a Romulo esse mutatos. Quae nempe res haud dubie in causa est, cur bene multi a maleficiis minus abstineant manus. Quid, quod templa nostra ubique gentium istiusmodi sceleratis hominibus instar asylorum sunt, et id contra quam Moses etiam constituerit, qui in Exod. c. xxi. 14, ita sanxit: 'Si quis per industriam occiderit proximum suum et per insidias, ab altari meo avellat eum, ut moriatur.'

the Christian world, but more especially here in England, where protection was given, not to the innocent and oppressed, but to all sorts of criminals, such as were guilty of treason and rebellion not excepted. Whence he thinks it very apparent that the thing, as then practised, was not to be derived from Moses, who allowed a refuge to none but such as killed a man unawares and against their will, but from Romulus: which was the cause that so many villains took heart and encouragement to practise wickedness, there being churches every where ready to receive and protect them; though nothing was more directly contrary to the establishment of Moses, whose law was guarded with this sanction (Exod. xxi. 14): "If a man come presumptuously upon his neighbour, to slay him with guile, thou shalt take him from my altar, that he may die." This was the difference in the opinion of that author between the modern sanctuaries and those of Moses and the ancient Church.

SECT. X.—*Conditions anciently to be observed by such as fled for Sanctuary. First, No one to fly with Arms into the Church.*

There is one thing more to be observed concerning the privilege of sanctuary in the laws of the ancient Church, which is, that such persons as were allowed this benefit were obliged to observe certain conditions in taking refuge: otherwise they forfeited all their right and title to it. As, first, they were not to fly with arms into the church, nor into any place or building adjoining to it, as the gardens, houses, courts, cloisters, to which the privilege of sanctuary was annexed. This is particularly specified and provided by a law^u of Theodosius Junior, which has this sanction added to

^u Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xlv. De his, qui ad Eccles. Confug. leg. iv. Qui templa cum armis ingredi audent, ne hoc faciant, præmonemus: dehinc si telis cincti, quovis ecclesiæ loco vel ad templi septa, vel circa, vel extra, sint, statim eos, ut arma reponant, auctoritate episcopi a solis clericis severius conveniri præcipimus: data eis fiducia, quod religionis nomine melius, quam armorum præsidio muniantur. Sed si ecclesiæ voce moniti, post tot tantorumque denuntiationes, noluerint arma relinquere, jam clementiæ nostræ, apud Deum et episcoporum causa purgata, armatis, si ita res exegerit, intromissis, trahendos se abstrahendosque esse cognoscant, et omnibus casibus casu subdendos.

it, "That if any one pretended to act otherwise, and, being admonished by the Church, refused to lay aside his arms, that then it should be lawful for the magistrate, by the consent of the bishop, to send his officers with arms into the church upon such an exigency, and take him thence by force; and if the refugee still persisted in his opposition, and chanced to be slain in the engagement^w, it was to be reckoned purely his own fault, and no violation of the Church's privilege in that case, because he refused to observe this necessary condition of safety." The emperors themselves laid aside their arms and crowns when they entered into the church; and therefore Theodosius argues^x, that it was but reasonable all refugees should do the same, and trust only to the laws and sacredness of the place for their protection.

SECT. XI.—*No one to raise a seditious Clamour or Tumult as he fled thither.*

A second condition to be observed in this case was, that men should betake themselves silently and modestly to the church, and not by any rude and indecent clamours endeavour to raise any popular tumult. Learned men collect this from a law in the Greek Constitutions, and the Justinian Code^y, which forbids refugees to make any clamorous petitions to the emperor on such festivals as he came to the great church; but, if they had any request to be preferred, they should do it privately by the archbishop or defenders of the church; otherwise they should forfeit their privilege, and be cast out of the church, and be delivered over to the city magistrate to be punished.

^w Ibid. leg. v. Si armorum fiducia resistendi animos, insania impellente, conceperint, abstrahendi abripiendique eum domino, quibus potest id efficere viribus, concedatur. Quod si illum etiam confici in concertatione pugnaque contigerit, nulla ejus erit noxa, nec conflandæ criminacionis relinquetur occasio: is qui ex statu servili in hostilis et homicidæ conditionem transivit, occisus sit.

^x Edict. Theod. ad calc. Conc. Ephes. cit. c. x. sect. viii.

^y Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. xii. De his qui ad Eccles. Confug. leg. viii. 'Ο, τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὴν μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν ἐν ἑορτῇ προϊὼντος, ἐκβοήσῃσι χρώμενος, ἐκπίπτει τοῦ πράγματος, καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἐπάρχου ἐκβαλλόμενος σωφρονίζεται· ὁ δὲ διὰ δυνατὸν πρόσωπον τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσφεύγων, διδασκίῳ τὴν βασιλείαν διὰ τοῦ πατριάρχου καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν.

SECT. XII.—*Thirdly, No one to eat or lodge in the Church, but to be entertained in some outward Building.*

Thirdly, Though refugees might fly to the church, and even to the very altar, yet they were neither to eat nor lodge there: but the clergy were obliged to prohibit them from doing either of these by an express law of Theodosius Junior²; who, to cut off all pretences for the contrary practice, as if men could not be safe but within the walls of the church, made not only the church and the altar places of refuge, but all other buildings and places belonging to the church, giving this reason for allowing such an ample space for the benefit of sanctuary, that men might not have the excuse of fear to make them eat or lodge in the church, which he thought to be things not so decent in their own nature, nor agreeable to the state of religion, and the respect and reverence that was due to churches, as places appropriated to God, and set apart for his service.

² Cod. Theod. lib. ix. De his qui ad Eccles. Confug. leg. iv. Pateant summi Dei templa timentibus: nec sola altaria et oratorium templi circumjectum, qui ecclesias quadripertito intrinsecus parietum septu concludunt, ad tuitionem confugientium sancimus esse proposita: sed usque ad extremas fores ecclesiae, quas oratum gestiens populus primas ingreditur, confugientibus oram salutis esse praecipimus: ut inter templi, quod parietum descripsimus cinctu, et post loca publica et januas primas ecclesiae, quidquid fuerit interjacens, sive in cellulis, sive in domibus, hortulis, balneis, areis, atque porticibus, confugas, interioris templi vice, tucatur. . . . Hanc autem spatii latitudinem ideo indulgemus, ne in ipso Dei templo et sacrosanctis altaribus, confugientium quemquam mane vel vespere cubare vel pernoctare liceat, ipsis hoc clericis religionis causa vetantibus; ipsis qui confugiunt, pietatis rationem servantibus.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.



